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**Impious Adventurers? Mercenaries, Honour and Patriotism in the Wars of
Independence in Gran Colombia**

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Abstract

This is a study of the British and Irish mercenaries who travelled to Venezuela, New Granada and Ecuador to fight in Simón Bolívar's armies against Spanish rule in the years 1810-1830. It revises conventional assumptions about foreign involvement in the Independence of Gran Colombia by situating the mercenaries within contemporary debates on the changing nature of honour, patriotism and military service. The thesis revisits the original sources of historians like Hasbrouck, Cuervo Márquez and Lambert, and uses new sources such as novels, rumours expressed in prisoners' testimonies, petitions, personal correspondence, criminal court proceedings, and personal diaries. It is based on archival research in Spain, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. A database of 40% of the adventurers provides the statistical background (lacking in all previous studies) for the subsequent discussions. It contains information regarding name, national and regional origin, rank, age, military experience, marriage, literacy, and subsequent career or manner of death.

The thesis demonstrates how this large influx of external actors was a catalyst for change in the conceptualisation of the Wars of Independence. Hispanic American ideas of race, nation, honour and patriotism had to be reassessed when fighting alongside these foreigners. Revising the conventional understanding of the mercenaries as brave British veterans of the Napoleonic Wars, the thesis demonstrates the lack of military experience of the majority of the foreign soldiers, and illustrates the way that they conceived of themselves as adventurers, seeking fortune and opportunity in a new and unknown world. It dissects the practicalities of adventuring, showing how race, class and gender shaped encounters with local people. As such, the thesis builds upon the developing historiography of the Independence of Hispanic America and upon new work on British imperial history, and shows how foreign involvement in the Wars was much more than just economic or diplomatic. Encounters with foreigners, at a crucial moment in the formation of nascent collective identities, contributed to the evolution of a unique post-colonial society, in which conceptions of honour, service, patriotism and citizenship were substantially altered.

Table of Contents

<i>Abstract</i>	2
<i>Table of Contents</i>	3
<i>List of Tables</i>	5
<i>List of Maps</i>	7
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	8
<i>Preface</i>	13
<i>Abbreviations Used</i>	15
 Introduction	 16
<i>Historiography (p.19), Methodology and Sources (p.28)</i>	
 Chapter 1: The Context for Adventure	 46
<i>Enterprise (p.48), Emigration (p.52), Military Experience (p.58), Class and Rank (p.69), Age (p.72), Literacy (p.74)</i>	
 Chapter 2: The Realities of Adventuring in Gran Colombia	 78
<i>Tracing the Adventures (p.79), Regional Context (p.82), Mobility, Personnel Turnover, Desertion and Death (p.111), Rationing and Payment (p.123)</i>	
 Chapter 3: Re-negotiating Honour	 137
<i>Chivalry and Adventure (p.139), Rites of Passage (p.143), Fear of the Unknown (p.145), Duelling (p.152), Honour Disputes (p.161), Gambling (p.181)</i>	
 Chapter 4: Collective Identities	 195
<i>National Origins (p.201), The British Legion (p.212), The Irish Legion (p.215), The MacGregor Legion (p.218), The Hanoverian Legion (p.221), Complementary Identities (p.222), Constructing a Collective Identity (p.224), Hispanic American Perceptions (p.229), Comparing Collective Identities (p.236)</i>	
 Chapter 5: Race, Slavery and Abolitionism	 248
<i>The Rhetoric of Slavery (p.253), Freeing Slaves and Fighting with them (p.255), Overseeing Slavery (p.267), Pragmatism over Idealism (p.271), Owning Slaves (p.276), Changing Relations in the 1830s (p.283)</i>	
 Chapter 6: Veteran Soldiers and the State	 287
<i>Petitioning for haberes militares (p.288), Settling into Society (p.303), The Honour of the Volunteer Soldier (p.319), Manly Independence and the State (p.331)</i>	
 Chapter 7: Fictions: Changed Understandings of Citizenship, Patriotism and Honour	 346

*The Return Home (p.347), Fictionalising Venezuela (p.354),
Religion (p.371), The Foreigner-Citizen Debate (p.378),
Honour, Insubordination and Foreignness (p.393)*

Conclusions 402

Appendix 1 423

Appendix 2 425

Appendix 3 430

Glossary 432

Bibliography 433

Lists of Tables and Maps

Figure 1.1:	British Volunteers Linked to Service in British Armed Forces	p.58
Figure 1.2:	Volunteer Private Soldiers' Experience in the British Army	p.64
Figure 1.3:	Volunteers' Occupations Before Joining Independent Service	p.67
Figure 1.4:	Summary of Volunteers' Previous Occupations	p.69
Figure 1.5:	Final Ranks Recorded for Named Volunteers in Colombian Army (up to 1825)	p.70
Figure 1.6:	Summary of Ranks of All Named Volunteers, Calculated from Figure 1.5	p.71
Figure 1.7:	Rank Distribution of All Volunteers	p.71
Figure 1.8:	Summary of Ranks Held by All Volunteers	p.72
Figure 1.9:	Volunteers' Years of Birth	p.73
Figure 1.10:	Literacy Rates of Private Soldiers and Non-Commissioned Officers	p.74
Figure 1.11:	Signature of 'Juan Butcher' (John Butcher)	p.75
Figure 1.12:	Signature of 'Juan Debes' (John Davis)	p.75
Figure 1.13:	Signature of 'Francis Frisby'	p.75
Figure 1.14:	Signature of 'Franco Quen' (Francis Kean)	p.75
Figure 2.1:	Grouping the Volunteer Expeditions	p.79
Figure 2.2:	Summary of Volunteers' Later Careers	p.81
Figure 2.3:	Military rations in Angostura, July 1819	p.131
Figure 3.1:	Duels involving Named Volunteers in the first years of the Wars of Independence	p.156
Figure 4.1:	National Origin of Named Volunteers	p.201
Figure 4.2:	National Origin of All Volunteers	p.202
Figure 4.3:	Calculated National Background of All Volunteers on Database	p.202
Figure 4.4:	National Background of Random Selection of Volunteers	p.204
Figure 4.5:	National Background of Random Selection of Volunteers: %	p.205
Figure 4.6:	Background of Named Volunteers by County and Region: England	p.206
Figure 4.7:	Background of Volunteers from English Regions	p.207
Figure 4.8:	Background of Named Volunteers by County and Region: Ireland	p.208
Figure 4.9:	Background of Volunteers from Irish Regions	p.209
Figure 4.10:	Background of Named Volunteers by County: Scotland	p.210
Figure 4.11:	Background of Named Volunteers by County: Wales	p.210
Figure 4.12:	Home Town of Volunteers from Co. Cork	p.211
Figure 4.13:	Home Town of Volunteers from Kent	p.211
Figure 4.14:	Home Town of Volunteers from Co. Down	p.212
Figure 4.15:	Comparative Heights of Europeans and Americans	p.240
Figure 4.16:	Comparative Hair Colour of Europeans and Americans	p.240
Figure 4.17:	Comparative Eye Colour of Europeans and Americans	p.240
Figure 4.18:	Comparative Skin Colour Categorisation of Europeans and Americans	p.241
Figure 4.19:	Comparative Ages of Europeans and Americans	p.241
Figure 4.20:	National Origins of Europeans	p.241
Figure 4.21:	Ranks of Respondents	p.241

Figure 4.22:	Geographical Origin of the Americans	p.242
Figure 4.23:	Geographical Origin of the Europeans: ' <i>Natural de ...</i> '	p.242
Figure 4.24:	District of the Americans	p.242
Figure 4.25:	District of the Europeans	p.242
Figure 4.26:	Americans Domiciled	p.243
Figure 4.27:	Europeans Domiciled	p.243
Figure 5.1:	Slaves as Percentage of Population across Gran Colombia	p.251
Figure 6.1:	<i>Haberes militares</i> granted to British and Irish volunteers, 1821-1829	p.294
Figure 6.2:	Summary of <i>haberes militares</i> granted	p.294
Figure 6.3:	Signature of 'John Wilton' (forged by George Meates)	p.302
Figure 6.4:	Principal Occupations of Volunteers who remained in Colombia	p.305
Figure 6.5:	Distribution of Volunteers across Colombia post-1822	p.310
Figure 6.6:	Distribution of Volunteers post-1822 according to region	p.310
Figure 6.7:	Volunteers' Marriages in Colombia	p.313
Figure 6.8:	When Named Volunteers were last recorded in Archives: 5 Year Periods	p.343
Figure 6.9:	When Named Volunteers were last recorded in Archives: 10 Year Periods	p.343
Figure 7.1:	Ascertaining the Identity of MacGregor's 'French' Volunteers	p.374
Figure 7.2:	At Prayer in Guayaquil	p.377

List of Maps

Map 1:	The Bolivarian Republics	p.16
Map 2:	Where the Volunteers Went	p.83
Map 3:	Venezuela	p.84
Map 4:	The Venezuelan Llanos	p.94
Map 5:	New Granada	p.96
Map 6:	Ecuador	p.108
Map 7:	The present-day United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland	p.204
Map 8:	Regions of Ireland	p.209

Preface

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As an eighteen year-old volunteer English teacher in Santiago de Chile I walked to work each day along a street called 'Lord Cochrane' and wondered why a central street in the capital of a South American country would be named after a Scottish aristocrat. Three years later, after spending a further twelve months volunteering in South America, this time working for the Peruvian Section of Amnesty International in Lima, I returned to Edinburgh University where I took Michael Angold's inspirational class, 'The Lure of the East: Travellers to the East 1000-1500'. The understandings of myth, travel, pilgrimage and crusade I gained through reading Marco Polo, Ibn Battuta, John Mandeville and others provided a crucial underpinning for my research interests that continued to veer towards the West, and for my Masters thesis on British involvement in Peruvian Independence. Subsequently, my work as a tour leader for British Gap Year students travelling to Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia completed the circle, as I sought to discover why young British people had continued to volunteer to work in Hispanic America from 1810 through to 2000, and what effect their travels had on local communities. The idea for this thesis therefore sprang from an incoherent collection of experiences, thoughts, academic training and intellectual curiosity.

I have enjoyed the past four years immensely and this is largely down to the many people who have assisted me in my preparation, research and writing. The following acknowledgements fail to express adequately the kindness, generosity and good

intentions of which I have been the beneficiary, whilst their length illustrates the wide diversity of countries and institutions in which I have had the fortune to work. At University College London I benefited from the astute, challenging and always encouraging supervision of Christopher Abel and Nicola Miller, two of the wisest and sharpest teachers any potential Latin Americanist could ever wish for. In the Department of History at UCL, Nicola Foote, Kate Quinn, Catherine Hall, Stephen Conway, and Luke O'Sullivan helped me to formulate ideas. The participants of the Modern History Seminar constantly challenged me to situate these thoughts within the context of nineteenth-century British imperialism: Fae Dussart and Charles Sandeman-Allen inspired me with their enthusiasm and breadth of knowledge. My students on the 'Latin America c1830-c1930' course provided fresh insights on old themes. Elsewhere in London, the participants at the Institute of Historical Research seminar, 'Reconfiguring the British' never ceased to provide alternative perspectives from which to approach my topic. At the Institute of Latin American Studies, James Dunkerley, Maxine Molyneux, María Eugenia Chavez and Christian Brannstrom gave generously of their time and advice. I also thank Philip Bucknor, Wendy Coxshall, Jonathan Curry-Machado, Catherine Davies, Will Fowler, Keith Morris, Mimi Scheller, Amit Thakar, Mary Turner, and Emily Walmsley for their assistance. Eleanor Malone and Paul Dinnen helped with attaching hispanicised names and spellings to real towns and villages in Scotland and Ireland. At the Casa Miranda, Gloria Carnevali got me started with some wise words before I travelled to Caracas.

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In Bogotá, Katia Urteaga and Vicente Vallies were hospitable, friendly, stimulating and generous. The other Peace Brigades International volunteers showed me friendship amid their bemusement at my research into nineteenth-century volunteers whilst they were daily risking their lives to protect those of others. Probably unbeknown to her, a conversation with Margarita Garrido started me thinking seriously about honour, for which I am extremely grateful. At the Museo Nacional, Angela Gómez, Beatriz González and Martín Alonso Roa have continued to show great interest in the project. Martha Jeanet Sierra repeatedly went beyond the bounds of duty in searching out titbits of information for me, for which I can only offer my heartfelt thanks. Clément Thibaud gave me scholarly advice, lent me his databases and sent me an early draft of his book, all of which furthered my understanding of the Wars of Independence, and for which I thank him. Many others assisted me with encouragement, warning, aguardiente or advice, most notably Germán Cardoso, Adriana Castañeda, Carlos Dávila, Margarita González, Paul and Dion Jervis, Claudia Leal, Jason McGraw, Donny Meertens, Francisco Modregón, Jorge Orlando Melo, Humberto Ovalle Mora, Jorge Palacios, Marco Palacios, Carlos José Reyes, Gonzalo Sánchez, Hermes and Gilma Tovar, Mauricio Tovar and Yulieth Vásquez. Luis Javier Ortiz Meza provided all four at once.

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‘Gran Colombia’ was formed by the union of the territories encompassed by the Captaincy-General of Venezuela, the Presidency of Quito, and the Viceroyalty of New Granada. From its declaration in 1819 until its dissolution in 1830, this new republic was known as ‘Colombia’. It then fragmented into the republics of Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Granada, roughly based on the colonial administrative units that they succeeded. In 1863, the Republic of New Granada adopted the name ‘Colombia’, by which it is still known today. Historians have henceforth used the term ‘Gran Colombia’ (Greater Colombia) to refer to the single republic of 1819-1830, and ‘New Granada’ for the post-1830 republic occupying the territory known in 2004 as ‘Colombia’. When contemporaries referred to ‘Colombia’, they meant what is now understood as ‘Gran Colombia’. When they referred to ‘New Granada’, they referred to the territory now called ‘Colombia’. This thesis follows their usage unless otherwise noted – Colombians were the people of ‘Gran Colombia’ in the period 1819-1830.

Throughout this period the capital of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, and later of the Republic of Colombia, changed its name several times. To avoid confusion, Bogotá is consistently used to refer to the city also known as Santafé and Santafé de Bogotá. Similarly, the capital of Guayana is referred to as Angostura, even though it was also

known as Santo Tomás de Guayana, Santo Tomás de Angostura, and was renamed as Ciudad Bolívar in 1846.

The 'United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland' was established in 1801. 'Great Britain' is the largest island of the British Isles, and includes 'England', 'Scotland', and 'Wales'. In 1922 the twenty-six county 'Irish Free State' achieved Independence from Britain, while the counties of 'Northern Ireland' remained part of the 'United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland'. In 1937 the Free State became 'the Republic of Ireland' (Eire). During the period covered by this study, the British monarch (George III from 1760 to 1820; George IV as Prince Regent from 1810, and as King from 1820 to 1830; William IV 1830 to 1837) also ruled territories across the globe, including North America (Canada), the British West Indies, much of India, Australia, and islands in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The volunteer expeditions included men from the British empire and other parts of Europe, and these are noted where applicable.

Contemporaries and historians have used the terms 'volunteers', 'mercenaries', 'auxiliaries' and 'foreign soldiers' to describe the members of these expeditions. All of these terms are in some way problematic, for reasons that are explored in Chapter 1. To avoid cumbersome repetition of phrases such as 'the foreign volunteer-mercenary auxiliary soldiers', all of the above terms are used to refer to the subjects of the thesis, the several thousand foreigners who volunteered to serve as mercenary soldiers in an auxiliary capacity in the wars that led to the Independence of Gran Colombia from Spanish rule. To avoid confusion, ranks in the British army are given in English, while ranks in the Loyalist and Independent armies are given in italics in Spanish. Further explanation for this is provided in Chapter 1. The term 'Creole' is used to refer to predominantly white, American-born people. Creoles fought on both the Independent and Loyalist sides. The Spanish word '*patria*' is left untranslated from primary sources, as the usual English translations of 'fatherland', 'country' or 'homeland' do not catch the nuance of the period. *Patria* had a strong sentimental sense as 'home' and the land of one's fathers, to which one held a strong allegiance without being tied to strict administrative boundaries. The fact that British or Irish adventurers described their *patria*

in Spanish language texts in the 1830s as ‘Lincoln’, ‘Cork’, ‘England’, ‘Europe’ or even ‘Colombia’ hints at the variable meanings given to the term.

Particular adventurers have had the spelling of their names standardised. Hence John D’Evereux is always ‘John Devereux’ unless in the reproduction of a primary document where it is spelt differently. Mary English is always Mary English, even after she had been widowed by James English, and married Colonel Lowe, and then Mr Greenup. Gregor MacGregor is preferred to McGregor or M’Gregor. Simón Bolívar is written with his Hispanic accents, unless quoting from a contemporary British text that did not use accents, in which case the original spelling has been retained.

I am glad to be able to take this opportunity to thank the custodians and owners of the manuscripts and books I have consulted in the following institutions, and the staff who have fetched the materials over the last four years: in Belfast, the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland; in Bogotá, the Archivo General de la Nación, Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango, Biblioteca Nacional, Academia Colombiana de Historia; in Cali, the Archivo Histórico de Cali; in Cambridge, the Cambridge University Library, Seeley Historical Library; in Caracas, the Archivo General de la Nación, Fundación John Boulton, Casa de estudio de la historia de Venezuela ‘Lorenzo A. Mendoza Quintero’, Biblioteca Nacional, Academia Nacional de la Historia; in Ciudad Bolívar, the Archivo Histórico de Guayana; in Dublin, the National Archive of Ireland, National Library of Ireland, University College Dublin Archive; in Edinburgh, the National Archives of Scotland, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh University Library; in Guayaquil, the Archivo Histórico de Guayas; in Ipswich, the Suffolk County Record Office; in London, the University College London Library, British Library, University of London Library, the British Library of Political and Economic Science, the Public Record Office at Kew (part of The National Archives), Colindale Newspaper Library, Casa Miranda, Institute of Historical Research; in Oxford, the Bodleian Library; in Popayán, the Archivo Central del Cauca; in Quito, the Biblioteca ecuatoriana ‘Aureliano Espinosa Polit’, Biblioteca Nacional, Archivo Nacional del Ecuador; and in Tunja, the Academia Boyacense de Historia.

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Abbreviations Used

ACC:	Archivo Central del Cauca, Popayán
AGNC:	Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Bogotá
AGNV:	Archivo General de la Nación de Venezuela, Caracas
AHG:	Archivo Histórico de Guayana, Ciudad Bolívar
AL:	Archivo del Libertador, Caracas, Sección Juan de Francisco Martín
ANE:	Archivo Nacional del Ecuador, Quito
AOL:	Archivo O'Leary
BLAR:	<i>Bulletin of Latin American Research</i>
BNC:	Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá
Casa de Moneda:	Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango, Bogotá, Papers of Casa de Moneda
CHLA:	Cambridge History of Latin America
English Papers:	James Towers English Papers, Suffolk County Record Office
FJB:	Fundación John Boulton, Caracas
GDG:	Gobernación de Guayana
GYM:	Secretario de Guerra y Marina
HAHR:	<i>Hispanic American Historical Review</i>
HDS:	Hojas de Servicio
IP:	Ilustres Próceres
JLAS:	<i>Journal of Latin American Studies</i>
LARR:	<i>Latin American Research Review</i>
NLI:	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
PRO CO:	Public Record Office, The National Archives, London, Colonial Office Papers
PRO FO:	Public Record Office, Foreign Office Papers
PRO WO:	Public Record Office, War Office Papers
R:	Sección La República
TRHS:	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
UCD:	University College Dublin

Introduction

One supposes that it was not mean ambition that persuaded these British officers to abandon their *patria* to fight for an oppressed people in America. Rather, it was their ambition to win military glory, their desire for new and dangerous adventures, and their passion for *excitement* which makes the Englishman seem sometimes like a madman, and sometimes like a hero.

José Antonio Páez, *Autobiografía*.¹

¹ 'Es de suponer que no fue un espíritu de mezquina ambición el que movió a los jefes británicos a abandonar su patria para luchar en favour de un pueblo oprimido en el continente americano, sino más bien la ambición de la gloria militar, la afición a nuevas y peligrosas aventuras y esa pasión del *excitement* que hace que el inglés aparezca unas veces como loco y otras como héroe'. José Antonio Páez, *Autobiografía*, (New York, 1867), pp.246-7. Páez (b.1790 Curpa, d.1873 New York) led many of the volunteers in campaigns in the Apure. He was President of Venezuela between 1830-34, 1839-43 and 1861-3. The best biography in English is still R.B. Cunninghame Graham, *José Antonio Páez*, (London, 1929), and in Spanish, Tomás Polanco Alcántara, *José Antonio Páez, fundador de la república*, (Caracas, 2000). All translations from Spanish language sources are my own except where otherwise stated.

Map 1: The Bolivarian Republics



Over six thousand adventurers left Britain and Ireland between 1810 and 1823 to seek their fortunes in the wars that brought about the Republic of Colombia's Independence from Spain.² In Gran Colombia, the adventurers presented themselves as 'the champions

² This was more than twice the number who took part in the Spanish Civil War more than a century later. Nevertheless, the more recent conflict has attracted a large historiography, notably Bill Alexander, *British Volunteers for Liberty*, (London, 1982); James K. Hopkins, *Into the Heart of the Fire: the British in the Spanish Civil War*, (Stanford, Calif., 1998); R.A Stradling, *The Irish and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, Crusades in Conflict*, (Manchester, 1999); Angela Jackson, *British Women and the Spanish Civil War*, (London and New York, 2002).

of liberty' responding to 'the pleadings of humanity'.³ They claimed to be continuing the fight against despotism that Britons had begun in the Napoleonic Wars, arguing that 'the same reverence of virtuous liberty which thus in the Old World restored [Spain's] freedom ... now animates [them] in the New'.⁴

These 'champions of liberty' present an ideal case study to examine the processes and consequences that connected the Atlantic world in the early nineteenth-century.⁵ 10/?

Historians exploring the roots of 'globalisation' and 'internationalism' have been moved to study people, ideas and commodities that crossed borders and frontiers in previous centuries. In doing so, they hope to 'overcome traditional academic dichotomies between domestic and foreign actors, dominant and dependent geographies of power, and between cultural and economic dimensions of transnational events and relationships'.⁶ In the context of these new historiographical approaches, the case of British and Irish adventurers to Hispanic America is a fascinating one. Involved in the first process of decolonisation in the modern world, they disregarded national and imperial boundaries as they sought to further the 'cause of liberty', and to find opportunity and independence for themselves in the New World. They cast into fine relief the international and Atlantic context of the Hispanic American Wars of Independence.⁷ This thesis explores the relations between the adventurers and the society in the midst of transition from colonial to republican rule that they encountered in Gran Colombia.

³ General James Towers English, 'Reply of the British Officers and Soldiers of the Independent Army of Venezuela to General Morillo', *The Times*, 24th April 1819. A slightly different version of the same letter was published in the *Correo del Orinoco*, 27th November 1819.

⁴ English, 'Reply of the British Officers'. For a discussion of the importance of the 'defence of liberty' in the British Army in this period, see J.E. Cookson, 'Service Without Politics? Army, Militia, and Volunteers in Britain during the American and French Revolutionary Wars', *War in History*, 10:4 (2003), pp.381-98.

⁵ In the words of Henk te Velde, they were the 'international contacts' that made political transfer possible. te Velde, 'Political Transfer', paper presented to conference on 'Political Transfer: the use of foreign examples in politics, c.1789-1960', University of Groningen, 14th January 2004.

⁶ Paul Gootenberg, 'Between Coca and Cocaine: A Century or More of US-Peruvian Drug Paradoxes, 1860-1980', *HAHR*, 83:1 (Spring 2003), p.120. See also Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World*, (Cambridge, 1999), p.216; Anne Summers, 'Gaps in the record: Hidden Internationalisms', *History Workshop Journal*, 52 (Autumn 2001), pp.217-27; Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks, Creating Identities in Nineteenth Century South Africa and Britain*, (London, 2001) and 'British Settler Discourse and the Circuits of Empire', *History Workshop Journal*, (Autumn 2002), pp.25-48.

⁷ Kenneth Maxwell, 'The Atlantic in the Eighteenth Century: a Southern Perspective on the Need to Return to the 'Big Picture'', *TRHS*, 6th Series, Vol.3 (1993), pp.209-36.

Historiography

For a century after the events in question, historians treated the Independence of Gran Colombia as an 'autonomous event', largely disconnected from its Atlantic context, colonial past and republican future.⁸ As Germán Colmenares correctly identified, Independence was only studied according to the boundaries of the resultant nation-states, and then conventionally within the constraint of the 'historiographic prison' that Colmenares argued was the consequence of José Manuel Restrepo's *Historia de la revolución*.⁹ In the immediate aftermath of the wars Restrepo traced a 'fixed and unalterable repertoire of events', principally concerned with military and political history, state formation and the careers of prominent individuals.¹⁰ This perspective highlighted the heroism and bravery of national actors while neglecting or dismissing the wider historical context.¹¹

When they did discuss the substantial foreign participation in their conflict, Restrepo and subsequent commentators emphasised the bravery and loyalty of individual officers, demonised the errant few, and ignored the larger mass of volunteers.¹² The actions of 'foreigners' were represented as 'auxiliary' in every sense. The 'natural' British love of glory and liberty and the participation of the 'worthy heirs to Richard the Lion Heart'

⁸ John Lynch, 'Spanish American Independence in Recent Historiography', in Anthony McFarlane and Eduardo Posada-Carbó, eds., *Independence and Revolution in Spanish America: Perspectives and Problems*, (London, 2001), p.41.

⁹ José Manuel Restrepo, *Historia de la revolución de la República de Colombia*, (Bogotá, 1942-1950), first published 1827-58.

¹⁰ Germán Colmenares, 'La Historia de la revolución, por José Manuel Restrepo: una prisión historiográfica', in Colmenares, *La Independencia: ensayos de historia social*, (Bogotá, 1986), pp.7-24. The wider historiography of this period, and its nods in the direction of social, cultural and economic history, has been explored by Colmenares in *Convenciones contra la cultura*, (Bogotá, 1987), and *Ensayos sobre historiografía*, (Bogotá, 1997); also Jorge Orlando Melo in *Historiografía colombiana: realidades y perspectivas*, (Medellín, 1996). For discussion of more recent trends, see Steiner A. Saether, 'Identities and Independence in the Provinces of Santa Marta and Riohacha (Colombia) ca.1750-ca.1850', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Warwick, 2001, pp.8-30.

¹¹ More recently, and with a similar goal of exalting the achievement of the llaneros (rather than the Venezuelan nation), revisionist scholars have ignored the fact that the llaneros fought and lived alongside British and Irish troops for extended periods of time in 1818-20. See most notably Miguel Izard, *Orejanos, cimarrones y arrochelados: los llaneros del Apure*, (Barcelona, 1988), p.100; Jane M. Rausch, *A tropical plains frontier: the llanos of Colombia 1531-1831*, (Albuquerque, N.M., 1984), pp.192-4.

¹² Restrepo, *Historia de la revolución*, Vol.1, p.299, Vol.6, pp.167-72.

combined to confirm the justice of the cause of Independence, but were, to all intents and purposes, irrelevant to its eventual success.¹³

In recent decades the historiography of the Independence period has broken out of Restrepo's prison. Even military history has been caught up in these trends, beginning with the wave of studies of the Bourbon military reforms of the second half of the eighteenth century¹⁴ and moving into revisionist studies of the larger-than-life protagonists.¹⁵ Clément Thibaud's work on the Bolivarian armies advanced upon both of these developments.¹⁶ He situated the military units and institutions of Independence within a longer time-scale, demonstrating how their roots in colonial militias affected their effectiveness during the lengthy Wars of Independence. Thibaud showed how the nature of military mobilisation, and the circumstances of the advance of the territory under Bolivarian control, fundamentally shaped the development of collective identities. Nevertheless, the role of foreigners in those armies remained largely outwith his remit, and this thesis seeks to supplement his outstanding research.¹⁷

Thibaud's work was symptomatic of the changes that occurred in the way European and North American historians approached the Independence period. Initial concern with the

¹³ Páez, *Autobiografía*, p.240, p.284. See also Manuel Antonio López, *Recuerdos históricos del coronel Manuel Antonio López, Colombia i Perú 1819-1826*, (Bogotá, 1878), pp.5-12, p.54, p.82, pp.133-4; José María Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas y la condición social de las repúblicas colombianas*, (Bogotá, 1861), p.195; Joaquín Posada Gutiérrez, *Memorias históricas políticas*, Vol.1 (Medellín, 1971), p.190; José Manuel Groot, *Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada*, (Bogotá, 1883), p.119; Rafael María Baralt and Ramón Díaz Díaz, *Resumen de la historia de Venezuela desde el año de 1797 hasta el de 1830*, Vol.1 (Bruges, 1939), p.381.

¹⁴ See for example Lyle McAlister, *The 'Fuero Militar' in New Spain 1764-1800*, (Gainesville, Fla., 1957); Allan J. Kuethe, *Military Reform and Society in New Granada 1773 - 1808*, (Gainesville, Fla., 1978); Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1815, Crown, Military and Society*, (Knoxville, Tenn., 1986); Gary M. Miller, 'Status and Loyalty of Regular Army Officers in Late Colonial Venezuela', *HAHR*, 66:4 (November 1986), pp.667-96.

¹⁵ Most influentially Germán Carrera Damas, *Boves: Aspectos socio-económicos de la guerra de independencia*, (Caracas, 1972), and *El culto a Bolívar*, (Bogotá, 1987).

¹⁶ Clément Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas. Los ejércitos bolivarianos en la Guerra de Independencia (Colombia-Venezuela, 1810-1821)*, (Bogotá, 2003). Thibaud discussed and expanded upon the literature mentioned above in *Repúblicas en armas*, pp.23-31. He described all the Independent armies as 'Bolivarian', reflecting their eventual subordination to the principal general of the period, Simón Bolívar (b.1783 Caracas, d.1830 Santa Marta) who served as President of Colombia from its creation in 1819 until just before his death. The best of the many biographies of Bolívar is Polanco Alcántara, *Simón Bolívar: ensayo de una interpretación biográfica a través de sus documentos*, (Caracas, 1994).

¹⁷ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, pp.384-94.

international repercussions of Independence produced the pioneering documentary collections of Charles Webster and R.A. Humphreys, inspiring explorations of the diplomatic relationships between the New and Old Worlds.¹⁸ While some historians, like D.A.G. Waddell, held Spanish America to have been essential to the European balance of power after the Congress of Vienna,¹⁹ most studies reinforced the early analysis of John Lynch: that official British policy towards Spanish America was 'diffident in its approach and vague in its intent'.²⁰ Rebecca Earle explored the consequences of this policy, noting that Spanish representatives held 'well-justified doubts about the impartiality of the British', and that they attributed 'the persistence of the insurgency ... to the aid and support given to foreign mercenaries by their perfidious governments'.²¹ Inspired by Humphreys' contention that 'Spain's enemies first exhausted her by plunder, then by trade',²² however, many historians concentrated their efforts on the economic aspects of the period, seeing trade and commerce between foreigners and Creoles as integral to the causes, processes and consequences of Independence.²³

¹⁸ C.K. Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America: Select Documents from the Foreign Office Archives*, 2 Vols. (London, 1938); R.A. Humphreys, ed., *British Consular Reports on the Trade and Politics of Latin America 1824-6*, (London, 1940). Subsequently, John Rydjord, 'British mediation between Spain and her colonies', *HAHR*, 21 (1941), pp.29-50; W.W. Kaufmann, *British Policy and the Independence of Latin America 1808-1824*, (New Haven, Conn., 1951); Humphreys, Presidential Address, 'Anglo-American rivalries and Spanish American emancipation', *TRHS*, 5th Series, Vol.16 (1966), pp.140-52; Gerald Graham and Humphreys, eds., *The Navy and South America 1807-1823: Correspondence of the Commanders-in-Chief on the South American Station*, (London, 1962); Juan Diego Jaramillo, *Bolívar y Canning 1822-1827: Desde el congreso de Verona hasta el congreso de Panamá*, (Bogotá, 1983); Antonio Vittorino, *Relaciones colombo-británicas de 1823 a 1825, según los documentos del Foreign Office* (Barranquilla, 1990). In a study that was much more interested in the second half of the period nominally under study, George Carl asserted that British diplomacy was employed for economic ends, *First Among Equals: Great Britain and Venezuela 1810-1910*, (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980).

¹⁹ In *Gran Bretaña y la independencia de Venezuela y Colombia*, (Caracas, 1983), Waddell saw British diplomacy as contingent upon developments in Europe and domestic concerns. He expanded on this thesis in 'International Politics and Independence' in Leslie Bethell, ed., *CHLA*, Vol.3, (Cambridge, 1987), and further stressed the continuity of British policy in 'Anglo-Spanish relations and the 'Pacification of America' during the Constitutional Triennium 1820-1823', *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 46 (1989), pp.455-86.

²⁰ Lynch, 'British Policy and Spanish America 1783-1808', *JLAS*, 1 (1969), pp.1-30.

²¹ Rebecca Earle, *Spain and the Independence of Colombia*, (Exeter, 2000), p.34.

²² Humphreys, *British Consular Reports on the Trade and Politics of Latin America*, p.vi.

²³ On British trade see D.G. Goebbel, 'British trade to the Spanish colonies, 1796-1823', *American Historical Review*, 43 (1938), pp.288-320; J. Fred Rippy, 'Latin America and the British Investment 'boom' of the 1820s', *Journal of Modern History*, (1947), pp.122-9; Humphreys, 'British Merchants and South American Independence', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, (1969), pp.153-74; T.W. Keeble, *Commercial Relations between British Overseas Territories and South America, 1806-1914: An Introductory Essay*, (London, 1970); D.C.M. Platt, *Latin America and British trade 1806-1914*, (London, 1972); W.M. Mathew, 'Britain and the Bolivarian Republics 1820-1850: Interimperium and the Tariff', in

As a result of their increasing acquaintance with Spanish-language sources and the professionalisation of the discipline in Hispanic America itself, historians from outside the region became more concerned with tracing change over the longer-term, involving endogamous movements of social conflict and alliance-formation, economic change and innovation, and cultural transformation and continuities. Thus the volunteers became seen by present-day historians as part of the process in which British migratory capital and commercial supremacy led Latin American economic and political elites towards incorporation into the 'informal empire' and to 'dependency' on the whims and vagaries of international markets.²⁴ This process was part of the global reorientation of Britain's imperial priorities after 1783 known as the 'Swing to the East'²⁵ but in the Caribbean and Spanish America at least, the line between 'formal' and 'informal' empire, and between contraband and 'official' trade, had never been either fixed or observed. By the end of the eighteenth century, rigid mercantilism was 'a set of cracked and leaky dams protecting an increasingly flooded plain'.²⁶ The British West Indian colonies acted as a centre for the re-export of Spanish American products in the half-century before Independence, and merchants in Jamaica adapted to the circumstances of war, and maintained their pre-eminence and influence.²⁷

Reinhard Liehr, ed., *América Latina en la época de Simón Bolívar: la formación de las economías nacionales y los intereses económicos europeos 1800-1850*, (Berlin, 1989), pp.396-421; Frank Griffith Dawson, *The First Latin American Debt Crisis: The City of London and the 1822-25 loan bubble*, (New Haven, Conn., 1990).

²⁴ Bethell, 'Britain and Latin America in Historical Perspective', in Victor Bulmer-Thomas, ed., *Britain and Latin America: A Changing Relationship*, (Cambridge, 1989), p.20; McFarlane, *The British in the Americas 1480-1815*, (London, 1994), pp.305-13. Similar conclusions appear in John R. Fisher, 'Britons and South America', in Fisher and James Higgins, eds., *Understanding Latin America*, (Liverpool, 1989), pp.22-3 and Rory Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (New York, 1993), pp.33-46.

²⁵ P.J. Marshall, Presidential Address, 'Britain and the World in the Eighteenth Century: IV The Turning Outwards of Britain', *TRHS*, 6th Series, Vol.11 (2001), p.1-17.

²⁶ Jeremy Adelman, *Republic of Capital: Buenos Aires and the Legal Transformation of the Atlantic World*, (Stanford, Calif., 2002), p.28.

²⁷ Fisher, 'Commerce and Imperial Decline: Spanish Trade with Spanish America 1797-1820', *JLAS*, 30:3 (1998), pp.459-79; Adrian Pearce, 'British Trade with the Spanish Colonies, 1788-1795', *BLAR*, 20:2 (April 2001), pp.233-50.

Historians in Hispanic America demonstrated how these foreign traders acted as catalysts (or, in some cases, retardants) in the development of national economies.²⁸ These insightful and provocative investigations into the formation of 'collaborative elites' in Hispanic American political and commercial sectors depicted British involvement in Hispanic America in this period as primarily commercial in design and purpose.²⁹ Sometimes foreign merchants brought opportunities and advantage to Hispanic Americans but often, for example when foreigners monopolised trade or sought unfair protection from governments, they were held to have hindered development. Works on foreigners in the post-Independence societies, when not focusing on economic relations, tended to be much more appreciative of the encounter. Most work on foreigners written by Hispanic Americans has been biography, and generally non-academic in nature. These studies, whilst providing useful detail, do not situate their subjects (who often happen to be the author's own ancestors) within their historical context.³⁰

Most historians who have concerned themselves directly with the foreign soldiers in the Spanish American Wars of Independence, whether North Americans, South Americans or Europeans, have dedicated themselves to the narration of military and political events.

²⁸ For Colombia see Luis Eduardo Nieto Arteta, *Economía y cultura en la historia de Colombia*, (Bogotá, 1941), pp.77-107; Luis Ospina Vásquez, *Industria y protección en Colombia 1810-1930*, (Medellín, 1955), pp.102-41; Frank Safford, 'Commerce and Enterprise in Central Colombia 1821-1870', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Columbia University, 1965, pp.146-7. Whereas in Colombia the subject is dealt with in short sections of books on the national economy, in Venezuela it has merited separate studies. See for example Mercedes Álvarez, *Comercio y comerciantes y sus proyecciones en la independencia venezolana*, (Caracas, 1964); Elías Pino Iturrieta, *Antecedentes generales y esbozo del comercio inglés en Angostura, Latinoamérica: Anuario de estudios latinoamericanos*, (undated, 1985?); Catalina Banko, *El capital comercial en La Guaira y Caracas (1821-1848)*, (Caracas, 1990); Manuel Lucena Salmoral, *Los mercados exteriores de Caracas a comienzos de la independencia*, (Caracas, 1992); Nikita Harwich Valenilla, *Inversiones Extranjeras en Venezuela, siglo XIX*, 2 Vols. (Caracas, 1992, 1995).

²⁹ Alan Knight, 'Britain and Latin America' in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol.3, *the Nineteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1999), p.125.

³⁰ Camilo Destruge, *Biografía del Gral. Don Juan Illingworth*, (Guayaquil, 1913); Alberto Carlos Wright, *Destellos de Gloria: Biografía sintética de un Prócer de la Independencia, incorporando las 'Reminiscencias' del General de División Don Tomás Carlos Wright*, (Buenos Aires, 1949); Carlos Pi Sunyer, *El General Juan Robertson: Un prócer de la independencia*, (Caracas, 1971); Aquiles Echeverri, *Sangre irlandesa en Antioquía: Biografía del doctor Hugo Blair Brown, miembro de la Legión Británica, y médico coronel de los ejércitos patriotas*, (Bogotá, 1971); José M. de Mier, 'Tomás Manby. Soldado en Europa y en América', Paper Read to the Academia colombiana de historia, 18th September 1973; Tulio Arends, *Sir Gregor MacGregor: Un escocés tras la aventura de América* (Caracas, 1990). Two exceptions are Manuel Pérez Vila, *Vida de Daniel Florencio O'Leary*, (Caracas, 1957) and Paul Verna, *Robert Sutherland: un amigo de Bolívar en Haití. Contribución al estudio de los destierros del Libertador en Haití, y de sus expediciones de Los Cayos y de Jacmel*, (Caracas, 1966).

They have mapped names and battles, listed the dead and injured, glorified heroes and denigrated villains.³¹ The first phase of this work developed in the early twentieth century, and culminated with the well-documented, wide-ranging and influential scholarship of Alfred Hasbrouck and Vicente Lecuna.³² Hasbrouck's still-valuable volume concluded that Independence as it came to pass would have been impossible without the foreign legionaries, and Lecuna seconded this interpretation.³³ Hasbrouck's work was supplemented by the monumental opus of Eric Lambert, meticulously researched across the world over the course of some twenty years.³⁴ Yet these authors' perceived mastery of their subject meant that others did not question their conclusions regarding the foreign soldiers. Therefore, when scholars came to look at the Bolivarian armies, and specifically at the foreigners in their ranks, they had no alternative but to turn to Hasbrouck or Lambert.³⁵ Consequently, syntheses of the period dismissed the volunteers from any involvement in society beyond the military sphere. To summarise

³¹ According to Hans Vogel, 'the military history of Latin America ought to be re-written, if not to be written, period'. Vogel, 'War, Society and the State in South America, 1800-70', in Patricio Silva, ed., *The Soldier and the State in South America: Essays in Civil-Military Relations*, (London, 2001), p.39.

³² Alfred Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America*, (New York, 1928); Vicente Lecuna, *Crónica razonada de las guerras de Bolívar: Formada sobre documentos, sin utilizar consejos ni versiones impropias. Conclusiones de acuerdo con hechos probados, y la naturaleza de las cosas*, (New York, 1950).

³³ Other works in this phase were Angel María Galán, *Las legiones británica e irlandesa*, (Bogotá, 1919); Luis Cuervo Márquez, *Independencia de las colonias hispano-americanas: Participación de la Gran Bretaña y de los Estados Unidos: Legión Británica*, 2 Vols. (Bogotá, 1925);; Hector García Chuecos, *Estudios de historia colonial venezolana – los legionarios auxiliares británicos*, (Caracas, 1938). They were supplemented by Carlos García Arrieche, 'La legión británica en la emancipación de Venezuela y Colombia', in *Boletín histórico*, pp.346-95; Guillermo Plazas Olarte, 'La legión británica en la independencia de Colombia', *Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas*, 1:2 (June-July 1960), pp.287-93; Pérez Vila and John Street, *El aporte británico en la independencia venezolana*, (FJB, unpublished manuscript, c.1964); Pi Sunyer, 'Las expediciones de los legionarios británicos vistas desde Inglaterra', *Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales*, (Caracas, 1970).

³⁴ Eric T.D. Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses en la gesta bolivariana*, 3 Vols. (Caracas, Vol.1, 1983, Vols. 2-3, 1990). The renewed interest in Irish involvement in 'other people's wars' was nourished by the foundation of the *Irish Sword* journal in 1949. An early issue featured John de Courcey Ireland, 'Irish Soldiers and Seamen in Latin America', which neatly illustrated the lack of knowledge on the subject at that time, *Irish Sword*, 1:4 (1952-3), pp.296-302.

³⁵ Two readable but uncritical publications based on the pre-existing secondary literature are Jan Read, *The New Conquistadores*, (London, 1980) and Robert Harvey, *Liberators* (London, 2000). Citing Lambert's work was enough for James Dunkerley, *Americana: The Americas in the World around 1850 (or 'Seeing the Elephant' as the theme for an Imaginary Western)*, (London, 2000), pp.21-8. For further examples see Christon Archer, ed., *The Wars of Independence in Spanish America*, (Wilmington, Del., 1999), pp.29-30; David J. Robinson, 'Liberty, Fragile Fraternity and Inequality in early Republican Spanish America: Assessing the Impact of the French Revolution', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 16:1 (January 1990), pp.51-76; Richard J. Walter, 'Revolution, Independence and Liberty in Latin America', in Isser Woloch, ed., *Revolution and the Meanings of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century*, (Stanford, Calif., 1996), p.121.

the conventional understanding: only traders had any economic impact, and only diplomats had any political impact. Soldiers, essentially, only existed when fighting in battles.

Karen Racine's proposition that there was a 'community of purpose' between British merchants and Hispanic American elites opened up several avenues for investigation.³⁶ By examining the ways that foreigners related to local people – what they talked about, traded in, and considered important – she posed many questions as to the nature of any 'cultural' influence in wider society. In 1819, Gran Colombia was predominantly rural, and indeed undergoing a pronounced 'ruralisation' of power.³⁷ Local and regional studies of this phenomenon by Hispanic American and, increasingly, European and North American historians, stressed the impact of the Wars of Independence upon collective identities and the development of institutions and social structures.³⁸ These insights into specific events and episodes can assist a new attempt to understand foreign involvement in Independence, which previously almost entirely lacked a sense of the regional particularities of the areas studied. For example, regional context can help to distinguish between the different ways that capitaline urban elites, rural labourers and indigenous groups, responded to the arrival of the foreign adventurers.³⁹

Alongside this more localised research, other scholars widened their work beyond national boundaries into a more suggestive and comparative sphere. It is increasingly argued that an exclusive focus on the national limits the possibilities for understanding

³⁶ Karen Racine, 'A Community of Purpose: British cultural influence during the Wars of Independence' in Oliver Marshall, ed., *English Speaking Communities in Latin America* (London, 1998), pp.3-32. See also Racine, 'Britannia's Bolder Brother: British Cultural Influence in Haiti During the Reign of Henry Christophe', (1811-1820)', in *Journal of Caribbean History* (1999), pp.125-45.

³⁷ Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Hispanoamérica después de la independencia: Consecuencias sociales y económicas de la emancipación*, (Buenos Aires, 1972), pp.78-83. For insightful comments on the evolving rural culture in Colombia in the post-Independence years, see Malcolm Deas, 'La presencia de la política nacional en la vida provinciana, pueblerina y rural de Colombia en el primer siglo de la República' in Palacios, ed., *La unidad nacional en América Latina. Del regionalismo a la nacionalidad*, (México D.F., 1983), pp.149-73.

³⁸ These studies are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

³⁹ More comprehensive comparison of the Independence processes of the three states lies well beyond the scope of this study. For this, see Deas, 'Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador: The First Half Century After Independence', *CHLA*, Vol.3, pp.507-37; and David Bushnell, 'Vidas paralelas de dos pueblos hermanos: Venezuela y Nueva Granada después de la separación', *Boletín de la academia nacional de la historia*, 83:330 (April-June 2000), pp.289-300.

the history of early nineteenth-century Hispanic America.⁴⁰ Historians have revised their perspectives on Loyalist involvement in the Wars of Independence and have attempted to see events in Hispanic America within the context of contemporary developments in Brazil, North America and the Hispanic, Francophone and Anglophone Caribbean.⁴¹ For this reason, events in Hispanic America between 1810 and 1830 became seen as revolutions, as civil wars and as Wars of Independence, sometimes as different stages of one process, sometimes as different facets of a constantly evolving situation. The terminology used to describe these processes is correspondingly confusing. For clarity, in this thesis the term 'Wars of Independence' is used to describe the period of armed conflict in Gran Colombia between 1810 and 1825. The opposing sides in this conflict are referred to as 'Independents' and 'Loyalists'. These terms reflect both contemporary usage and avoid the potential confusion arising from the fact that both sides believed themselves to be 'patriots', basing themselves on different understandings of the term '*patria*'. Most studies of the Wars see 'Independents' as synonymous with 'patriots', 'rebels' and 'republicans', and 'Loyalists' with 'royalists' and 'Spaniards'.⁴² Whilst all these terms aid understanding of the complexities of the Wars of Independence at different stages and in different places, 'Independents' and 'Loyalists' remain useful and clear throughout the period. The 'Independents' sought more, although not necessarily total, independence from Spain, and the 'Loyalists' were loyal to Spanish rule and the pre-war state of affairs. That these are vague and not necessarily mutually-exclusive terms reflects the ambiguity and shared roots of much of the thinking behind these events, in which regions, towns, classes, ethnic groups and individuals often changed 'sides' according to perceived advantage and political circumstance.

⁴⁰ For example McFarlane and Posada-Carbó, eds., *Independence and Revolution in Spanish America: Perspectives and Problems*, (London, 1999); Posada-Carbó, ed., *In Search of a New Order: Essays on the Politics and Society of Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, (London, 1999); Earle, ed., *Rumours of Wars: Civil Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, (London, 2000); Dunkerley, *Americana*, pp.158-239; Luis Javier Ortiz and Victor Manuel Uribe Urán, eds., *Naciones, gentes y territorios. Ensayos de historia e historiografía comparada de América Latina y el Caribe*, (Medellín, 2000).

⁴¹ See, for example, Earle, *Spain and the Independence of Colombia*, and Tomás Straka, *La voz de los vencidos. Ideas del partido realista de Caracas 1810-1821*, (Caracas, 2000), both of which build on Juan Friede, *La otra verdad: La independencia americana vista por españoles*, (Bogotá, 1972). A similarly expansive treatment of events in North America is Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean*, (Philadelphia, Pa., 2000).

⁴² Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, preferred *patriotas* and *realistas*, although he also used the other terms noted above.

Some historians have argued that the changes to ideas of sovereignty, allegiance and citizenship that underlay these disputes, and which were hastened by the military conflict with Spain, heralded the arrival of modernity in Hispanic America.⁴³ Principal among the consequences of Independence was the sharp increase in contact with non-Iberian Europeans. The encounter with several thousand British and Irish volunteer soldiers is at the crux of many of the fundamental questions being asked about Hispanic America at this period – the birth of modernity, of national identity, and of new configurations of racial and social structures.⁴⁴ As Steiner Andreas Saether showed, ‘although socio-racial and ethnic boundaries still existed after Independence, they were essentially different from the ones that had been prevalent during the Independence period’.⁴⁵ Not only did the meaning of socio-racial terms change, but the way that ‘social practises and the way society was conceptualised’ underwent profound transformation in the prolonged transition to republican government.⁴⁶

Related changes occurred in Europe. New colonial encounters were fundamental in determining the ways that British and Irish people thought about themselves, both at home and abroad.⁴⁷ These encounters were determined by understandings of race and

⁴³ For example Veronique Hebrard, ‘Ciudadanía y participación política en Venezuela 1810-1830’, in McFarlane and Posada-Carbó, eds., *Independence and Revolution in Spanish America*, pp.122-53; Earle, ‘The Role of Print in the Spanish American Wars of Independence’ in Ivan Jaksic, ed., *The Political Power of the Word: Press and Oratory in Nineteenth Century Latin America*, (London, 2002), pp.9-33.

⁴⁴ In *Modernidad e independencias*, (Madrid, 1992), François-Xavier Guerra argued that Independence was a thoroughly ‘modern’ event. For an introduction to the debates as to when ‘modernity’ reached Latin America, see Nicola Miller, *In the Shadow of the State: Intellectuals and the Quest for National Identity in Twentieth Century Latin America*, (London, 1999), pp.1-4, and Jorge Larrain, *Identity and Modernity in Latin America*, (Cambridge, 2000), pp.4-7. For the ways that these changes had first become apparent in the late colonial period, see John Leddy Phelan, *The People and The King: The Comunero Revolution in Colombia 1781*, (Madison, Wisc., 1978) and Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy, *Rebellion and Revolt in Eighteenth Century Peru and Upper Peru*, (Cologne, 1985).

⁴⁵ Saether, ‘Identities and Independence’, p.31.

⁴⁶ McFarlane, ‘Identity, Enlightenment and Political Dissent in late Colonial Spanish America’, *TRHS*, 6th Series, Vol.8 (1998), pp.309-36; Larrain, *Identity and Modernity*, pp.70-91; Saether, ‘Identities and Independence’, p.31.

⁴⁷ See for example S.J Connolly, ‘Varieties of Britishness: Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the Hanoverian state’, in Alexander Grant and Keith Stringer, eds., *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, (London, 1995), pp.193-205; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People. Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1815*, (Cambridge, 1998); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867*, (London, 2002); and many papers presented to the Institute of Historical Research Seminar ‘Reconfiguring the British: Empire, Nation, World’, 2001-3.

difference, but also by class which, as Linda Colley has argued, continued to shape the imperial experiences of poor white British men and women, despite the advantages offered them by their skin colour.⁴⁸ Outside of the 'formal' empire, Britons were also active in commerce and in adventure, and processes of collective identity formation took place against the background of transnational movements, migrations and networks.⁴⁹ The encounters of Hispanic Americans with British and Irish adventurers had profound connotations for both groups. In order to understand the consequences of such encounters, the foreigners must be understood not as one-dimensional mercenaries or volunteers, but as travellers, as men, and as adventurers.

Methodology and Sources

The memoirs of the Venezuelan President José Antonio Páez reveal several of the difficulties of dealing with this topic. Writing his autobiography some fifty years after the end of the Wars of Independence, Páez often relied upon the memoirs of British volunteers to trigger his memory and fill out his account, even when describing events where he had been present (and indeed instrumental) and where they had been absent.⁵⁰ The volunteers were not only soldiers involved in the process of Independence, but also some of the most influential chroniclers of the process.

The most famous writings of the retired volunteers are the *Memorias de O'Leary*, the thirty-two volumes of documents and narrative compiled by Daniel O'Leary after Simón Bolívar's death, which were edited and published by O'Leary's son, the appropriately

⁴⁸ Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600-1850*, (London, 2002).

⁴⁹ For Cuban national identity formation from this perspective, see Jonathan Curry-Machado, 'Beneath and Beyond the Nation: Cuba at the interstices of nineteenth-century transnational networks', at the Institute of Latin American Studies workshop, London, 'Beyond the Nation: New Directions in the Study of Nineteenth-Century Latin America', 13th June 2003.

⁵⁰ Páez reproduced nine pages from [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years during the War of Extermination in the Republics of Venezuela and Colombia, by An Officer of the Colombian Navy: 'Moving Accidents by Flood and Field'*, (London, 1828) when dealing with the British Legion, and did not flinch from copying its lavish praise of Páez' own leadership, as in *Autobiografía*, pp.142-50. In Páez' own words (p.150) 'this section may well need a few amendments, especially in the name of modesty – but when so much has been written against me, why not publish something in my favour?'. Páez' comments on the Irish Legion (p.240) were almost exclusively taken from the text of *Fairburn's edition of the speech of Chas. Phillips, Esq., (the) celebrated orator, to General D'Evereux and the regiments under his command previous to their embarkation at Dublin to join the Spanish patriots in South America*, (London, 1819). These similarities are of more than just curiosity value – they demonstrate that Páez, when coming to write his autobiography, relied uncritically on the writings of foreign observers he had never met.

named Simón Bolívar O'Leary, in the 1880s.⁵¹ The *Memorias* continue to form one of the prime sources for historical writing on the Independence period.⁵² O'Leary collected (and allegedly filtered and censored) a vast range of correspondence, proclamations and writings, despite Bolívar specifying in his will that his correspondence should be destroyed.⁵³ Daniel O'Leary's own account of the Wars of Independence took up just two of the published volumes, and it was part personal narrative, part biography of Bolívar, and part political history. Having only become acquainted with Bolívar in 1819, O'Leary did not witness many of the events he chronicled, and therefore had to rely on the interpretations of others – particularly Carlos Soublette – for much of his description.⁵⁴ Because of the status he later gained for his loyalty to Bolívar in life and death and for preserving Bolívar's writings, O'Leary's own narrative was taken as definitive by many historians, especially on the occasions when he discussed the role of the foreign volunteers whom he was often taken to symbolise. Indeed, in the century since the publication of O'Leary's narrative, a new 'historiographic prison' has developed for this subject, in which only the themes and questions deemed important by Daniel O'Leary were considered by historians of the volunteers, often relying upon the documentation collected and selected by O'Leary himself. That is to say: a concern with the contribution of a small number of volunteer officers who remained loyal to Bolívar (primarily O'Leary himself, Arthur Sandes⁵⁵, James Rooke⁵⁶, Thomas Wright⁵⁷ and John

⁵¹ Daniel O'Leary (b.c.1800 Cork, d.1854 Bogotá) was appointed as an aide-de-camp by Bolívar within a year of arriving in Venezuela. He was repeatedly promoted, and in 1828 he married Soledad Soublette. Remaining loyal to Bolívar, in 1829 he was in charge of the suppression of José María Córdoba's rebellion in Antioquía. Before his death he returned to the region as a British diplomatic representative. The principal narrative of his life is Pérez Vila, *Vida de Daniel Florencio O'Leary*.

⁵² For an overview of the Bolivarian source material including that collected by O'Leary, see Bushnell, ed., *El Libertador. Writings of Simón Bolívar*, (Oxford, 2003), p.xviii-xxii. The original publication was Simón Bolívar O'Leary, ed., *Memorias del General Daniel Florencio O'Leary*, 32 Vols (Caracas, 1879-87).

⁵³ Several Colombian commentators have openly stated their belief that O'Leary doctored the evidence in order to 'divert the attention of history'. See, for example, Carmelo Fernández, *Memorias de Carmelo Fernández*, (Caracas, 1973), p.64, and Germán Arciniegas, in his prologue to *Cartas Santander - Bolívar 1813-1820*, Vol.1, (Bogotá, 1988), p.xxv.

⁵⁴ Carlos Soublette (b.1789 La Guaira, d.1870 Caracas) was a loyal Bolivarian general throughout the 1820s, and served as President of Venezuela between 1837-9 and 1843-7.

⁵⁵ Arthur Sandes (b.1793 Greenville, Co. Kerry, d.1832 Cuenca). Also referred to as 'Sanders' and 'Saunders', he retired from the British Army in 1815, and after the Wars of Independence he settled in Arequipa, Guayaquil, and finally Cuenca. He was appointed political governor, and distinguished himself in opening new schools. Lambert, 'Arthur Sandes of Kerry', *Irish Sword*, 12:47 (Winter 1975), pp.139-47.

⁵⁶ James Rooke (b.1770 Dublin, d.1819 Pantano de Vargas) was a Protestant and the illegitimate son of Lord Townsend's aide-de-camp. He was a friend of the Prince of Wales, later George IV, and served as

Illingworth⁵⁸) and those who were not worthy of the trust placed in them by Bolívar (principally Gustavus Hippisley⁵⁹ and Henry Wilson⁶⁰); an emphasis on the hardships and penuries endured by these volunteers during their long years of campaigning; and a focus on Bolívar as the central figure of the period.

One of the consequences of O'Leary's elevation to quasi-mythic status (his remains lie next to those of Simón Bolívar in the National Pantheon in Caracas) was the understanding of the foreign soldiers as 'volunteers' in the service of the republican cause of liberty. This was a new understanding of the term 'volunteer' which gained currency in Hispanic America only after the Wars of Independence were over. In the colonial period the word *voluntario* was used to describe militia officers with no previous military experience, and in Spain, Britain and Hispanic America, a 'volunteer' was held to be someone who wished to 'play at being a soldier without ever having to experience the rigours of life in the field ... [in local volunteer] units whose only duties were to mount guard on city walls, inject civic life with a certain degree of military pomp [and] add a

aide-de-camp to the Prince of Orange at Waterloo. His first wife Mary Rigg died at Chalk Farm (London) in 1814. In 1816 he travelled to the Caribbean, where his brother-in-law was Governor of St. Kitts. There he married Ana Tucker. He wrote to Bolívar offering to raise troops in Trinidad for the Independents, and eventually enlisted in the service as an officer, and commanded the British troops at Pantano de Vargas in 1819. He died on 28th July of wounds received in battle. Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol 1, p.32.

⁵⁷ Thomas Charles Wright (b.1799 Queensborough, Co. Louth, d.1862 Guayaquil) a Protestant who served in the Rifles battalion and settled in Guayaquil, continuing to serve in military and political capacities. The principal source for his life is Alberto Eduardo Wright, *Destellos de Gloria*.

⁵⁸ John Illingworth (b.1786 Stockport, Lancashire, d.1853 Daule, Ecuador) often known as 'Juan Illingrot'. First served in South America with the Chilean Navy, joining the Colombian Army after shipwreck. Bolívar confided him several high-ranking political posts, and he was regarded as the founder of the Ecuadorian navy. He married and settled near Guayaquil. The principal source for his life is Camilo Destruge, *Biografía del Gral. Juan Illingworth*.

⁵⁹ Gustavus Mathias Hippisley (dates unknown) was a Protestant from Somerset who married Ellen Fitzgerald, daughter of the Knight of Glin, while serving in the British Army in Ireland in December 1789. He returned to Britain from Venezuela in late 1818, and settled in Guernsey to write *Narrative of the Expedition*, (London, 1820). Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, p.47.

⁶⁰ Henry Crosdile Wilson (dates unknown) was a Protestant Irishman, the son of a cleric and a graduate of Trinity College Dublin (1814). Upon his return to Europe from Venezuela he entered the Spanish service, leading to many charges of his having been a spy from the beginning. Matilde Moliner de Arévalo, 'Ingleses en los ejércitos de Bolívar: El coronel Enrique Wilson', *Revista de Indias*, 51 (1953), pp.89-111, also Waddell, 'Los británicos y la política británica frente a Bolívar', in Alberto Filippi, ed., *Bolívar y Europa: en las crónicas, el pensamiento político y la historiografía*, (Caracas, 1986, 1992), Vol.2, p.61.

degree of lustre to the new authorities'.⁶¹ During the Wars of Independence this term was also employed to describe men, often poor and from rural areas, who were forcibly conscripted into the Independent armies.⁶² O'Leary's position as confidante to the Liberator and the growing 'cult of Bolívar' encouraged belief in ideological complicity between the Independents' cause and the foreign soldiers who had 'volunteered' themselves in its name.⁶³

Perhaps this development is not surprising. The alternative term, and one used by contemporaries eager to criticise, was 'mercenary'. In the early nineteenth century this word was understood in Machiavelli's sense – mercenaries were held to be 'useless and dangerous ... disunited, ambitious and without discipline, unfaithful, valiant before friends, cowardly before enemies'.⁶⁴ As Janice Thomson demonstrated, European powers were moving away from their long reliance on foreign mercenaries to fill their armies.⁶⁵ States demanded a 'monopoly of violence' to exclude non-state actors, based on a reluctant but gradual recognition of the political, as well as economic, motivations of mercenaries.⁶⁶ By the end of the eighteenth century a mercenary was increasingly seen as dishonourable because he had turned his back on his own country to seek riches abroad, in disregard of the ideology of the regime he served. Issues about service came to turn on the 'ambiguous status' of these auxiliaries, although states continued to use foreign mercenaries when practical circumstances made their numerical contribution essential,

⁶¹ Charles Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, (London, 2003), p.111. For Britain, see Cookson, 'The English Volunteer Movement of the French Wars 1793-1815: Some Contexts', *Historical Journal*, 32 (1989) pp.867-91. For Gran Colombia, see Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, p.62.

⁶² For *voluntarios* see Alvaro Tirado Mejía, *Aspectos sociales de las guerras civiles en Colombia*, (Bogotá, 1976), pp.37-39, and Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, p.217.

⁶³ 'Volunteer' has most notably been used by Lambert in *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, and also in, for example, Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas*, p.195; Lecuna, *Crónica razonada*, p.215.

⁶⁴ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, (first published 1513), Chapter 12. The current popular literature on present-day mercenary soldiers is large and growing and is summarised in Anthony Rogers, *Somebody Else's War: Mercenaries from the 1960s to the Present Day*, (London, 1998).

⁶⁵ Janice Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns: State-Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe*, (Princeton, N.J., 1994), p.120.

⁶⁶ For the Hanoverian and other foreign mercenaries in the British Army in this period, see R.L. Yapler, 'The Auxiliaries; Foreign and Miscellaneous Regiments in the British Army, 1802-1817', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 50 (Spring 1972) pp.10-28; Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket*, (London, 2001), pp.49-64. For Spain see Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power 1492-1763*, (London, 2002), pp.164-6.

for example in India.⁶⁷ Over two centuries of Irish service in the Spanish armed forces had sharply declined as part of this process, although some Irishmen exercised prominent roles in the late colonial period. Alejandro O'Reilly was the architect of military reform in Cuba, and Ambrosio O'Higgins was the penultimate Viceroy of Peru.⁶⁸ Most men of Irish descent who served in the Loyalist forces in the Wars of Independence in Gran Colombia were therefore born in Spain, the sons or grandsons of 'Wild Geese', and their allegiance to the Loyalist cause was not doubted.⁶⁹

In Hispanic America, both Loyalists and Independents accused the other side of being 'mercenary'. Loyalist interrogators pressed for details of foreign soldiers crying '*¡Viva el dinero!*' ['Long Live Money!'] instead of '*¡Viva la patria!*'⁷⁰ An Independent general asserted that 'mercenary soldiers are driven by interest, but the Republic's soldiers are animated by the sacred fire of Independence, and only aspire to Glory'.⁷¹ Francisco Burdett O'Connor wrote proudly in his memoirs that 'I had not lent my sword for money ... warriors should be rewarded with medals ... not with cash or rum'.⁷² The murky legal status of the mercenary was illustrated by the diplomatic and parliamentary rows

⁶⁷ Cookson, 'Service Without Politics?', p.383; Deas, 'The Man on Foot: Conscription and the Nation-State in Nineteenth-Century Latin America', in Dunkerley, ed., *Studies in the Formation of the Nation State in Latin America*, (London, 2002); G.J. Bryant, 'Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists: The case of the Sepoys in the early British Indian army 1750-1800', *War in History*, 7:1 (2000), pp.2-28..

⁶⁸ Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1815*, pp.31-2; Kearby, *Ireland and Latin America: Links and Lessons*, (Dublin, 1992), pp.93-5.

⁶⁹ There is no comprehensive work on this subject. This thesis concentrates on the Independent armed forces, and makes occasionally mention to the tension and uncertainty caused when British or Irish adventurers in the Independent cause encountered men of Irish descent fighting on the other side.

⁷⁰ 'Declaración de Pedro Alejandro Richon', undated, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A, 'Extracto de cinco declaraciones de igual número de franceses fugados de la escuadrilla rebelde'.

⁷¹ *Correo del Orinoco*, 21st November 1818, also 15th December 1821, in which 'prostituting' oneself for Spain was contrasted with the 'noble' cause of the Independents.

⁷² Francisco Burdett O'Connor, *Independencia Americana*, (La Paz, 1915), p.197. Frank O'Connor (b.1781 Cork, d.1871 Tarija) was the Catholic son of the Irish nationalist Roger O'Connor, nephew of Arthur O'Connor, brother of the Chartist Feargus O'Connor. He settled in Bolivia after the Wars of Independence. He married Francisca Ruylloba on 23rd May 1827. In London he had come under the protection of Francis Burdett, and henceforth became known as Francisco Burdett O'Connor. His *Independencia americana* was published by a grandson based on his remembrances and manuscript notes. Dunkerley, *The Third Man: Francisco Burdett O'Connor and the Emancipation of the Americas*, (London, 1999).

occasioned by the passing in 1819 of the Foreign Enlistment Act, which was aimed at preventing the recruitment in Britain and Ireland of soldiers to fight in South America.⁷³

Use of the terms ‘mercenary’ or ‘volunteer’ therefore has important connotations for understandings of foreign involvement in the Wars of Independence. The former indicates an indifference to the issues at stake, while the latter implies an ideological affiliation between soldiers and the cause.⁷⁴ In his recent biography of Bolívar, David Bushnell tried to avoid imposing such an oversimplified schema by referring to ‘the volunteer-mercenaries’.⁷⁵ Clément Thibaud cast the ‘foreign soldiers’ as an integral part of a flexible and constantly changing military situation throughout the Wars of Independence, including bandits, guerrillas and conscripts from all over the Gran Colombian region.⁷⁶ Neither of these terms is entirely satisfactory, so this thesis employs ‘volunteers’, ‘mercenaries’ and ‘adventurers’ to describe the foreign soldiers in the Independents’ service, reflecting that they arrived in South America as a result of a mixture of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 1, each adventurer was to some degree inspired by both ‘volunteering’ and ‘mercenary’ motives.

The decision to bring together and redefine the terminological indecision that characterises previous studies of this subject is mirrored by a methodology that pushes at the boundaries of various national, military and social histories. The advantage of this is that diverse historiographies can be engaged to contextualise the historical actors under discussion. The disadvantage (discussed below) is that source material is far-flung, fragmentary and often frustratingly inconclusive. Nevertheless, by addressing the group

⁷³ Waddell, ‘British Neutrality and Spanish American Independence: The Problem of Foreign Enlistment’, *JLAS*, 19 (1987), pp.1-18.

⁷⁴ ‘Mercenary’ was used in the most recent synthesis of the period, Safford and Marco Palacios, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*, (Oxford, 2002), p.98, and follows a diverse selection of authors: Carrera Damas, ‘Simon Bolívar, el culto heroica y la nación’, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 63:1 (1983), p.130; Javier Ocampo López, ‘El proceso político, militar y social de la Independencia’, in Darío Jaramillo Agudelo, ed., *Nueva Historia de Colombia*, Vol.2 (Bogotá, 1989), p.39; Paul Johnson, *Birth of the Modern: World Society 1815-1830*, (New York, 1991), p.642; Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London, 1992), p.147; Roberto Ibáñez Sánchez, ‘La independencia’, in Alvaro Valencia Tovar, ed., *Historia de las fuerzas militares de Colombia*, Vol.5 (Bogotá, 1993), p.28.

⁷⁵ Bushnell, *Simon Bolívar: Hombre de Caracas, proyecto de América: Una biografía*, (Buenos Aires, 2002), p.83. Rafael Gomez Hoyos avoided both terms altogether, referring in passing to the ‘military assistance of foreigners’, *La independencia de Colombia*, (Madrid, 1992), p.225.

⁷⁶ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, for example pp.282-7.

biography, or prosopography, of the adventurers, this thesis employs a ‘strategy that recaptures uncertainties and thereby unlocks contemporary mentalities ... [in order to] re-create realities that are not forced into episodes in the preordained national narrative[s]’,⁷⁷ from which the volunteers have been hitherto excluded.⁷⁸

Just as the story of the volunteer-mercenaries included many countries on both sides of the Atlantic, so do the surviving documentary resources. While Hasbrouck and Lambert explored the available archives in great detail, and their works inevitably provide the basis for any subsequent study of the expeditions, their research was by no means all-encompassing. Neither used Spanish or Ecuadorian archives, nor those of provincial Venezuela or Colombia. Their use of volunteers’ narratives was limited by their focus on military affairs. In addition, Hasbrouck did not have access to the *Life of Alexander Alexander*, a wide-ranging account of adventure and despair that took its narrator from the East to the West Indies before his return home to Scotland. Lambert only used the sections directly related to campaigning in Venezuela.⁷⁹ Alexander’s lengthy reflections on national and racial stereotypes, and his scathing criticisms of the class divisions in armed forces across the globe, firmly situate his involvement in the Wars of Independence within the transatlantic networks and varied experiences of his life. Both Lambert and Hasbrouck ignored this context. Similarly, neither Hasbrouck nor Lambert consulted Benjamin M’Mahon’s memoir *Jamaica Plantership*, which provides a unique private soldier’s perspective on the Irish Legion, and explains why he left Colombia to

⁷⁷ Roy Foster, *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making It Up in Ireland*, (London, 2001), p.21.

⁷⁸ Connolly, ed., *Oxford Companion to Irish History*, (Oxford, 1998) does include an entry for ‘Irish Legion’. However, it is concerned with a much smaller force raised in France in 1803 to assist in Napoleon’s military campaigns.

⁷⁹ John Howell, ed., *The Life of Alexander Alexander, written by himself and edited by John Howell*, 2 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1830). Alexander’s discharge papers (1814) from the British Army can be found in PRO WO 97/1210/117. John Howell also worked on *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner*, (republished London, 2000, edited by Tim Flanney). According to Flanney, Howell was the inventor of a flying machine, a submarine, and bookbinding equipment. ‘Howell’s method seems to have consisted of befriending old soldiers and sailors, then spending months writing down or editing their life stories’ (p.4). *The Life of Alexander Alexander* is found today in only a few libraries, and its Spanish translation, *La Vida de Alexander Alexander, escrita por el mismo*, ed. Jaime Tello (Caracas, 1975), contains only the segments perceived as being directly relevant to the process of Independence in Venezuela. Another narrative used as a source in this thesis, apparently unknown to Hasbrouck, was Colonel G.A. Lowe’s unpublished *A brief sketch of operations, with other observations, of the British Legion from its first landing on the coast of Firma to its arrival at Maturin, the headquarters of the Army of the East. By a field officer in the command of J. T. English*, English Papers, Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, HA157/6/28.

seek employment in Jamaica.⁸⁰ Nor did they use any of the fictional reconstructions of events, such as E.L. Joseph's *Warner Arundell*, which provides a satirical and insightful perspective into neglected aspects of the volunteer expeditions.⁸¹ The absence of complementary voices such as these from the established canon of memoirs had profound implications for writing about the Independence period. In the light of these new sources, older materials can be approached afresh, enabling insights that can strip away the veneer of objectivity accumulated through decades of unquestioning citation by subsequent historians. Given that the recruitment of volunteer expeditions was illegal in Britain and Ireland, there is no neatly-filed documentation in the Public Record Office in London. Instead, fragmentary materials are distributed across the globe.

The original methodology for the thesis was to track down as much primary source material as possible relating to the volunteers, in order to supplement that already unearthed by Hasbrouck and Lambert. Maps and newspapers were consulted in London, and personal correspondence and draft speeches in Edinburgh and Ipswich. In Dublin there are stray references to the volunteers in the various collections of the correspondence of Daniel O'Connell, and in Belfast there is the diary of Robert James Young, who spent just five days in Venezuela but wrote sixty pages reflecting on his journey there and back. In Bogotá, in addition to the papers of the Secretary of War and Marine already consulted by Hasbrouck and Lambert, there are criminal court archives containing cases involving foreigners. The papers of the Commission for the Distribution of National Goods, seemingly untouched by any previous historian of the period, include dozens of petitions and testimonies of hungry and agitated adventurers in post-war Bogotá and Caracas. In the Service Records papers there are many similar petitions and richly detailed autobiographies which have been passed over by previous scholars seeking only names, dates and places. In Popayán there is an archive full of military diaries and personal correspondence from the wars, containing references to foreign

⁸⁰ Benjamin M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership: A Description of Jamaica Planters viz Attorneys, Overseers and Book-Keepers, with several interesting anecdotes, compiled by the author during a residence of eighteen years on twenty-four properties, in the above capacity, situated in different parts of the island*, (London, 1839). No other evidence has been found to corroborate M'Mahon's rank, and it is possible that he could have been a non-commissioned or lower-ranking officer.

⁸¹ E.L. Joseph, *Warner Arundell: the adventure of a Creole*, (London, 1838).

soldiers whose very existence escaped both Hasbrouck and Lambert. In Quito there are collections of Loyalist correspondence and criminal court papers that few scholars of Gran Colombia have used. I must admit that I was surprised to find gems lurking even here. Returning to the north, in Caracas the papers of the Government of Guayana, focusing on the period 1818-1820 when most volunteers were in Angostura, provide a wealth of detail for writing the social history of the encounter between volunteers and Venezuelans, including petitions, court cases, attendance records and wish-lists for unavailable medical supplies. Even in the one hundred volumes of *Ilustres Próceres* documentation there is ample evidence that neither Lambert nor Hasbrouck, who both relied heavily on these materials, could find room for in their published accounts, relating to veteran soldiers' (and often their widows') petitions to the post-colonial state. To the south-east, in Ciudad Bolívar a small archive occupies the ground floor of the very building where Bolívar pronounced his famous Angostura Address.⁸² Lacking the resources of the national and major regional archives, even here there are neglected censuses of foreigners who stayed in Angostura after the wars, and inventories of the possessions of those who did not survive. On the other side of the Atlantic in Sevilla, the results of Loyalist interrogations of captured volunteers are preserved, along with the correspondence of the Loyalist officers who sought to counter the Independents' forces.

During three years of research, a FileMaker Pro database was constructed from primary and secondary materials. This eventually enabled large-scale cross-referencing of data, and the creation of over three thousand mini-biographies. (In some cases the biographies are so 'mini' as to include nothing more than a name and rank, plus a geographical location on a given date). From this basis, a picture of the networks, relationships, patterns and even solidarities of soldiers and officers could be sketched.⁸³

⁸² James Hamilton's English translation of this speech was published by the Comandancia Gral. Del Ejército de Venezuela as *Speech of His Excellency General Bolívar at the Installation of the Congress of Venezuela, in Angostura, on the 15th day of February, 1819*, (Caracas, 1974). A new English translation appears in Bolívar's Angostura Address appears in Bushnell, ed., *El Libertador. Writings of Simón Bolívar*.

⁸³ The stories of the one hundred and fifty women who travelled with the expeditions are expanded upon in Matthew Brown, 'Adventurers, Foreign Women and Masculinity in the Colombian Wars of Independence', *Feminist Review*, (forthcoming 2005).

In *Repúblicas en armas*, Clément Thibaud used the collections of service records, pension requests and military rolls in order to write a social history of the Bolivarian armies. As he recognised, the documents are much more likely to be related to veterans who had survived the wars rather than those who died, and to officers rather than soldiers. His expansive and thoughtful treatment of these sources has assisted my more detailed investigation of just one group of officers and soldiers in the armed forces. As Thibaud commented, a prosopography built on incomplete materials has its defects, 'but fragmentary and incomplete sources are preferable to no data at all'.⁸⁴ In the words of William Taylor, the aim must be to steer 'a middle course between individual analysis and depersonalised social analysis' and, in order to do so, much use has to be made of what in other contexts might be called 'circumstantial evidence'.⁸⁵ This means that alongside the official correspondence of high-ranking military officers, there are anecdotes and rumours transmitted by prisoners, privateers and pirates as they criss-crossed the Caribbean. Next to contemporary jokes trading on crude stereotypes there are considered descriptions of national character from literate chroniclers. Incomplete life histories, re-constructed from dozens of sources, complement autobiographical musings deposited in the British Library almost two centuries ago.

This new focus on the prosopography of the foreign volunteers as a group questions straight-forward assumptions about the 'power' or 'hegemony' of external actors in nineteenth-century Latin American history. It seeks to learn more about the myriad informal, relatively undocumented encounters that provided the background to the high-level political and diplomatic relationships long the staple of historical scholarship. In short, its principal focus is to examine the soldiers serving in the Colombian army as human individuals, with their attendant diversity of motivations, loyalties and abilities,

⁸⁴ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, p.20. For the technique of prosopography, which unites 'various types of collective biography in which group characteristics rather than individuals are the main concern', see Stuart B. Schwartz, 'State and Society in Colonial Spanish America: An Opportunity for Prosopography', in Richard Graham, ed., *New Approaches to Latin American History*, (Austin, Texas, 1974), pp.3-35.

⁸⁵ William Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages*, (Stanford, Calif., 1979), p.4. For comments on similar difficulties with sources, see Camilla Townsend, *Tales of Two Cities: Race and Economic Culture in Early Republican North and South America*, (Austin, Texas, 2000), pp.11-5; and Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence and Ideology in Mexico 1810 to 1821*, (Stanford, Calif., 2001), p.28.

rather than as one-dimensional military machines. As such, this is a theoretically-informed study concerned with uncovering relationships of power and questioning assumptions of inherent or 'natural' identities. At the forefront of the analysis are the categories of race, gender, class and ideology.⁸⁶ When analysing encounters between many different groups, however, use of these terms can become problematic.

For example, it is particularly difficult to discuss 'class' with regard to early nineteenth-century Hispanic America. Rather than economic classes there were social hierarchies structured around caste, or the equally problematic 'race', in which whites were at the top and indigenous and black people at the bottom, often reflecting their economic roles as peons or slaves. Hispanic America was a largely rural and agricultural society, in which caste was more important than class, and notions of race continued to determine status much more than economic interest (even though the two were often closely inter-linked). In the military, status was as much about rank as class, although very few 'working-class' volunteers became high-ranking officers, and even fewer aristocrats languished as private soldiers.⁸⁷ The Hispanic American societies that mobilised into the Independents' armies were comprised of many socio-economic gradations which 'sometimes coalesced temporarily to form politically conscious classes during the final years of the colonial period, but mainly these were, at best, only potential or incipient classes'.⁸⁸

The encounter of white, lower-class foreign soldiers with this colonial caste system was therefore ambiguous. Men who were artisans and craftsmen at home travelled out alongside labourers in the volunteer expeditions. While their whiteness should be presumed to have given them advantages and status, their rank as soldiers meant that they served in the same position of subordination as freed slaves and indigenous peoples. This

⁸⁶ The theorising behind this analysis is most effectively summarised in Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, pp.1-20; and Gilbert Joseph, 'Close Encounters: Toward a New Cultural History of US-Latin American Relations', in Joseph, Catherine LeGrand and Ricardo Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of US - Latin American Relations*, (London, 1998), pp.4-31; and Miller, *In the Shadow of the State*, pp.11-42.

⁸⁷ This did happen on occasions, as shown by the career of Alexander Alexander who served in a variety of ranks under different identities, as discussed throughout the *The Life of Alexander Alexander*.

⁸⁸ Jay Kinsbruner, *Independence in Spanish America: Civil Wars, Revolutions and Underdevelopment*, (Albuquerque, N.M., 1994), p.8.

contributed to undermine any hopes they may have had of fortune and opportunity, and blurred the class boundaries of this concentrated cross-section of British and Irish societies. Furthermore, in the Colombian army, 'race' or poverty were increasingly unlikely to impede the ascent of a capable officer, as was demonstrated by the rise of pardo officers like Manuel Piar and José Padilla to positions where they could challenge the authority of Simón Bolívar.⁸⁹ In this thesis therefore, military rank is often as good a guide to status as 'class' or 'race', although both terms are employed when deemed useful for analysis of the ways that foreign soldiers and their Colombian counterparts continually contested these understandings of hierarchy and power. Nevertheless, given the primacy of 'race' and caste in determining status and opportunity in Gran Colombia in this period, on the occasions when class divisions are not explicitly mentioned, lower-class foreign soldiers are understood to be sharing in the ideologies and expectations articulated by the leaders of the volunteer expeditions. The organising principle for these discussions is honour, a concept that, for colonial Hispanic Americans and adventuring Britons and Irishmen of all classes, infiltrated every aspect of their understanding of life and death.

Honour was the grounding for the formulation of 'identities' in both Europe and Spanish America at the end of the eighteenth century. Steve Stern posited that, for late colonial Mexico, the gendering of identities was as much about honour as it was about anything else.⁹⁰ Historians of masculinities in Latin America have only recently begun to follow this lead, although the work of Peter Beattie shows how the histories of honour,

⁸⁹ Aline Helg, 'Simón Bolívar and the Spectre of *Pardocracia*: José Padilla in Post-Independence Cartagena', *JLAS*, 35:3 (August 2003) pp.447-71. Manuel Piar (b.1774 Willemstad, Curacao, d.1817 Angostura) was an influential army general who was executed on the orders of Bolívar, ostensibly for fomenting racial rebellion. José Prudencio Padilla (b.1788 Riohacha, d.1828 Bogotá) was one of Colombia's principal naval leaders, and was executed in the wake of an assassination attempt on Bolívar, accused of being the plot's intellectual author. Both Piar and Padilla were pardos.

⁹⁰ Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: women, men and power in late colonial Mexico*, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), particularly pp.157-77. Works that have followed this lead and cast new light on the period of Independence include Guiomar Dueñas Vargas, 'Gender, Race and Class: Illegitimacy and Family Life in Santafé, Nuevo Reino de Granada, 1770-1810', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1995; Arlene J. Díaz, '*Ciudadanas and padres de familia*: Liberal change, Gender, Law, and the Lower Classes in Caracas, Venezuela, 1786-1888', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Minnesota, 1997; Earle, 'Rape and the Anxious Republic: Revolutionary Colombia, 1810-1830' in Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, eds., *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), pp.134-42.

masculinity and armed forces can be fruitfully combined.⁹¹ In an abundant historiography, honour has been used to demonstrate changes and continuities throughout the periods of the French and American Revolutions,⁹² and these findings have informed subsequent works on the honour of elites in New Granada and Peru in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850.⁹³ In these studies, scholars such as Victor Uribe Urán and Sarah Chambers tried to link the changes opened up by political Independence – notably the broadening of conceptions of citizenship and the desire for better education in republican virtue – to Lynch’s argument that Spanish American Independence ‘responded first to interests, and interests invoked ideas’.⁹⁴

However, in the process of re-introducing honour to the study of the Wars of Independence, the boundary between interests and ideas becomes rather blurred. What makes honour such an attractive and useful ‘way-in’ to the study of Latin American history in this period is precisely what makes it so problematic – its ubiquity. As Ann Twinam demonstrated, ‘honour’ was constantly subject to negotiation, and contemporaries ‘used the single word to encompass a multitude of shifting meanings that were intrinsically linked’.⁹⁵ Whilst founded on notions of lineage, blood, and race,

⁹¹ Peter M. Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race and Nation in Brazil, 1864-1945*, (Durham, N.C., 2001). See also Beattie, ‘Measures of Manhood: Honor, Enlisted Army Service and Slavery’s Decline in Brazil, 1850-90’ in Matthew C. Guttman, ed., *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*, (Durham, N.C., 2003), pp.233-55. Guttman’s volume reveals the vast potential for the history of masculinities in Latin America, and in doing so it builds upon the more limited aims of volumes such as Teresa Valdés and José Olavarria, eds., *Masculinidades y equidad de género en América Latina*, (Santiago de Chile, 1998) and Pete Sigal, ed., *Infamous Desire: Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America*, (Chicago, 2003).

⁹² For example William R. Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France, 1814-1848*, (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), which synthesizes much of the comparative literature.

⁹³ Van Young considers some of these themes in ‘Was There an Age of Revolution in Spanish America?’, in Uribe Urán, ed., *State and Society in Spanish America during the Age of Revolution*, (Wilmington, Del., 2001), pp.224-39. See especially Mark D. Szuchman and Jonathan C. Brown, eds., *Revolution and Restoration: The Rearrangement of Power in Argentina, 1776-1860*, (Lincoln, Neb., 1994); Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854*, (University Park, Pa., 1999); Uribe Urán, *Honorable Lives: Lawyers, Family and Politics in Colombia, 1780-1850*, (Pittsburgh, Pa., 2000). See also the theses of Dueñas Vargas, Díaz and Saether cited above, and for Venezuela, Luis Felipe Pellicer, *La vivencia del honor en la provincia de Venezuela 1774-1809*, (Caracas, 1996).

⁹⁴ Lynch, *Latin American Revolutions 1808-1826*, (London, 1994), p.27.

⁹⁵ Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honour, Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America*, (Stanford, Calif., 1999), pp.31-2.

honour was also deeply gendered, publicly asserted, and privately defended.

Understandings of honour varied widely according to social status.

Central to this study of the way that honour conditioned and determined the encounters between foreigners and locals is the argument that the honour of mercenaries was fractured due to their status as soldiers in the service of a state other than their own. Like many of the Hispanic Americans they encountered, the volunteers were far from home and acutely aware of their status (or lack of it) in new lands. The adventurers consciously sought opportunities for honour that were unavailable at home, an argument that could also be made for the Venezuelan soldiers who remained in New Granada or Ecuador once the wars were over. Awareness that one was fighting for an adopted *patria* made honour especially important. Experience of honour was not uniform. The social status of all groups was rooted in honour, and as such depended on the ways that men and women were regarded by their peers, and by those who were held to be their betters or inferiors. Thus the status of a British officer in Venezuela depended just as much upon the extent to which his superiority was recognised by women, black men and Indians, as to the respect shown to him by other officers. This was very different to the way that status and honour were thought of back home, where class, family and the local community were relative constants against which to set individual identities.⁹⁶

Honour was therefore a flexible and contested category during the Wars of Independence, and this was especially so for the foreign mercenaries. Magnus Mörner considered that British and Irish members of Bolívar's armies were 'simply in search of adventure'.⁹⁷ By this he meant that an uncertain economic situation at home combined with boredom and the optimistic hope that things might be better on the other side of the Atlantic. The constituent of British and Irish adventure to Hispanic America in this period, therefore, was the quest abroad for an upturn in fortune through a concern with honour. This thesis

⁹⁶ For the importance of class as opposed to honour in the British Army in the same period, see Carolyn Kay Steedman, *The Radical Soldier's Tale*, (London, 1988), pp.27-48. For the decline in the importance given to honour in Britain and Ireland, see Robert Shoemaker, 'Male Honour and the decline of public violence in eighteenth-century London', *Social History*, 26:2 (May 2001) pp.190-208, and James Kelly, 'That Damn'd Thing Called Honour', *Duelling in Ireland 1570-1860*, (Cork, 1995), pp.223-42.

⁹⁷ Magnus Mörner, *Adventurers and Proletarians: The Story of Migrants in Latin America*, (Paris, 1985), pp.21-2.

turns on the concept that the volunteers were not all ideologically-charged partisans, nor apathetic demobilised soldiers, as they were variously described in the existing historiography. Instead, each adventurer is seen as having his own reasons for travelling. This could be an escape from monotonous labour or economic deprivation; a desire to overcome enough difficulties to prove manliness; or the wish to explore the unknown. Adventure was a word that contemporaries used and understood: dozens of travel memoirs (including those by volunteers) used the word to signal their intentions to the potential readership.⁹⁸

The study of adventurers builds upon the rich vein of scholarly research inspired by Mary Louise Pratt's work on the transculturation of identities through travel to 'contact zones' across the continent.⁹⁹ This work connects with the large volume of literary criticism dealing with the structures and conventions of travel writing¹⁰⁰ which emphasises how travel can produce 'an intensified awareness of personal and collective identity'.¹⁰¹ Research into the experiences and self-imaginings of present-day British adventurers to Latin America, reveals some of the complicated consequences that this type of travel still has, both on the travelling individual and the host society.¹⁰² But as yet, studies of travellers to and from Latin America in the nineteenth century have been limited to the study of *letrados*, elite figures crafting literary texts from their experiences of travel.

⁹⁸ For the memoirs featuring 'adventure' in their title, see works in the bibliography by Chesterton, E.L. Joseph and Maceroni. For a wider discussion, see Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities*, (London, 1994), particularly Chapter 3, 'The Adventure Quest and its Cultural Imaginaries', pp.53-74. Loyalists in Hispanic America also used the term to signal foreign members of the Independent forces, for example 'Declaración de Don Pedro Pérez Prieto', 20th December 1819, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745.

⁹⁹ 'Contact zones ... social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grappled with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today', Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p.4. A selection of this work is collected in Joseph, LeGrand and Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire*.

¹⁰⁰ Particularly useful are James Duncan and Derek Gregory, eds., *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, (London, 1999); Raminder Kaur and John Huytynk, eds., *Travel Worlds: Journeys in Contemporary Cultural Politics*, (London, 1999); Amanda Gilroy, *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel 1775-1844*, (London, 2000).

¹⁰¹ Ingrid E. Fey and Racine, 'National Identity in an International Context', in Fey and Racine, eds., *Strange Pilgrimages: Exile, Travel and National Identity in Latin America 1800-1990s*, (Wilmington, Dela., 2000), pp.xiv-xvii, p.xv. See also Frédéric Martinez, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita. La referencia europea en la construcción nacional de Colombia, 1845-1900*, (Bogotá, 2001).

¹⁰² Kate Simpson, 'Broad Horizons? Geographies and Pedagogies of the Gap Year', University of Newcastle, expected 2004. My thanks to Kate for allowing me to read preliminary drafts of her fascinating research into the gap-year industry.

Essentially, the only travellers studied are those who wrote down their own narratives, and the study of travel literature for its own sake has all but eclipsed the study of travellers and adventurers.¹⁰³

The work of literary critics inspired by Northrop Frye suggests that analysis of what might be labelled the 'culture of adventure' can be useful for the study of other travellers. As Graham Dawson argued, 'the essence of adventure resides in risk that gives rise to an experience of novelty and excitement'. Adventure involves a trial of chance, 'a soliciting of good fortune with uncertain outcome ... circumstances that can be called "adventures" in this more active sense provide a challenge to assert human will and test capabilities against the vicissitudes of a world that remains deeply uncertain'.¹⁰⁴ According to Frye's interpretation of an adventure, it is a quest, involving a 'perilous journey' followed by a 'crucial struggle, usually some kind of battle' that brings to a head the conflict between the protagonist and his enemy and makes possible the recognition of the protagonist as a hero.¹⁰⁵ In his study of adventure in early twentieth-century British culture, Dawson noted the 'specific relation' between the adventure quest and the imperial enterprise, 'giving the cultural significance of 'adventure' in Britain explicitly militarist, capitalist, and colonialist connotations that run right through to the present'.¹⁰⁶

Dawson often relied on the work of the critic Martin Green, who in two persuasive volumes analysed the 'culture of adventure' through a literary canon from Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* to Sir Walter Scott.¹⁰⁷ Green and those inspired by him were adamant that adventure overseas grew out of conditions at home, and that this initial trigger conditioned the complex relationships between British adventurers and their imperial

¹⁰³ See for example Desmond Gregory, *The Brute New World: The Rediscovery of Latin America in the early Nineteenth Century*, (London, 1992).

¹⁰⁴ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p.53.

¹⁰⁵ Northrop Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism*, (Princeton, N.J., 1957), pp.186-97, quoted in Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p.54. Michael Nerlich set out his own interpretation of adventure, which expanded Frye's theories from literature to the structure of human life itself in *The Ideology of Adventure*, (English translation published Chicago, 1987), pp.xxi-xxii.

¹⁰⁶ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p.58.

¹⁰⁷ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p.167. Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, (London, 1980), Green, *The Adventurous Male, Chapters in the History of the White Male Mind*, (Pennsylvania, 1993). Green's only attempt to broaden his analysis away from literary depictions of the British empire was his discussion of Hernán Cortés and his 'adventurous' conquest of Mexico, in *Dreams of Adventure*, pp.28-33.

sites.¹⁰⁸ But these critics omit to mention that their adventure text of choice, *Robinson Crusoe*, was explicitly set ‘in the bay of the Oroonooko [sic], in the mouth or the gulph of which river, as I found afterwards, our island lay’.¹⁰⁹ Despite South America’s centrality to the notion of British and Irish adventure, the region has been bypassed by critics in favour of more conventional imperial sites.

The popularity of fictional travels set in South America inspired many of the first adventurers to publish accounts of their real-life adventures when they returned home.¹¹⁰ Their accounts were not necessarily more ‘truthful’ than the fictions that preceded them. They were men who wished to safeguard their own honourable reputations, either by exaggerating the dangers to which they had been exposed, or the deceptions to which they had been subjected. Several of the earliest authors never actually set foot on the South American continent and their narratives were largely based on hearsay, rumour, or the repetition of conventional stereotypes about Hispanic Americans or Spaniards.¹¹¹ Some of the later narratives, entering an increasingly saturated market for travel literature, highlighted the privations of the volunteers when marketing their books.¹¹² Nevertheless, Hispanic Americans recognised that adventure was more than just a literary trope, and that it fuelled the real-life officers who fought in their armies.¹¹³

Adventure was a reason to travel, but it was also hugely influential in conditioning how the subsequent travels were reported and remembered. In 1820 the seasoned traveller Francis Hall recognised that adventure could only be described and achieved against a back-drop of hardship and danger – the former depending upon the latter. Hall addressed himself to those men who had already returned to Ireland, and appealed for them not to sink into disillusion and bitterness. He saw them as ‘disappointed adventurers’ who

¹⁰⁸ Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: a Geography of Adventure*, (London, 1997).

¹⁰⁹ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, (London, 1985, first published 1719), p.217.

¹¹⁰ These memoirs are all listed in the bibliography under ‘Primary Sources’.

¹¹¹ Two of the volunteer narratives were set entirely on the Caribbean islands, and never reached the Spanish American mainland: James Hackett, *Narrative of the Expedition which sailed from England in 1817 to join the South American patriots*, (London, 1818); and [Anon], *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the ship ‘Two Friends’*, (London, 1819).

¹¹² Such a perspective was evidenced by the subtitle to [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years: ‘Moving Accidents by Flood and Field’*.

¹¹³ Páez, *Autobiografía*, pp.246-7.

travelled to South America in search of a 'glorious field of enterprise', and returned 'big with the tale of their own sufferings and eager to exaggerate the general calamity' and to declare their colleagues to have been 'annihilated, buried, scattered, famished, plague-smitten [and] murdered'.¹¹⁴ This was the key difference that distinguished them from the literary 'culture of adventure' analysed by Frye, Dawson, and Green. In all but the rarest scenario, the protagonist failed to assure his recognition as the hero of the story. Instead of glory and salvation, the adventures of most of the volunteers ended in either anonymity or death, and more often than not, in both. Chapters 1 and 2 explore the context and realities of these adventures.

¹¹⁴ Francis Hall, *An appeal to the Irish nation on the character and conduct of General D'Evereux*, (Dublin, 1820), p.4.

Chapter 1: The Context for Adventure

Our countrymen ... performed feats of valour worthy to rank with those of Greek or Roman history ... Yet their labours were not appreciated, and they were regarded as a set of needy adventurers, although several of them had sacrificed large fortunes, and all of them shed their blood freely, for the cause in which they had embarked.

MICHAEL MULHALL (1878)¹

The 'Age of Revolution' encompassed both sides of the Atlantic, and repercussions from every event swept onwards to those areas as yet untouched.² While the Bourbon reforms were being implemented in Spain's American colonies in the second half of the eighteenth century, catalysing profound political, social, economic and cultural changes, elsewhere wars and revolutions were triggering series of events that would eventually rebound upon Hispanic America.³ The American Revolution (1774) acted as a precedent for the French Revolution (1789), which precipitated the Haitian Revolution (1790) and the subsequent attempts of British, French and Spanish imperial armies to subjugate the rebellious blacks of Haiti. The eventual declaration of Haitian Independence in 1804 and the huge losses of men and resources occasioned by the ill-fated British involvement in the conflict persuaded the British government not to send another large armed force to the Caribbean a decade later, when Spain's American colonies began to fight for their Independence.⁴ It was these memories of costly and unsuccessful campaigning in the Caribbean that argued against direct British involvement in the Wars of Independence, just as much as the diplomatic concern to maintain Spain as an ally in Europe.⁵

¹ Michael Mulhall, *The English in South America*, (New York, 1977, 1st edition Buenos Aires 1878), p.3.

² On the 'Age of Revolution' see Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848*, (New York, 1962); Kenneth J. Andrien and Lyman L. Johnson, eds., *The Political Economy of Spanish America in the Age of Revolution 1750-1850*, (Albuquerque, N.M., 1994); Uribe Urán, ed., *State and Society in Spanish America During the Age of Revolution*, (Wilmington, Del., 2001).

³ The best summary of the changes occurring in eighteenth-century Spanish America is Lynch, 'The Origins of Spanish American Independence', *CHLA*, Vol.3, pp.3-48.

⁴ David Geggus, 'The British Government and the Saint Domingue slave revolt 1791-1793', *English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), pp.285-305.

⁵ As argued in Waddell, 'British Neutrality and Spanish American Independence', pp.1-18.

The field was therefore left open to the ‘impious adventurers’ with whom Conrad began *Nostramo*, his novel set in the later nineteenth-century Latin America, who sought fortune and opportunity irrespective of the political and social changes in their immediate environs.⁶ In Europe, society had been greatly affected by the repercussions of the French Revolution and its call for ‘Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality’. In Ireland it had inspired radicals to attempt their own uprising against the British monarchy, but the rebellion of the United Irishmen (1798) ended in failure, exile and repression. It also led to the political union between Britain and Ireland (1801) and the dissolution of the Irish Parliament. The French Revolution in turn triggered the Napoleonic Wars, causing economic crisis across Europe, and introducing a Continental Blockade that isolated Britain from its empire and markets. The return of demobilised troops after the British victory in 1815 only augmented the socio-economic problems, as employment became increasingly scarce and poorly-rewarded. It was in this situation that many British and Irish men turned to radical politics to improve their situation (leading, in the medium-term, to the Great Reform Act of 1832), and others sought an outlet for their efforts in the empire. To this extent, the continuing conflict in Hispanic America, in which Britain was theoretically neutral, provided the ideal destination for thousands of dissatisfied soldiers or farmers, whether radicals or moderates, to try their hand as adventurers.

Even though Lord Castlereagh told the Spanish Ambassador that both the volunteer expeditions and the ‘revolutionary meetings’ being held across England were lamentable disorders, in terms of personnel and ideology they were unrelated.⁷ Adventure abroad often ran against currents of patriotism in Britain and Ireland, even when it took place within the empire.⁸ Events in Hispanic America touched a deeper chord than could be

⁶ Joseph Conrad, *Nostramo: A Tale of the Seaboard*, (Oxford, 1995, first edition London, 1904), p.5. One of the principal characters in the novel, Charles Gould, was the grandson of a British veteran of Carabobo.

⁷ Duque de San Carlos to Manuel González Salmón, 30th September 1819, London, AGI Estado, Legajo 89, N.24, f.1v. A survey of the radical newspapers *Black Dwarf* and *The Republican* for 1819 and 1820 revealed no mention at all of the expeditions to South America. Whilst there was substantial coverage of the progress of the wars in America and of the Liberal revolution in Spain in 1820, any form of emigration – even to fight for liberty abroad – was seen by the editors as ‘unpatriotic’. For a recent study of British radicals in this period, see Stuart Semmel, ‘British Radicals and ‘Legitimacy’: Napoleon in the Mirror of History’, *Past and Present*, 167 (May 2000), pp.140-75.

⁸ As the leading Chartist Feargus O’Connor (whose brother Francis had travelled to Venezuela as a volunteer) wrote in the 1840s, he would ‘let Englishmen and Irishmen and Scotchmen work together for

evoked by a small group of radicals. The call for liberty from a tyrannical and oppressive Spain was vague enough to touch on myths of El Dorado, the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty, and Amazon warriors. Romantics such as Byron and Keats saw events in Hispanic America as the opening up of a new world, as the reprise of the adventurous and heroic deeds of the conquistadors.⁹ These feelings were aptly exploited by the Spanish American community exiled in London, who manipulated their high-level contacts in government and the press to advertise the recruitment of the volunteer expeditions.¹⁰ There was no question of the Independents being inspired by 'foreign' ideas, as both sides of the conflict related to the same currents thought in this Atlantic theatre.¹¹ Instead, the volunteer expeditions came out of an ideological context in which 'liberty' stood for a weakly-defined opposition to tyranny, and a bundle of beliefs encompassing opportunity, prosperity, empire, Romanticism and enterprise.

Enterprise

The individuals who took the decision to enlist and travel to Hispanic America did so within the wider context of the British imperial 'spirit of enterprise' and its desire to seek out new commercial opportunities, which provided the structure and finance to organise the expeditions.¹² Such 'enterprise' was however by no means a peculiarly 'British'

England, Ireland and Scotland – let Frenchmen work for France, Russians for Russians, and Prussians for Prussia. I will work only for home sweet home!' Feargus O'Connor, from *The Northern Star*, July 1847, quoted by Dunkerley, *Americana*, p.432.

⁹ Lord Byron, 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage', (1818) Canto the First, Stanza 89: 'Strange retribution! Now Columbia's ease/ Repairs the wrongs that Quito's sons sustained./ While o'er the parent clime prowls Murder/ unrestrained'. John Keats, 'On First Reading Chapman's Homer', (1815): 'Much have I travelled in the realms of gold/ And many goodly states and kingdoms seen/ Round many western islands have I been ... / I felt like some watcher of the skies/ When a new planet swims into his ken/ Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes/ He star'd at the Pacific – and all his men/ Look'd at each other with a wild surmise-/ Silent, upon a peak in Darien'.

¹⁰ Pi Sunyer, *Patriotas Americanos en Londres*, (Caracas, 1978); Racine, 'Imagining Independence: London's Spanish American Community 1790-1829', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Tulane University, 1996, p.170, p.395.

¹¹ This subject has been widely studied by historians of ideas, such as Pino Iturrieta, *Las ideas de los primeros venezolanos*, (Caracas, 1993), pp.127-45, and Ocampo López, *El proceso ideológico de la emancipación en Colombia*, (Bogotá, 1999), especially pp.19-28. They have revised an earlier historiography that was summarised in John Wilhite, 'Foreign Ideas in New Granada 1760-1830', *SECOLAS Annals*, 7 (March 1977).

¹² For more emphasis on this particularly British virtue, see most recently Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*, (London, 2003); and David Starkey, 'A Restless Spirit: British Privateering Enterprise 1739-1815', in Starkey et al, *Pirates and Privateers: New Perspectives on the War on Trade in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (Exeter, 1997), pp.126-7.

characteristic, but rather part of a set of outlooks and goals shared by entrepreneurs, intellectuals and patriots across the Atlantic world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹³ These networks of commerce and opportunity were precariously balanced upon geopolitical circumstance, and therefore subject to the vicissitudes of military success and metropolitan financial crisis. Thus when Britons looked to the Caribbean in this period, they imagined an extremely rich and desirable region.¹⁴ Several of the islands had changed hands as a result of the Seven Years War and the Continental Blockade had brought their full value into focus. For those who organised, financed and led them, the volunteer expeditions were about making profit through the enterprise of risking their capital and efforts, as opposed to the 'adventure' of an individual labourer or artisan who may or may not have anything to lose when enlisting. The men who financed the volunteer expeditions hoped to establish positions of advantage, which they would be ready to exploit in the lucrative post-war years.¹⁵ But these merchants did not necessarily envisage a period of undisputed British hegemony. Instead, they positioned themselves within pre-existing unofficial trade links with the British colonies, and allied themselves with influential merchants from the colonial period.¹⁶ Indeed, British enterprise in northern South America in this period was often informal and improvised. From itinerant businessmen hauling their suitcases of goods in search of a market, to more stable merchant houses like the House of Boulton and metropolitan companies like the Anglo-Colombian Agricultural Society, British entrepreneurs tried every angle they could conceive of in order to extract profit from South America.¹⁷ Some economic historians have echoed the complaints of disillusioned Creoles, seeing the volunteers as the foot in

¹³ Penny Liss, *Atlantic Empires: A network of trade and revolution 1713-1826*, (Baltimore, Mary., 1983), pp.223-4.

¹⁴ For the background to these imaginings see Mimi Scheller, *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies*, (London, 2003), pp.37-56.

¹⁵ This belief was followed by historians like Tirado Mejia, *Introducción a la historia económica de Colombia*, (Bogotá, 1976), p.11; Palacios, 'Las consecuencias económicas de la independencia en Colombia: sobre los orígenes del subdesarrollo', *Boletín cultural y bibliográfico*, 29:31 (1992), pp.3-23, especially pp.12-3. Nevertheless, the standard interpretation is still Humphreys, 'British Merchants and South American Independence', pp.153-174.

¹⁶ R.J. Shafer, *The Economic Societies and the Spanish World 1763-1821*, (Syracuse, N.Y., 1958); Liehr, ed., *América Latina en la época de Simón Bolívar*; Pearce, 'British Trade with the Spanish colonies', pp.233-50. See also Matthew Brown, 'La renovación de una élite: Angostura (Venezuela) a principios de la independencia', unpublished paper presented to the 'Jornadas sobre élites urbanas en hispanoamérica' conference, Universidad de Sevilla, 19th March 2004.

¹⁷ For the English hawker ['mercachifle'] Mr Christie, see Thomas Manby to Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, 21st October 1833, Bogotá, ACC, Sala Mosquera 1832, d.6833.

the door that enabled British merchants 'to take control of the best positions in national commercial life' in the 1820s.¹⁸ But in fact such an outcome was prevented by an overwhelmingly short-termist outlook, and the number of foreign businessmen in Colombia was declining even before the 1826 London Stock Exchange crash which removed the most speculative financing for unlikely ventures. Creole merchants who looked to British volunteers and their leaders to herald the restoration of a lost commercial dynamism were disappointed. While Creole leaders still aspired to incorporate themselves and their new republics into the North Atlantic and Caribbean networks of trade and investment, they had to resign themselves to a peripheral role when the initial promise of investment was replaced with calls for debt repayment.¹⁹

In the 1810s, City of London traders were the prime financiers of the volunteer expeditions. Not only did they invest their capital in the expeditions, but they also had close personal relations with the figures who led them.²⁰ Indeed, the number of people in the City directly interested in Colombia was just as few before, during and after the wars. This small community joined by economic, political and social ties invested in the volunteer expeditions, in loans, in agricultural and mining societies, and in other trading enterprises. As Mary English put it, these men were 'animated by the same spirit of speculation' throughout the whole period.²¹ James Mackintosh was a leading parliamentarian who adopted the cause of South American Independence, and his brother John travelled with the British Legion and became Commander of the Albion Battalion. James Mackintosh was later chairman of the Colombian Association for Agricultural and

¹⁸ Ospina Vasquez, *Industria y protección en Colombia*, p.132. See also Lola Vetencourt Guerra, *El imperio británico en la economía de Venezuela 1830-1870*, (Caracas, 1981).

¹⁹ This process was traced on a regional level in Roger Brew, *El desarrollo económico de Antioquía desde la Independencia hasta 1920*, (Bogotá, 1977), and for the continent as a whole in Carlos Marichal, *A century of debt crises in Latin America, from independence to the Great Depression, 1820-1930*, (Princeton, N.J., 1989).

²⁰ Appendix 1 reproduces a document detailing the principal financiers. See also J.M. Castillo, *Cuentas del empréstito de 1824, y de los resagos del de 1822, hasta fin de diciembre de 1825*, (Bogotá, 1826), BNC, Fondo Quijano.

²¹ Mary English, 'Account of the relations of Mary Coulthorpe Greenup with Herring and Co., Written for W. M. Greenup', no date, English Papers, HA157/2/1.

other Purposes.²² The Association's directors included the three men who arranged the first Colombian loan in 1822: William Graham, Charles Herring, and J.D. Powles. Another director was L.A. Goldschmidt, who in 1824 orchestrated the second major loan to Colombia. The association's auditors included David Barclay, William Richardson and Richard Jaffray, all deeply involved in financing the volunteer expeditions. The same 'rich and powerful' people were behind the Colombian Mining Association.²³ Personal friendships were fundamental to underpinning the links between these financiers and the volunteer expeditions. Charles Herring described *Coroneles* John Blossett and Edward Stopford as 'persons of great importance to me', and *General* John Devereux thought of Herring and William Richardson as 'my great friends'.²⁴

Nevertheless, this enterprise was a private affair, with the British government turning a largely blind and indifferent eye. The British alliance with Spain was still considered too valuable to sacrifice, although Hispanic American Independence and the new trading opportunities it heralded were welcomed.²⁵ Supplementing the hides, dyes, and barks of the colonial period, the most lucrative trade in the early period of the Wars of Independence (to 1821) was the arms trade, and British merchants hoped to control it.²⁶

²² The re-payment of Mackintosh's investment became the 'Mackintosh Question' which plagued the government of New Granada until the 1840s. See *Cuestión Mackintosh: historia de ella y documentos. Publicación oficial del gobierno de la Nueva Granada*, (Bogotá, 1852); also PRO FO 18/2 f.43, f.90.

²³ Anon, 16th January 1819, Angostura, in AL, Vol.14, f.17. For the prospectuses of these companies see the collection preserved in *Prospectuses of Public Companies*, British Library 8223.e.10.

²⁴ Herring to Fernando Peñalver, 10th April 1820, London, copy in English Papers, HA157/6/93; Devereux to Daniel O'Connell, 16 July 1822, Bogotá, O'Connell Papers, UCD, P12/3/142. John Devereux (b.1778 Wexford, d.1860 London) was an unmarried Catholic who often signed himself 'D'Evereux'. He travelled to the United States after playing a minor part in the rebellion of the United Irishmen, and traded out of Baltimore. Raising the Irish Legion in 1819-20, his service in Colombia was short and undistinguished. He represented Colombian interests in European capitals in the 1820s, and despite returning briefly to Bogotá and Caracas, he retired in ill-health to London in the 1830s. He died in Mayfair on 25th February 1860. Lambert, 'Irish Soldiers in South America 1818-1830 (Illustrated)', *The Irish Sword*, 16:62 (1984), p.34; Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol 2, pp.200-70, p.468; Aldercreutz, *Cartera del Coronel Conde de Aldercreutz: Documentos inéditos relativos a la historia de Venezuela y de la Gran Colombia. Con introducción y notas de C. Parra Pérez*, (Paris, 1928), p.136; *The Times*, 28th February 1860.

²⁵ Lynch, 'British Policy and Spanish America, 1783-1808', pp.1-30; Waddell, 'British Neutrality and Spanish American Independence', pp.1-18.

²⁶ Aside from arms, most of the materials imported to Colombia by British merchants were aimed at the volunteers, rather than any local markets. Upon its arrival at Angostura in 1819, the 'George Canning' unloaded: 'Saddlery, horsewhips, dressing cases and ladies work-boxes, ladies dresses; Scented Soap of various kinds; Hair, tooth, Shaving and Coat Brushes; ready made duck trousers of the best quality; Razors, Penknives and scissors; Shoe-brushes and blacking; and also Pistols and Swords, and good Porter'. *Correo del Orinoco*, 20th February 1819

Caribbean islands like St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew were used as depots for warehousing arms until the Independents could arrange to pay for and collect the goods. Especially in these early years of volunteer involvement in the conflict, business and military arrangements were barely distinguishable. *Coronel* Thomas Richards recalled an occasion in July 1818 in Angostura, when he had personally orchestrated Admiral Luis Brion's sale of a large batch of cotton to the merchant Aaron Monsanto.²⁷ Such a system was based on letters of credit and the respect displayed within a community of trustworthy gentleman. There was a world where promises had to be kept, and a gentleman's word was to be trusted implicitly, if the whole premise of the informal capitalist market was not to collapse. It was this honourable community that merchants emphasised when demanding payment for their cargos.²⁸ Creoles like Carlos Soubllette agreed that it was 'loyalty and good faith that define the conduct of just and liberal governments in the fulfilment of their contracts'.²⁹ The volunteers were further linked to these transatlantic capital networks by the many officers who relied on letters of credit to obtain cash from friends or relatives resident in the Caribbean.³⁰ The fact that the merchant James Hamilton took up an honorary colonelcy in the Independent army, and therefore was often referred to as '*Coronel*' James Hamilton, further demonstrated how military authority and commercial trade were often indistinguishable in Angostura in this period.

Emigration

The enterprise of raising volunteer expeditions for South America was extended into the organisation of colonisation schemes with the full support of the newly-established

²⁷ Tomás Richards, 9th May 1823, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db5766, f.3. Luis Brion (b.1782 Curacao, d.1821 Curacao) was a wealthy merchant whose substantial investment in the Independents' cause earned him the command of the naval forces.

²⁸ For example James Hamilton to the Government of Venezuela, 7th March 1819, Angostura. FJB Archivo Histórico C-825, ff.273-6; Herring to William Adam, 11th September 1822, London, English Papers, HA157/5/6; Edward Hall Campbell to Bolívar, 11th November 1818, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, AL, Vol.14, Roll 45, f.12.

²⁹ Soubllette to Matthew Macnamara, 5th December 1820, Angostura, in *Memorias de O'Leary*, Vol.8, f.114.

³⁰ In his correspondence Thomas Manby repeatedly referred to letters of credit he received from friends and contacts in the British Colonies. See for example Manby to Mary English, 26th October 1835, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/210. For Manby's life and career, see de Mier, 'Tomás Manby: Soldado en Europa y en América', p.11.

Venezuelan government.³¹ Many of the volunteers saw their military or naval service as a means towards land grants and prizes that would enable them to start new lives. This was indicated by the high numbers of women and children accompanying the expeditions. Around one hundred and fifty British and Irish women joined the volunteer expeditions, a proportion broadly consistent with the number of dependents accompanying British Army regiments abroad in this period.³² Their experiences were varied and, like the male adventurers, they petitioned the state for support and recognition.³³ Emigration was an integral part of the expeditions from the beginning, and this fitted into pre-existing Atlantic patterns of travel and transportation, despite Lambert's insistence that the colonisation schemes were simply an improvised 'smokescreen' to escape the Foreign Enlistment Act of May 1819.³⁴

Writing in London in July 1817, the Venezuelan agent Luis López Méndez told Simón Bolívar that 'I have not only managed to encourage people to arm ships for privateering and the arms trade, but I have also stimulated labourers and artisans to go to establish themselves in the Republic's territory under a very generous protection, where they will be free from all religious persecution and able to obtain their own land to work'.³⁵ López Méndez was assisted in this aim by the pre-existing trade in emigrants from Ireland to North America which was beginning to boom after 1815, and which was diverted south without too much difficulty. By 1816 merchants were regularly advertising in newspapers to put emigrants on ships that would otherwise have returned empty from trading voyages, although the numbers involved were still extremely small in comparison with the major emigrations three decades later. One ship involved in transporting emigrants from Belfast to Baltimore, the 'Nikolai Palowitch', in 1820 took a regiment of volunteers

³¹ Frédéric Martínez, 'Apogeo y decadencia del ideal de la inmigración europea en Colombia, siglo XIX', *Boletín cultural y bibliográfico*, 34:44 (1997) pp.3-45.

³² Holmes, *Redcoat*, pp.293-5. Sixty-seven named women appear on my database.

³³ Women adventurers are considered alongside their male counterparts in this thesis, and are explored separately in more detail in Brown, 'Adventurers, Foreign Women and Masculinity'.

³⁴ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.188.

³⁵ López Méndez to Bolívar, 22nd July 1822, copy in FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-825, ff.25-37. Luis López Méndez (b.1758 Caracas, d.1841 Curacaví, Chile) was the Venezuelan representative in London who organised the recruitment of the volunteer expeditions at the same time as pressing for official recognition of Venezuelan Independence. He was several times imprisoned in London for unpaid debts, and in 1821 was stripped of his powers by the Colombian Congress.

from Belfast to Barbados, and it is likely that other ships were also converted from this purpose.³⁶ Assisted emigration to the Cape colonies and Australia was also beginning in this period, and Canada was attracting soldier-colonists in much the same way as Venezuela.³⁷ One volunteer claimed to have been offered a land grant 'twice the size of what I would have got if I had gone to the USA'.³⁸

The rise of the emigrant trade coincided with the decline of the slave trade, prohibited by British law in 1807. It seems possible that many of the ships used in transporting emigrants to North America and volunteers to the Caribbean may previously have been used in early nineteenth-century slave trading. Ships named 'Plutus', 'Peggy', 'Britannia', 'Jupiter', 'Henrietta', 'Prince of Wales', 'Sarah', 'Hannah', and 'Tartar' all journeyed between Africa and the Caribbean in the early years of the century, and identically named ships all transported adventurers between 1816 and 1822.³⁹ In the absence of firm documentary evidence, such suggestive links indicate the extent to which the transportation of the volunteer expeditions extended previous trading patterns, using existing ships, and the skills and experience of their captains and crews.

While they did not comment on the history of particular ships, some volunteers believed the commercial nature of the expeditions to be similar to the businesses of transportation and piracy.⁴⁰ But while there may have been links to previous businesses which profited from carrying people across the Atlantic, once in Hispanic America it was hoped that the establishment of colonisation schemes would make this trade more permanent and act as

³⁶ *Belfast News Letter*, 23rd October 1818, referenced in William Forbes Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine*, (New Haven, Conn., 1932), p.73.

³⁷ John Tosh, 'Imperial Masculinities', paper presented to 'Reconfiguring the Nation' seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, 16th January 2003.

³⁸ 'Declaración de Cristóbal Ricaus', 11th April 1819, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A.

³⁹ David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson and Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-Rom*, (Cambridge, 1999). Appendix 2 provides a list of the 53 ships known to have been involved in transporting volunteers across the Atlantic. Note that ships did not necessarily retain the same name on every voyage. Gregor MacGregor renamed the 'Hero' as the 'MacGregor', and vessels converted for privateering often took on 'patriotic' names, such as the 'Colombian', the 'Bolívar', or the 'Santander'. For a description of these vessels, see Hadelis Jiménez López, *La armada de Venezuela en la Guerra de la Independencia*, (Caracas, 2001).

⁴⁰ James H. Robinson, *Journal of an Expedition 1,400 miles up the Orinoco and 300 miles up the Arauca; with an account of the country, the manners of the people, military operations, etc*, (London, 1822), p.4, p.26.

a beacon for further enterprise. In early 1819 two of the financiers of the volunteer expeditions sent a colonization project to Bolívar from London. They understood, they wrote, that the Government of Venezuela had set aside some land for this purpose and they proposed to exploit the 'spirit of emigration existing in these kingdoms' by providing Venezuela with 'a bold and free peasantry'.⁴¹ Pamphlets were printed and potential colonists were painted a picture of paradise on earth that 'may almost be said to possess perpetual spring', where only half the normal labour was required to cultivate the land.⁴² Potential migrants were offered 'a most favourable opportunity to improve their Fortunes and acquire a handsome Provision for themselves for Life'.⁴³ Even when the emphasis was on attracting men to fight, they were still viewed as potential colonists, provided with a free passage home only 'if required', rather than as a matter of course. One volunteer claimed that he had been told that any fighting would be cursory, and that he was 'as much a settler as a soldier'.⁴⁴ When he later billed the Venezuelan Government for the regiments he had raised, George Elsom explicitly termed them 'settlers'.⁴⁵

The details of a scheme for colonising the land of the Orinoco and the Caroní missions with the Irish and British poor were first set out on the back page of the *Correo del Orinoco* in May 1819. The proposals were signed by Charles Herring, Richard Jaffray and James Towers English; the first two being major financiers of the volunteer expeditions from London, and the latter being the highest-ranking military officer at the

⁴¹ Herring and Richard Jaffray to Bolívar, 29th January 1819, London, copy in FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-825, ff.269-70. For Herring's continued interest in the scheme, see Herring to Zea, 13th May 1821, Paris, copy in English Papers, HA157/6/95.

⁴² Printed Sheet, 'South America', copy in FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-825, f.281. Liverpool was beginning to replace other ports like Glasgow in this period as the prime link to Ireland. Irish emigrants were offered free passage to Liverpool to enable them to embark for the United States. See Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World*, pp.70-1. See also the Irish Legion recruiting sheet (in Spanish, although signed in Dublin by John Devereux and Matthew Sutton), NLI, MS 8076; and *The Times*, 12th April 1819.

⁴³ Reproduced in *Carrick's Morning Post*, 8th January 1820.

⁴⁴ 'Declaración de Jayme Powling', 12th April 1819, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A, 'Declaraciones de pasados o aprehendidos'.

⁴⁵ Elsom to López Méndez, 29th May 1819, London, copy in FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-825, f.285. George Elsom (d.1819 Angostura), sometimes 'Elsam', was married to Catherine Ann Elsom, who received a pension after his death. He originally was part of Skeene's ill-fated expedition, but missed the boat. He returned early from Venezuela to raise his own British Legion, having business experience in the family wood merchant firm in Hatton Garden, London, and in the wine trade. Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, p.272; De Mier, 'La misión de Elsom'.

head of those expeditions.⁴⁶ The capital of New Erin, the proposed new federal province of Venezuela, would be New Dublin. The province would have its own assembly and executive, and officials 'would most conveniently be British, as they would be better qualified to lead and regulate the conduct of their compatriots'. 'Liberty of Conscience and religious tolerance' were to be declared.⁴⁷ Supporting the scheme as a Malthusian imperative, an editorial in the *Correo del Orinoco* claimed that the project would also be economically advantageous, because many empty boats were already making the journey up the Orinoco to collect cattle and other products for export to the British West Indian colonies.⁴⁸ The proposed colonisation of 'New Erin' in Venezuelan Guayana by these settlers was subsequently revealed in all the home newspapers, and preparations for colonisation took place alongside the recruitment of volunteers to travel to Venezuela.⁴⁹ In February 1820, *Carrick's Morning Post* announced 'the formation of Board for the purpose of promoting [the] settlement of the Irish in Venezuela'.⁵⁰

The plans were also discussed and debated in Venezuela. A North American traveller in Angostura in 1819 was told that 'a Dublin Company has obtained a two hundred mile concession here, extending from the mouth of the Orinoco all the way to Angostura, and which they intend to colonise'.⁵¹ Other emigration schemes had their origins in the New World, rather than London or Dublin, and were actively encouraged by Creole elites hoping to populate the extensive 'empty' lands of the territory with productive foreigners.⁵² In 1819 John Princep and James Hamilton received land grants from the Venezuelan government in compensation for the state's inability to pay them for the

⁴⁶ James Towers English (b.1782 Taney, Co. Dublin, d.1819 Juan Griego). He was part of the first contingent of volunteer officers in 1817, returning to London to raise the British Legion, with whom he and his new wife Mary English sailed out. He died of fever. Lambert, 'La muerte y entierro del General English', *Boletín histórico*, 24 (1970) pp.317-27.

⁴⁷ *Correo del Orinoco*, 8th May 1819.

⁴⁸ Editorial, *Correo del Orinoco*, 7th August 1819.

⁴⁹ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 22nd November 1819.

⁵⁰ *Carrick's Morning Post*, 13th February 1820. The Members of the Board were Sir Frederick Flood, Richard Wogan Talbot MP, William Humphreys, Pat Dempsey Foley, and John Finlay. The secretary was Mathew Foley. All of these men sent family members with the Irish Legion to Venezuela.

⁵¹ John H. Hambleton, *Diario del Viaje por el Orinoco hacia Angostura (julio 11 - agosto 24, 1819) Con las instrucciones para el viaje dadas por el Secretario de Estado, John Quincey Adams*, ed. Juan Friede, (Bogotá, 1969), p.57. The situation in the Caroní missions was described in Richard Vowell, *The Savannas of Varinas*, (London, 1831), pp.284-8.

⁵² Ermila Troconis de Veracoechea, *El proceso de la inmigración en Venezuela*, (Caracas, 1986), pp.61-4.

cargoes they had brought to Angostura. 'Dependency' economists and historians have tended to interpret Hamilton's subsequent cattle export cargoes as part of the process which eventually shackled Hispanic America to British entrepreneurs, but, at least initially, Princep and Hamilton were much more interested in making profits out of colonisation projects.⁵³ They adopted a pre-existing idea originally proposed by a New Granadan entrepreneur, and with the region's indigenous population severely depleted by war and disease, Princep believed that there was plenty of space for new colonists who could construct a new canal to Essequibo and boost trade and communication.⁵⁴ Princep wrote that there was particularly good pasture land, fine air, rich soil and beautiful hills, all ideal terrain for Scottish colonists.⁵⁵ Francisco Antonio Zea confirmed these plans in a letter to Bolívar which stressed the power of the City of London financiers supporting Hamilton and Princep. Zea argued that it was of vital importance to 'persuade them to buy the best estate in Caroní, so that they can start a colony for poor Scots. This project can give them the profits that they want, and give us a large rural establishment in the Missions'.⁵⁶ The testimonies of individual captured soldiers reinforced the importance of emigration in the expeditions. They claimed that they were 'just as much settlers as soldiers', and that they had been told that any fighting would soon be over.⁵⁷

⁵³ The 'Dependency' analysis argued that foreign involvement in the Latin American economies restricted its potential to develop, denying it opportunities, and maintaining it subjugated beneath neo-colonial and 'informal imperialist' structures. For a cogent examination of the debate, see the introduction to Stephen Haber, ed., *How Latin American Fell Behind: essays on the economic histories of Brazil and Mexico*, (Stanford, Calif., 1997), pp.1-17. For the economic implications of Princep's involvement in Caroní, see Wilfredo José Hernández Brito, 'Notas sobre el arriendo de nueve misiones del circuito Caroní a los ciudadanos británicos James Hamilton y John Princep', *Boletín histórico del Instituto para el rescate, conservación del patrimonio histórico y desarrollo cultural del Estado Bolívar*, 1 (December 1985), pp.12-21.

⁵⁴ Elías de Santa Croix to the Supreme Government of Venezuela, 24th January 1819, in English. AGNV GDG, Vol.10, f.312.

⁵⁵ John Princep, *Diario de un viaje de Santo Tomé de Angostura en la Guayana Española a las Misiones Capuchinas del Caroní*, translated from the English and edited by Jaime Tello, (Caracas, 1975), pp.21-4. See also Hamilton to Zea, 11th May 1819, Angostura, copy in FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-825, ff.282-3.

⁵⁶ Zea to Bolívar, 3rd June 1818, Nueva Guayana, AGNC R GYM, Vol.24, ff.1-15, also reproduced in Princep, *Diario de un viaje*, pp.65-74.

⁵⁷ Declaration of *Sargento* Jayme Powling, 12th April 1819, Puerto Cabello, after he was captured by Loyalists at the action of Gamarra. AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A.

Military Experience

Much of the focus of the early stages of the volunteer expeditions was therefore on recruiting soldier-colonists who would settle in Colombia once the wars were over.⁵⁸ But were the men recruited themselves emigrants, or were they professional soldiers, seeking a mercenary outlet for their military vocation after demobilisation, as claimed by the orthodox historiography?⁵⁹ In order to come to some conclusion, it is necessary to examine the background of the adventurers themselves. Figure 1.1 below records all those who were explicitly linked, in memoirs or personal correspondence, to previous service in the British armed forces (even where neither dates nor regiments nor ranks were given):

Figure 1.1: British Volunteers Linked to Service in British Armed Forces.⁶⁰

Name, and Rank Held in Independent Service	Dates Served	With Whom Served/ Where Served
General		
English, James Towers	Unknown	18 th Light Dragoons
Von Reimboldt, Julius	Unknown	Unknown

⁵⁸ Interest in colonisation schemes continued throughout the 1820s. See Herring to William Champion Jones, 15th January 1823, London, English Papers, HA157/5/7; Troconis de Veracoechea, *El proceso de la inmigración en Venezuela*, pp.65-7; Hans P. Rheinheimer, *Topo: The Story of a Scottish Colony near Caracas 1825-1827*, (Edinburgh, 1988).

⁵⁹ The following texts generalise all the volunteers under the banner of one British Legion made up almost entirely of veterans of the Napoleonic Wars: Ocampo López, 'El proceso político, militar y social de la Independencia', p.39; Ibáñez Sánchez, 'La independencia', p.300; Racine, 'Imagining Independence', p.212; Archer, *The Wars of Independence in Spanish America*, p.29, p.187.

⁶⁰ Most of those listed in this Figure 1.1 were referenced by either Lambert in *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses* or Hasbrouck in *Foreign Legionaries* as having served in the British Army, both of whom consulted the *British Army Officer Lists* in the PRO. Information for the others comes from: Major Graham (p.123) and James Fortune (p.85) in Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.123, p.483; Denis Egan, *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th July 1820; James Powling, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A; Charles Boyd in a letter to Bolívar, undated, AL, Vol.14, f.292; John Simpson Hughes, López Méndez to Bolívar, 20th April 1817, London, reproduced in FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-825, f.49; John Dillon, AL, Vol.14, f.306. Chesterton described his own service in *Peace, War and Adventure*, pp.18-246; Alexander Alexander recorded his own service in *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1; I.D.R. Gordon (p.4) and Sgt. Leard (p.104) in Weatherhead, *An account of the late expedition against the Isthmus of Darien*, p.4; George Thomas, George Brown and John Adams in *Morning Chronicle*, 4th December 1818; Mahary (pp.247-8) and McCarthy (p.266) in Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*; James Langson, in *Dublin Evening Post*, 3rd February 1820; Robertson, *Freeman's Journal*, 8th February 1820; Woodley, in *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th July 1820; Robert Shaw and Samuel Goodfellow, in letters of introduction to Bolívar, June 1817, reproduced in FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-825, ff.7-10. The claim about James English's service, made in William Jackson Adam, *Journal of Voyages to Marguaritta, Trinidad and Maturin; with the author's travels across the plains of the llaneros to Angustura, and subsequent descent of the Orinoco in the years 1819-1820; comprising his several interviews with Bolivar, the Supreme Chief; Sketches of the various native and European generals: And a Variety of Characteristic Anecdotes, hitherto unpublicised*, (Dublin, 1824), p.18, was disputed by Lambert.

Almirante		
John Illingworth	1801-1816	Royal Navy
Leonard Stagg	Unknown	In War Against USA
Coronel		
Chamberlain, Charles	Unknown	West Indies
Crofton, Richard	Unknown	Unknown
Derinzy, William	1814-1816	12 th Foot
Ferrier, Thomas ⁶¹	Unknown	43 rd Foot
Foster, William	Unknown	Waterloo
Gordon, I.D.R.	Unknown	Iberian Peninsula
Hall, Francis	1810-1818	12 th Light Dragoons/ North America, Waterloo
Hippisley, Gustavus	c.1810-1815	West Somerset Militia
Lyster, William	c.1812	Iberian Peninsula
MacDonald, Donald	c.1812	Aide-de-camp to Gen. Ballesteros in Iberian Peninsula
Manby, Thomas	1812-c.1816	East Suffolk Militia to 1812, 12 th Foot/ Tuam
Needham, John	To c.1816	In 7 th Light Dragoons to 1812, then West Indies
Piggott, Richard	To 1816	54 th Foot
Power, William Middleton	To 1814	28 th Foot
Rafter, William	1806-1818	Holland, Iberian Peninsula, West Indies
Rooke, James	c.1800-1816	Aide-de-camp to Prince of Orange at Waterloo
Sandes, Arthur	To 1815	Not Known
Skeene	1807-1816	Maidstone Cavalry Depot
Stopford, Edward	c.1810-1817	Not Known
Uslar, Johannes	1809-1816	Iberian Peninsula (Talavera, Badajoz), Waterloo
Wilson, Henry	To 1810	3 rd Light Dragoons
Young, Brooke	1813-1817	8 th Foot
Teniente		
Alexander, Alexander	1801-1816	6 th Artillery/ Ceylon, Ireland
Mahary	Unknown	Royal Navy
McCarthy	Unknown	East India Company
Schwitzgibel, François	Unknown	Unknown
Teniente-Coronel		
Burke, Luke	c.1805-1816	98 th Foot, then West Indies
Gillmore, Joseph	c.1800-1815	Portugal, West Indies
Grant, Peter	Unknown	79 th Foot
Robertson	Unknown	Unknown
Woodley	Unknown	18 th Hussars
Mayor		
Graham	To 1815	Iberian Peninsula
Minchin, John	To 1815	Unknown
Sargento-Mayor		
Boyd, Charles	c.1806-1816	Unknown
Egan, Denis	Unknown	Unknown
Minuth, John	1805-1815	Royal Navy
Rudd, Charles	c.1815	40 th Foot/ Waterloo
Capitán		

⁶¹ Thomas Ilderton Ferriar (b.1785 Manchester, d.1821 Carabobo) was the son of a doctor. Sometimes referred to as 'Ferrier' he travelled out with the Hanoverians, and commanded British troops at Carabobo in 1821. Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.79. He is commemorated with a plinth at Carabobo.

Chesterton, George	c.1812-1818	Iberian Peninsula, North America, West Indies
Clubley, Thomas	c.1805-1816	84 th Foot
Dillon, John	Unknown	Royal Navy
Edgar, Raymond	c.1808-1816	8 th Foot/ Iberian Peninsula
Goodfellow, Samuel	1813-1817	Cumberland Volunteers
Langson, James	1804-1816	Royal Navy
Palmer, Thomas	Unknown	Nottingham Militia
Phelan, James	c.1805-1815	St. Helena
Ryan, Cornelius	Unknown	Royal Navy
Saddler, Nathaniel	Unknown	69 th Foot
Simpson Hughes, John	Unknown	Royal Navy
Thomas, George	1799-1816	Royal Navy
Sargento		
Fortune, James	Unknown	Horse Artillery
Leard	Unknown	Iberian Peninsula
Shaw, Robert	Unknown	France
Músico		
Powling, James	Unknown	3 rd Foot
Seamen		
Mate John Adams	Unknown	Royal Navy
Midshipman George Brown	Unknown	Royal Navy

The number of officers with known British Army or Royal Navy experience amount to just fifty-nine, from a total of 1,445 officers who appear on the database: just 4.08%, even when militia service is included. Some chroniclers put the figure a little higher. One wrote that ‘two thirds of these ‘soi-distant’ officers ... had never fired a gun in their lives’.⁶² Another estimated that around half of the officers in Gregor MacGregor’s expeditions had some military experience.⁶³ It should be noted that the British Army was by no means the only place in which to gain military experience during the Napoleonic Wars. A handful of volunteers had served in the French Army.⁶⁴ Other, generally Irish,

⁶² [Anon], *Colombia: Being a Geographical, Statistical, Agricultural, Commercial and Political Account of that Country, Adapted for the General Reader, the Merchant and the Colonist*, Vol.2, p.433.

⁶³ Weatherhead, *An account of the late expedition against the Isthmus of Darien*, p.4. Gregor MacGregor (b.1786 Edinburgh, d.c.1845 Caracas) was the Catholic son of an East India company functionary. He was related to the Perthshire MacGregors and had links to the 1745 rebellion through his uncle. He travelled to Venezuela in 1811, and served Bolívar until 1816. He married Bolívar’s cousin Josefa Lovera Aristigueta de Bolívar in 1811. His subsequent career included attacks on Amelia Island (Florida), Portobello, Riohacha, until he negotiated a land grant on the Mosquito Coast. The failure of his attempts at colonisation landed him in debt, and confirmed his reputation as ‘a slippery opportunist who failed miserably’. Racine, ‘Imagining Independence’, p.241. He returned to Caracas in the late 1830s. Arends, *Sir Gregor MacGregor*. The principal source for his life is Arends, *Sir Gregor MacGregor*; see also Matthew Brown, ‘Inca, Sailor, Soldier, King: Gregor MacGregor and the early nineteenth-century Caribbean’, unpublished paper.

⁶⁴ Charles Sowersby, born in Bremen of British parents, served in Napoleon’s army in Russia. He joined the Independents in Chile, travelled north and was present at the battles of Riobamba and Pichincha in

officers had served in the Spanish Army and some of these, most notably *General Horé* and *Teniente Coronel Jaime Albernoz/Arbuthnot*, continued service on the Loyalist side during the Wars of Independence.⁶⁵

Given the aforementioned tendency of memoirs and the archival documentation to focus on the volunteer officers, it is no surprise that most of the men recorded as having British Army experience were also officers. However, it is generally assumed in the historiography that the bulk of those private soldiers who travelled to Hispanic America, had also been demobilised from the British Army after the Napoleonic Wars, and thus took their military experience with them across the Atlantic.⁶⁶ Loyalist correspondence regularly described the mercenaries as ‘well-disciplined, battle-hardened veterans’, a verdict which made any success against such foes all the more impressive.⁶⁷ But nowhere has this been demonstrated, and contemporaries were frank as to the soldiers’ lack of experience. Weatherhead estimated that, of the private soldiers in MacGregor’s expeditions, just one-third ‘had ever handled a musket before’.⁶⁸ Francis Hall wrote that the majority of the Irish Legion ‘had either a very feeble or very mistaken notion of the duties of a soldier’.⁶⁹ Critics of the expeditions described them as having consisted

1822. He died of the wounds he received at Junín. See Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.309. Colonel Thomas Jackson was also said to have served Napoleon in Russia, having fled Ireland after the 1798 rebellion of the United Irishmen. See Lambert, ‘Irish Soldiers in South America’, p.23. In Gregor MacGregor’s expedition, a Colonel Borrell was said to have been a member of Napoleon’s Legion of Honour. The author who reported this, Francis Maceroni, had also served in the Napoleonic armies before joining MacGregor. See *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.448.

⁶⁵ For Horé’s ancestry, see Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M’Gregor*, pp.236-7. For Arbuthnot (a Protestant Scot with an Irish Catholic grandmother, known to his colleagues as Albernoz), see Chesterton, *Peace, War and Adventure*, p.208, and Pablo Morillo, *Memoires du General Morillo, Comte de Carthagene, Marquis de la Puerta, relatifs aux principaux evenemens de ses campagnes en amérique de 1815 a 1821*, (Paris, 1826), p.288.

⁶⁶ Safford and Palacios go so far as to state that ‘The end of the fight against the French brought the demobilisation of the British army, and almost 6,000 of these soldiers came to serve the patriot cause in northern South America’, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*, p.98.

⁶⁷ José Solís to Juan Sámano, 19th October 1819, Riohacha, copying his letter of the same day to Coronel de las Milicias del Valle Dupar D. Juan Salvador Anslemo Deoza, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745. Also Solís to Sámano, 13th October 1819, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745. As Earle has noted for *General Morillo’s* army, even an army stocked with war-hardened veterans could not be relied upon to be disciplined or resilient. Earle, *Spain and the Independence of Colombia*, pp.69-74.

⁶⁸ Weatherhead, *An account of the late expedition against the Isthmus of Darien*, p.4.

⁶⁹ Hall, *An appeal to the Irish nation on the character and conduct of General D’Evereux*, p.23.

‘chiefly of profligate adventurers, brainless fanatics, and the dregs of the people’.⁷⁰ In particular the Irish Legion was singled out as having ‘not even one hundred veteran soldiers in all its ranks’.⁷¹

In his memoirs, José Antonio Páez indicated that the British soldiers at Carabobo had proved themselves to be ‘worthy compatriots of those who fought a few years previously at Waterloo’.⁷² In an attempt to verify whether the volunteer expeditions were composed of the same men who had been at Waterloo, as is implicit in the historiography, or whether (as Páez hinted) they were merely inspired by them, a sample of volunteers was checked against the collection of British Army discharge papers for the period corresponding to the end of the Napoleonic Wars.⁷³ From the 848 named volunteer private soldiers’ records collected, a sample of 226 soldiers was selected (27%). Soldiers were selected for inclusion in the sample on the essentially random criteria that sufficient information (first and surnames, place and year of birth) should be known about them, in order to establish a positive identification.

Principal among these selection criteria was that the volunteer had a reasonably uncommon surname and that both first names and surnames were known – for example, Private Francis Fuge. Fuge was known to have arrived in Angostura as part of the British Legion in January 1819. It was presumed as sufficient proof of his British Army experience to find the British Army discharge papers for Private Francis Fuge, dated June 1816, even though neither his place of birth nor his age were known.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ [Anon], ‘The Liberal System’, *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 16 (October 1824), pp.442-5, quoted in Calvin Jones, ‘Images of Simon Bolivar as Reflected in Ten Leading British Periodicals 1816-1830’, *The Americas*, 40:3 (Jan 1984) p.388.

⁷¹ Mariano Montilla to Minister of War, 4th January 1820, Juan Griego, *Memorias de O’Leary*, Vol.17, f.23.

⁷² Páez, *Autobiografía*, (New York, 1867), p.206.

⁷³ The WO 97 series of War Office papers held at the PRO contains the discharge papers of all soldiers discharged from the British Army in the period c.1780 to c.1850. It records the birthplace, birth date, occupation, height, physical description, army career and reasons for discharge of each soldier who left the armed forces in this manner. The only soldiers to slip through the bureaucratic net were those who died in the forces (irrelevant to this study) or those who had deserted.

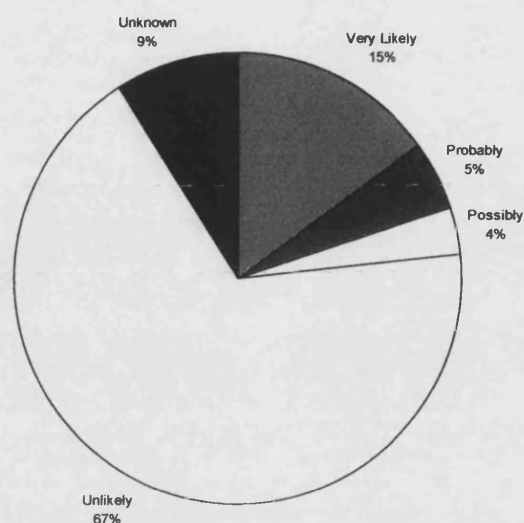
⁷⁴ Fuge’s discharge papers are at PRO WO 97/420/123. A similar case was Private Thomas Flatters, PRO WO 97/1227/247.

There were not enough unusual names to form a large enough sample, so other soldiers with more common names were selected, if their place of birth was known. Therefore, soldiers such as Edward Carroll, known from Colombian sources to have been born in Ballyhoe, Co. Wicklow, were also included in the selection. Searching the British Army discharge papers for private soldiers named Edward Carroll, born in Co. Wicklow, yielded sufficiently few finds to check each one individually. If one such soldier had been discharged in the period before 1818, and therefore was available for service in Venezuela, this was counted as meriting the benefit of the doubt, and confirming at least the high probability that the volunteer soldier Edward Carroll had previously served in the British Army.⁷⁵

This method could not provide any certainty that the individual soldier in question did serve in the British Army. However, when used over a sample of 226 soldiers, it was deemed to provide a plausible indication of what proportion of soldiers did have such experience. Giving the benefit of the doubt towards a positive identification in this way balanced the inherent negative tendency created by the difficulties of inconsistent spelling of surnames, or the occasional change in first names between Spanish language sources (Julian for William, Juan for James, for example). Testing 226 volunteers against the British Army discharge papers gave the following results:

⁷⁵ Carroll's discharge papers are at PRO WO 97/1156/49.

Figure 1.2: Volunteer Private Soldiers' Experience in British Army ⁷⁶



Even when all the uncertain results were incorporated into the total, just 32.15% of volunteer private soldiers could have had experience in the British Army. Given the aforementioned fragmentary and inconclusive nature of the sources, a figure somewhere between 25% and 35% is the most generous possible. Even this is a long way from the picture of thousands of demobilised veterans painted by Lambert and Hasbrouck.

Those private soldiers found to have had experience in the British Army shared some general characteristics. They often had served in the West or East Indies, and had been discharged because of the damage the climate was held to have inflicted on their ability to serve. The case of Francis Fuge was a case in point. Leaving the British Army in Mauritius in June 1816, he was thirty-nine years old, and had already served for twenty-

⁷⁶ Number in Selection, 226:

Very likely: (Positive matches found between Volunteer and British Army Discharge Papers)	34 (15%);
Probably: (Positive match found, but serious reservation held)	11 (5%);
Possibly: (No match found, but some reservations held)	8 (4%);
Unlikely: (No matches found between Volunteer and British Army Discharge Papers)	153 (67%);
Unknown: (Where no match could be found due to the names bringing up an unfeasibly large number of potential matches, i.e., Private Patrick Kelly brought up 89 matches)	20 (9%).

four years. He had suffered from 'strictures and chronic rheumatism' and was therefore 'considered unfit for further service abroad'.⁷⁷

The experience of these men at the sharp end of the British empire is worth further emphasis. Edward Carroll, James Cooney and Thomas Flatters had all served between four and six years in the West Indies. James Jordan was discharged in Ceylon in late 1819; William Ryan was discharged at St. Helena; and Thomas Francis in Mauritius, having previously served in Hindustan.⁷⁸ These were very mobile people, continuing their military adventures in Hispanic America, perhaps having failed to integrate back into British or Irish society. But despite their experience in these imperial locations, they were not a 'crack force' of elite British soldiers. Rather than being demobilised because of post-war reductions, many had been discharged before the end of the wars on health grounds. John Boyce was deemed 'unfit for further service' due to a gunshot wound he received in his left leg at Vittoria in 1814. Thomas Payne had 'lost an eye at Badajoz'. William Ryan was suffering from 'chronic hepatitis and gut debilitation'. Thomas Whitesides had 'a paralytic affection'. Thomas Francis had been seriously wounded 'by a market bull' in Hindustan in 1805.⁷⁹ Robert Brinkworth, from Bath and one of the few soldiers known to have actually fought at Waterloo, received a gunshot wound in his left thigh during the battle, so rendering him 'unfit for service'.⁸⁰ George Wall received a 'gunshot wound in the abdomen' at Salamanca.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Fuge considered himself unfit for any employment but military service, and joined the Independents in 1819. He served from Angostura to Quito, and the last documentary evidence of him came from Bogotá in June 1823, where he petitioned the government for his *haberes militares*. See PRO WO 97/420/123, and Casa de Moneda Db0272.

⁷⁸ For Edward Carroll see PRO WO 97/1156/49; for James Cooney see PRO WO 97/956/96; for Thomas Flatters see PRO WO 97/1227/247; for James Jordan see PRO WO 97/927/29; for William Ryan see PRO WO 97/796/35; for Thomas Francis see PRO WO 97/420/117.

⁷⁹ For John Boyce see PRO WO 97/516/76; for Thomas Payne see PRO WO 97/1035/108; for William Ryan see PRO WO 97/796/35; for Thomas Whitesides see PRO WO 97/897/151; for Thomas Francis see PRO WO 97/420/117. See also David Jones see PRO WO 97/1133/201; William Gow WO 97/1122/160.

⁸⁰ For Robert Brinkworth, see PRO WO 97/504/126. Unlike all those soldiers noted previously, Brinkworth was not recorded in Lambert, *Carabobo*, as present in 1821 – instead, he was with the Albion Battalion in Cali. While Lambert did not mention Brinkworth at all, he was named in three other documents, AGNC R GYM, Vol.778, f.766, f.794, f.840.

⁸¹ For George Wall, see PRO WO 97/1116/297.

The most striking example of these ‘walking wounded’ was George Moore. A Dubliner, Moore was just eight years of age when he joined the British Army in 1811. His five years of youthful service left him with ‘diseased knee joints’ which meant that his left leg had to be amputated upon his discharge in 1816. Yet – with just one leg – he was still able to join the volunteer expeditions, was serving in Achaguas in late 1820, and at Carabobo in 1821. By 1823, still just twenty years old, he had found a more sedentary occupation as a cabin boy on the ‘Independiente’ in the Venezuelan naval service.⁸²

It is fundamentally important, however, that even this arresting group of half-blind, gunshot-wounded and amputee soldiers, did not form a majority in the volunteer expeditions, as illustrated by Figure 1.2. Indeed, most of the soldiers in the volunteer expeditions had no verifiable military experience at all. They were signing up not out of a frustrated military vocation, but rather as emigrants and adventurers using military service as a means to achieve their goal of a fresh start in the New World, just as the British and Spanish armies were often understood as a form of subsidised emigration for men unsatisfied with their lot at home, and for the families that often accompanied them.⁸³ Of the 3,013 records, 319 volunteers recorded their previous ‘profession, trade or occupation’ in at least one document.⁸⁴ Only one, Private Felix McKean from the Curragh, described himself as a soldier.⁸⁵

⁸² For George Moore see PRO WO 97/365/77; Lambert, *Carabobo*, p.34; ‘Descriptive Roll’, AHG G, Acta 2; AGNC R GYM, Vol.326, ff.13-25. On the youth of many similar soldiers see Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America: a social history of military life in the Revolutionary period*, (Austin, Texas, 1981), p.23.

⁸³ For Scottish Highlanders see Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, (Oxford, 2000), pp.99-101, and for the Spanish army see Manuel Moreno Fraginals and José J. Moreno Mosó, *Guerra, migración y muerte: El ejército español en Cuba como vía migratoria*, (Colombres, Asturias, 1993), Chapter 1, ‘El ejército como vía migratoria’.

⁸⁴ The majority of the information for Figure 1.3 comes from the ‘Descriptive Roll’ compiled by the officers of the British Legion at Achaguas in late December 1820, held in the G. By this time, the British Legion was formed by men who had come out as part of the British and Irish Legions, and so can be taken as being a largely representative sample. Additional information was taken from invalid records in AGNC R GYM, Vol.16. Those soldiers considered in this section were generally British and Irish in origin. Hanoverian soldiers are assumed to have had similar military experience.

⁸⁵ Felix McKean was 31 in 1820. Ironically, no record could be found of him in PRO WO 97. His description of himself as a soldier appeared in ‘Descriptive Roll’, AHG G, Acta 2.

Figure 1.3: Volunteers' Occupations before Joining Independents

Occupation	Number of Volunteers
Accountant	2
Apothecary	1
Baker	7
Basket Maker	1
Blacksmith	1
Boat Maker	1
Book Binder	4
Breeches Maker	4
Bricklayer	3
Butcher	3
Cabinet Maker	1
Carpenter	5
Chandler	2
Clerk	2
Cloth Cutter	2
Cooper	1
Cordwainer	2
Cotton Spinner	1
Courier	1
Craftsman	2
Draper	1
Farrier	2
Founder	1
Gardener	2
Glass Blower/ Glass Stainer	2
Gunsmith	1
Hair Dresser	2
Ham Beater	1
Hatter	3
Horseman	1
Labourer	148
Lawyer	1
Lightman	1
Machinist	1
Mariner	2
Mason	1
Merchant	1
Miller	1
Miner	3
Musician	6
Painter	4
Painter and Glazier	2
Paper Maker	1
Potter	2
Poulterer	1
Printer	2
Roller	1
Rope Maker	1
Saddler	1
Sailor/Seaman	5

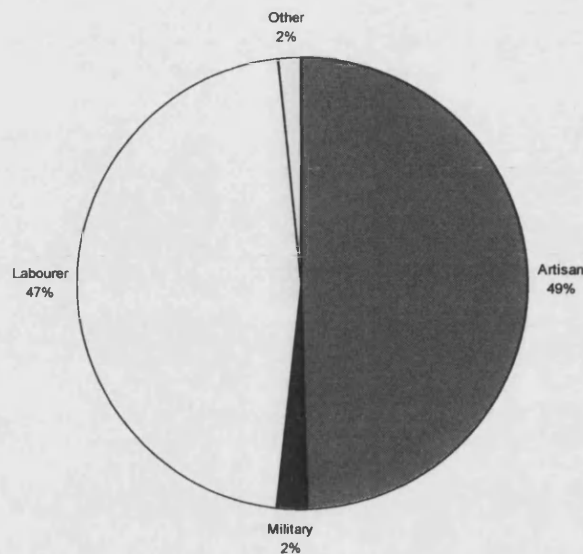
Sawyer	1
Servant	3
Shearing Man	1
Shoemaker	11
Silk Maker	2
Slater	1
Soapmaker	1
Soldier	1
Stocking Maker	1
Stonecutter	1
Tailor	11
Tanner	1
Tin Man	1
Varnish Maker	1
Watch Maker	3
Water Man	2
Weaver	26
Wood Cutter	1
Wood Merchant	1
Woollen Draper	1

There are seventy-three different trades in Figure 1.3. Almost half (47.0%) had been labourers. 2.2% had been servants, ‘merchants’ and ‘accountants’, and 1.6% either soldiers (just one) or sailors (five). The rest (49.2%) gave any one of the many artisan trades listed. Weavers, shoemakers and tailors were the most popular of these trades, which is consistent with research into backgrounds of British Army soldiers in this period.⁸⁶ But the very high numbers of men claiming to be artisans supports the thesis that these were not just demobilised military men who, upon the end of the Napoleonic Wars, could do nothing else but enlist in yet another army. These were men with other skills, who found that demand for their trades collapsed with the post-war recession.⁸⁷ By adventuring in Hispanic America, they may have been hoping to tide themselves over in a time of crisis, or seek a new life where their skills might have been in higher demand.

⁸⁶ Frey, *The British Soldier in America*, pp.9-16.

⁸⁷ On the post-war recession more generally see Boyd Hilton, *Corn, Cash and Commerce: The Economic Policies of the Tory Governments*, (Oxford, 1977).

Figure 1.4: Summary of Volunteers' Previous Occupations



Class and Rank

The experience of military campaigning made officers and men alike more aware of the class divisions between them.⁸⁸ This was especially the case with the volunteer expeditions which, by the nature of their recruitment, were particularly heavily weighted towards officers.⁸⁹ This meant that officers quarrelled amongst themselves as to who was allowed what respect and prestige, and soldiers were made even more aware of the advantages and luxuries they were correspondingly denied. Through their participation as mercenaries in a war of separation from the Spanish colonial power, soldiers and officers became more aware of issues of honour and identity, and these concerns were founded on the class and national identity formulations that came out of Britain and Ireland's involvement in the Napoleonic Wars. In the military environment, rank was the principal means of codifying and representing these hierarchies.

⁸⁸ Clive Emsley, 'The Impact of War and Military Participation on Britain and France 1792-1815', in Emsley and James Walvin, eds., *Artisans, Peasants and Proletarians 1760-1860*, (London, 1985), pp.57-80.

⁸⁹ For an evocative description of the 'colonel factory' and early emphasis of the recruitment of officers rather than soldiers, see Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, pp.46-52.

Figure 1.5: Final Ranks Recorded for Named Volunteers in Colombian Army (up to 1825)

Final Rank	Number of Volunteers
<i>General/Admiral</i> (General/ Almirante)	34
<i>Coronel</i> (Colonel)	118
<i>Teniente Coronel</i> (Lieutenant-Colonel)	66
<i>Mayor</i> (Major)	80
<i>Capitán</i> (Captain)	343
<i>Teniente or Subteniente</i> (Lieutenants 1 and 2)	506
<i>Oficial</i> (Unspecified Officer)	161
Junior Officer (<i>Alférez, Aspirante, Practicante, Ensign</i>)	32
Surgeons	105
<i>Músico</i> (Musician)	73
Ship's Artisans	19
<i>Sargento</i> (Sergeant)	241
<i>Cabo</i> (Corporal)	129
<i>Soldado raso</i> (Private Soldier)	738
<i>Marino</i> (Sailor)	110
Sub-Total	2,755
Unknown rank, women and children	258
Total of Names on Database	3,013

The Venezuelan and Colombian armies, in their most regular incarnations, were the heirs to the codes and regulations of the Spanish army. Each rank had an English translation, but they corresponded to different grades of authority, especially for mid-ranking officers. Especially relevant were the smaller units of men that operated in the Independents' army, which meant that middle-ranked officers such as *mayores*, *tenientes* and *capitanes* often found themselves with little real authority to distinguish themselves from each other. Such a simple issue provided the background for tension, conflict and resentment between officers, both foreigners and locals. Effectively, a *teniente* was a much lower rank than a 'Lieutenant' felt himself to be and a *capitán* a higher rank than a 'Captain'. British and Irish officers competed to gain the respect they felt they were owed based on their own translations of these ranks into English.⁹⁰ This problem was

⁹⁰ This tension was hidden by the common tendency of military and naval historians to translate all ranks into English, as in Vale, *A War Betwixt Englishmen*, or into Spanish, as in Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*. In order to retain some of the uncertainty of the time, in this thesis all ranks in the Spanish and

aggravated by the fact that officers had been recruited in London with the promise that they would be raised by one rank upon arrival in Hispanic America.

Yet despite the blurred boundaries between the officer ranks, the divisions between officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers, were well-defined and strictly observed. They provided the basis for assessing the status of men, and the corresponding respect they would be owed by colleagues.

Figure 1.6: Summary of Ranks of All Named Volunteers, Calculated from Figure 1.5

Final Rank	Number of Named Volunteers	%
Officers	1,445	52.45
Non-commissioned Officers	462	16.77
Private Soldiers and Sailors	848	30.78
Total Named Volunteers	2,755	100

The assumption is made that inbuilt bias of the sources used has meant that all of the officers on the volunteer expeditions were named in recorded documentation at some point. This assumption implies therefore that all those volunteers whose names were not recorded must have been non-commissioned officers, private soldiers or common sailors. When the non-named volunteers are proportionately divided between the two categories, the following estimation for the ranks held by all volunteers is produced:

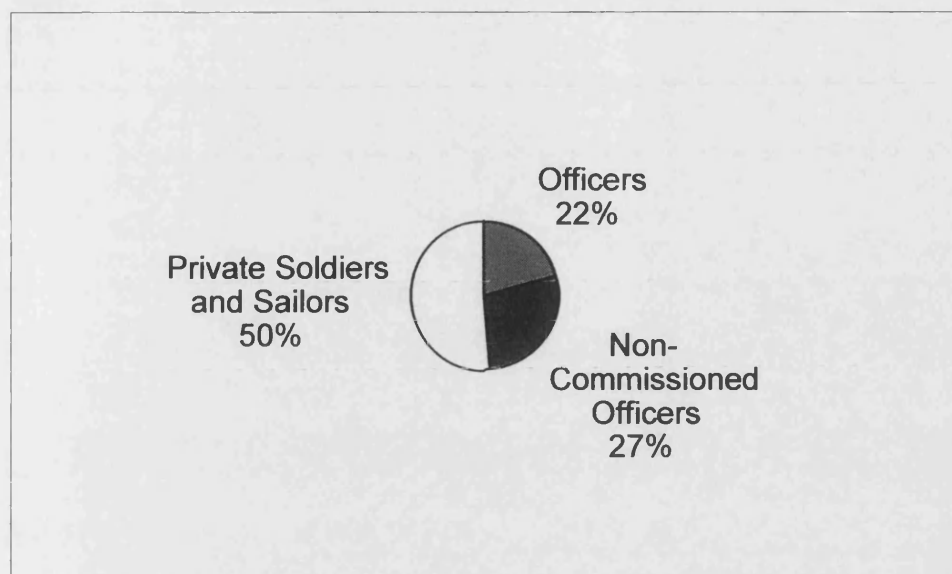
Figure 1.7: Rank Distribution of All Volunteers.⁹¹

Final Rank	Number of Named Volunteers	Re-distribution of Un-named Volunteers	All Volunteers (excluding 258 women and children)	%
Officers	1,445		1,445	22.06
Non-commissioned Officers	462	1,338	1,800	27.48
Private Soldiers and Sailors	848	2,457	3,305	50.46
Total all Named Volunteers (excluding 258 women and children)	2,755	3,795	6,550	100.00

Independent (Colombian) armies are given in Spanish in *italics*, whereas ranks in the British army are given in English.

⁹¹ Calculated from Figure 1.6 on the basis that all those who did not appear named in sources, were proportionally non-commissioned officers or private soldiers and sailors. This is the only calculation from which women and children are excluded, on the basis that they were extremely unlikely to have held a military rank, but they all had a national origin, age, etc.

Figure 1.8: Summary of Ranks Held by All Volunteers



While Figure 1.8 is the result of calculations based on fragmentary sources, it serves to inform the argument that the inordinate concentration on a select band of named volunteer officers throughout the historiography (determined by the biases of the most easily-accessed secondary sources and archival documentation) cannot be justified. The percentage of officers was indeed high (over one in five volunteers was a commissioned officer), but the majority of the soldiers were of lower rank who were only infrequently named in documentation.

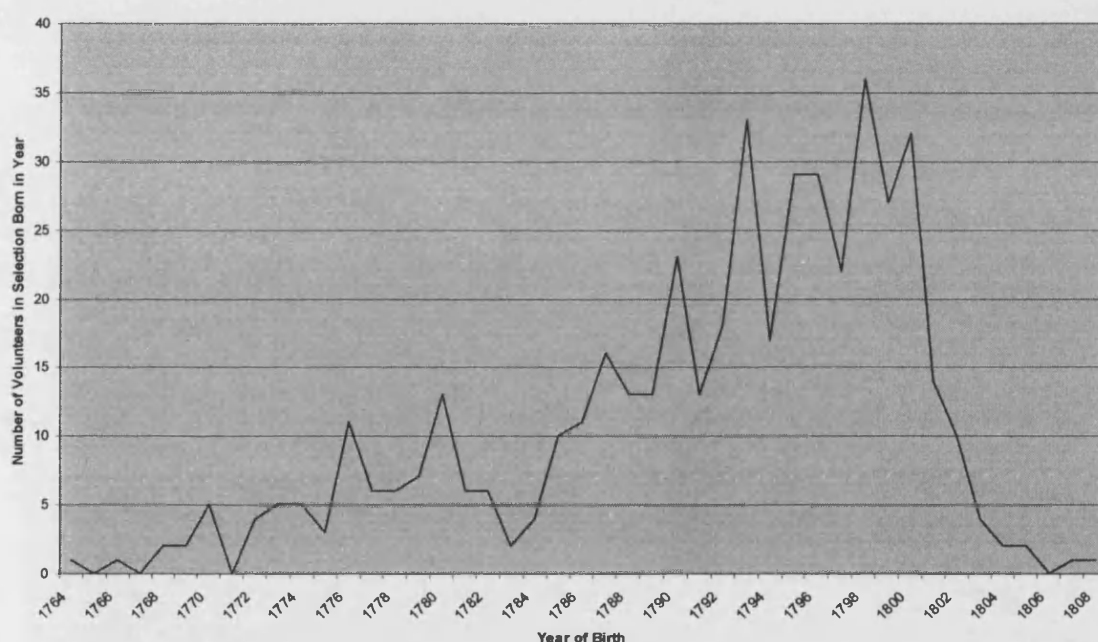
In the military environment of the volunteer expeditions therefore, the principal class division was between soldiers and officers, although divisions between the various officer ranks, and between commissioned and non-commissioned officers, were also important. These divisions were understood through an emphasis on honour, as status based on wealth was extremely problematic in a virtually cash-free environment.

Age

The age of the volunteers was also important in determining their relations with Colombians and with each other. Some came at the start of their lives, others towards the end, spanning almost forty years in age. The eldest was born in 1764 (and was therefore

aged fifty-five when he first arrived in Venezuela) and the youngest in 1808 (and was just fourteen when he joined the Colombian navy in 1822).⁹² However, while figures are not available for those who left wives or children at home (as very few documents recorded such facts) most soldiers listed themselves as 'Single' when they were asked.⁹³ In 1819 (the median year of arrival in Venezuela), the volunteers' mean age was 28 years. This was exactly the same for private soldiers and for officers, but shows the volunteers to have been on average three years older than the Venezuelan soldiers they served alongside, who had an average age of 25 in this period.⁹⁴ The modal age was 21 and the median was 28, but as is illustrated by Figure 1.9, the volunteer expeditions consisted of a large number of inexperienced youths accompanied by a small number of older men, many of whom were aging or infirm.⁹⁵

Figure 1.9: Volunteers' Years of Birth (selection of 465)



⁹² The eldest was Peter Dinnon, from Cork, who was invalided from the Colombian army after being wounded at Carabobo. He was fifty-eight when he entered the Caracas Hospital in 1822, AGNC R GYM, Vol.16, f.728. The youngest was George Finlay, who was discharged from the Colombian Navy in 1827, still aged just nineteen, Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.405.

⁹³ Around 90% of those volunteers asked about their marital status replied that they were single.

⁹⁴ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, p.498.

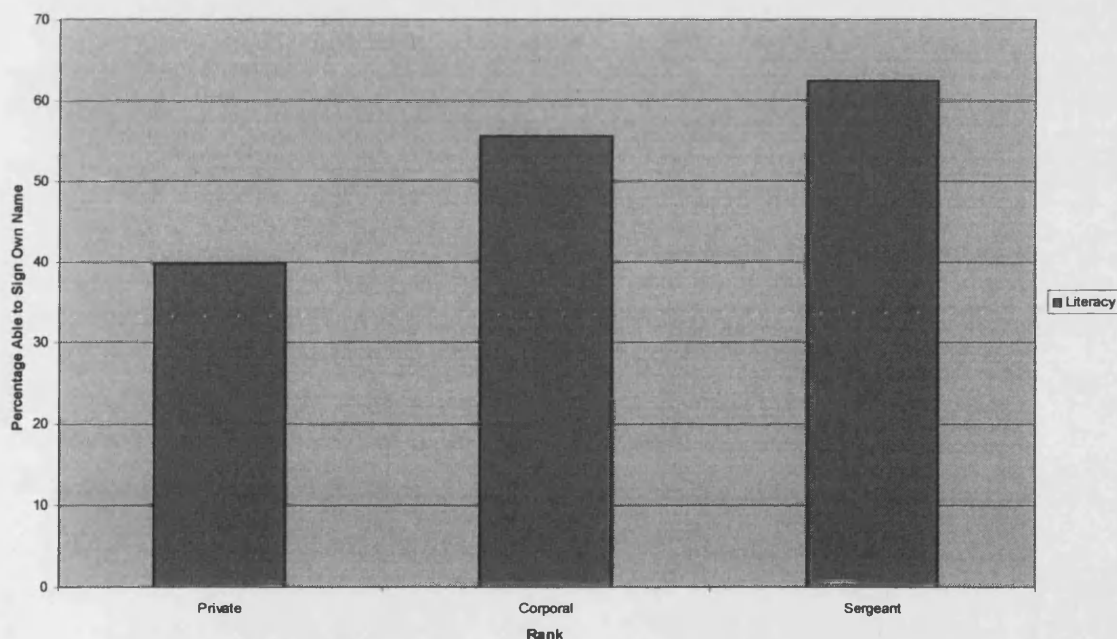
⁹⁵ When privates were considered as a group, the mode remained at 21, and the median fell to 26. When officers were considered as a group, the mode remained at 21, and the median fell even further to 25.

Privates were more likely than officers to be older, although there were high proportions of both young officers and young privates. Officers were much more likely to be in their thirties when they arrived in South America.

Literacy

Literacy was another means of distinguishing between volunteers and Colombians. Because the number of private soldiers who left written testimony is so low, it is difficult to estimate the literacy rates of the volunteers. Literacy was essential for officers, who needed to write down the names of their men and send notes, orders and memoranda to each other. No records have been found indicating any illiterate volunteer officers. Based on the number of volunteers who left their mark 'X' on requests for pensions, discharges and other documents, a figure of around 40% literacy for the private soldiers and non-commissioned officers is reasonable.

Figure 1.10: Literacy Rates of Private Soldiers and Non-Commissioned Officers



As the ranks increased from private soldiers through corporals to sergeants, there was a corresponding increase in the levels of literacy. In a sample of 75 private soldiers asked

to verify a particular document, 30 signed their names, and 45 marked with an X. However, some doubt must be cast on these figures by the tendency for some private soldiers to sign themselves in fluent Hispanified renditions of their names (see Figures 1.11, 1.12, and 1.13 below).

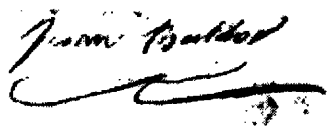


Figure 1.11: Signature of ‘Juan Butcher’ (John Butcher)

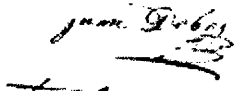


Figure 1.12: Signature of ‘Juan Debes’ (John Davis)

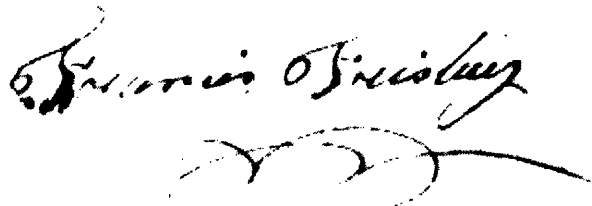


Figure 1.13: Signature of ‘Francis Frisby’

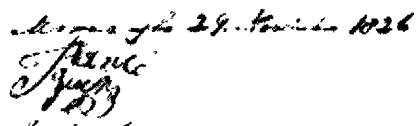


Figure 1.14: Signature of ‘Franco Quen’ (Francis Kean)

The sharp discrepancies between the stylish signatures of some volunteer private soldiers, and the messier attempts, or simple crosses, of others, make it likely that some Colombian clerks were signing the papers on behalf of the volunteers.⁹⁶ John Davis' signature, reproduced as Figure 1.12, illustrates some of the difficulties. Whilst almost all of the volunteers adopted hispanified first names (Juan for John, Guillermo for William, Francisco for Francis, etc) at some stage of their Hispanic American careers, this was a much rarer occurrence for surnames. John Davis fluently signing himself as 'Juan Debes', therefore, indicated a Bogotá clerk unfamiliar with the English spelling simply transcribing the name he was told. Other examples were even more apparent – John Baker's 'signature' was in exactly the same hand as the entire preceding letter, which was written in fluent Spanish, in a stylish, legalistic hand.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, this was not an overwhelmingly prevalent phenomenon. Other signatures demonstrated a marked difficulty in spelling hispanified versions of first names – Francis Mulligan and Francis Kean both required several attempts to spell 'Francisco',⁹⁸ in contrast with the confident signature of Francis Frisby, reproduced above.⁹⁹ Another volunteer, Private John Hill, learnt to write in Colombia. Upon his discharge from the Colombian Army in 1825 he signed himself with an X, but seventeen years later, long-married and settled in Coro, he signed reasonably fluently, 'John Hill'.¹⁰⁰

At least initially, the level of Spanish spoken by volunteers was very low. Those few (generally officers) who could speak Spanish on arrival were singled out for special mention, and often given positions of influence. Thomas Jackson, George Woodberry and

⁹⁶ John Butcher, 17th March 1824, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0762, f.4; John Davis, no date, 1823, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db1010, f.6. Similarly signatures that appear to have been drawn by the same clerk are Samuel Dolloway, 7th October 1822, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0299, f.4; Julian Loble, 7th October 1822, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0176, f.4; John Ledger, 3rd October 1822, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0311, f.3.

⁹⁷ For Baker, see Casa de Moneda, Db0541, f.5 signed in Bogotá, 9th April 1823.

⁹⁸ Francis Mulligan, 7th October 1822, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0127, f.4. Francis Kean, 29th November 1826, Maracaibo, Casa de Moneda, Db0734, f.7.

⁹⁹ Francis Frisby, 2nd October 1822, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0329, f.4.

¹⁰⁰ John Hill, 6th September 1825, Maracaibo, AGNV IP, Vol.42, f.209; John Hill, 23rd July 1842, Coro, AGNV IP, Vol.42, f.214. There were occasional exceptions. Colonel John Mackintosh consistently refused to sign or refer to himself with any name other than 'John Mackintosh' – his contributions to the *haberes militares* papers stand out against 'Juan Johnston', 'Juan Bendle', 'Tomás Manby', etc. Among the private soldiers, in 1832 William Keogh was signed 'Guillermo Guió', seemingly another phonetic transliteration by a clerk. See William Keogh, 4th September 1832, AGNC HDS, Vol.24, f.435.

Thomas Richards served as aides-de-camp to Luis Brion, José Antonio Páez, and Manuel Manrique and Mariano Montilla, one of their principal responsibilities being to translate orders from Spanish to English.¹⁰¹ Daniel O'Leary dedicated himself to learning Spanish so that he could take up a position close to Bolívar.¹⁰² Those who remained in Colombia after 1823 learned enough Spanish to petition the government and write to friends. The widespread ignorance of the Spanish language (let alone the languages of the many indigenous groups they encountered in Gran Colombia) brings out one of the most obvious practical difficulties of foreign enlistment in the Independent army, and formed one of the principal obstacles to forming relations with Hispanic Americans. Communication was something that the volunteers had to learn upon arrival, at the same time as most of them were learning their trade as soldiers.

Conclusions

The statistical analysis above shows how the volunteer expeditions were much more about emigration and adventure than they were about experienced military professionals seeking remunerative employment. Young and old, labourers and artisans, men, women and children, they represented a cross-section of British and Irish society. Regardless of whether they were Irish or English, white or black, Protestant or Catholic, they were adventurers. Amongst their number they included some 'mercenaries' with military experience, and other 'volunteers' inspired by the idealism of the 'cause of liberty'. Others had 'no great desire to fight against Spain', but rather came seeking opportunity and fortune in lands about which they knew next to nothing.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ For Jackson see Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, p.22; for Woodberry see Carlos Pérez Jurado, 'Tras las huellas del Coronel George Woodberry', *Boletín de la academia nacional de la historia*, (Caracas), 84:335 (July-September 2001), pp.116-18; for Richards see AGNV IP, Vol.74, ff.17-70. Manuel Manrique, (b.1793 San Carlos, d.1823 Maracaibo) commanded the Independents' forces on the Venezuelan coast in the early 1820s. Mariano Montilla (b.1782 Caracas, d.1851 Caracas) commanded the Independents' attacks on Barcelona, Cumaná and Riohacha in 1819 and 1820. In his later career as a diplomat he met with Palmerston to negotiate British recognition of Venezuelan independence.

¹⁰² O'Leary, *Narración*, Vol.1, p.491.

¹⁰³ 'Petición de oficiales presos', AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, reproduced in Juan Friede, 'La expedición de Mac-Gregor a Riohacha - Año 1819', *Boletín cultural y bibliográfico*, 10:9 (1967), p.74. For further consideration of MacGregor's attempts to colonise the territory of Poyais see Matthew Brown, 'Inca, Sailor, Soldier, King'.

Chapter 2: The Realities of Adventuring in Gran Colombia

Welcome at this favourable hour, illustrious defenders of liberty; welcome to the arms of your brothers, and to the bosom of your adopted country. ... This cause is worthy of you: it is the cause of wisdom and industry, of the arts and commerce – the sacred cause of social intercourse, and consequently that of every people and all men. ... Such is the sublime undertaking in which you have embarked with us, and to which we are conducted by a chief, covered with glory and full of virtue, generous, magnanimous, ever a patriot, always a citizen, and always the best friend of the defenders of liberty. Fly to his arms, follow him on his victorious march: - be careless of your fortune, and that of your children, for whom he himself has provided; and intent alone on the grand idea of freeing the land of Columbus, rush forth with us upon the Spaniards, and hurl them from our territory to the Sea of the Antilles! – Let us at once shew what any army of friends can do, composed of Britons and Venezuelans! FRANCISCO ANTONIO ZEA (1818)¹

Having established in Chapter 1 that veteran demobilised soldiers did not make up the majority of the volunteers, this chapter examines the realities of adventuring in Gran Colombia. Combining information culled from the database of 3,013 named volunteers, with more general figures taken from a range of memoirs and correspondence, it traces each group of volunteers from Britain and Ireland to Hispanic America, and then describes the regional variations across the lands that received them. Despite the fragmentary and unreliable nature of many of the sources, which were often founded upon mistaken assumptions and untrustworthy accounts, these figures are still an essential starting point for any discussion of the volunteers.² Previous narrative histories have not attempted to provide any quantitative analysis of the volunteer expeditions, instead relying on the estimates and guesstimates of contemporaries. Figure 2.1 largely agrees with Lambert's estimate of a total number of 5,500 to 6,000 volunteer soldiers,

¹ [Francisco Antonio Zea], 'Proclamation to the British Troops', 1818, reproduced in *Colombia: Being a Geographical, Statistical, Agricultural, Commercial and Political Account of that Country*, Vol.2, pp.373-5. Zea (b.1766 Medellín, d.1822 Bath) was President of the Congress of Angostura, and the most important civilian in the Independents' administration. In 1820 he travelled to Europe to negotiate loans for the new republic of Colombia, but his actions were later disowned by the Colombian Congress, which argued that the terms of the loans were disadvantageous.

² Due to the unreliability of news-gathering, incorrect rumours of tragic deaths were often elaborated and reported in British and Irish newspapers. At this distance, it is not possible to know how many of these rumours have passed uncorrected. See the death of Joseph Battersby described in *Dublin Evening Post*, 3rd February 1820 and the obituary of Daniel O'Leary published in *Carrick's Morning Post*, 29th January 1820. See also Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.292.

plus around 1,000 volunteer sailors.³ The volunteers were recruited over several years by different individuals:

Tracing the Adventures

Figure 2.1: Grouping the Volunteer Expeditions

Group	Description	Number of Volunteers
A	First units, recruited by Luis López Méndez, Gustavo Hippisley, et al, 1817	720
B	British Legion, recruited by James Towers English, 1818-1819	c.1,200
B	British Legion, recruited by George Elsom, 1819	572
B	Hanoverian Legion, recruited by Johannes Uslar, 1819	300
C	Irish Legion, recruited by John Devereux, 1819-1820	1,729
D	MacGregor Legions, recruited by Gregor MacGregor, 1819	c.600
D	MacGregor Legions, recruited by Francis Maceroni, 1819 ⁴	300
E	Others enlisting individually	387
E	Naval volunteers	c.1,000
Total		c.6,808

Group A: Of the 720 who formed the first contingents in 1817: 200 drowned on the shipwrecked ‘Indian’ off the coast of France, 390 left the service in the Caribbean (either returning to Europe or dying in the Caribbean), and just 200 arrived in Angostura.⁵ Of these 200 who joined the Independent service, 100 eventually crossed the Páramo de Pisba and then served at Boyacá. Of the remaining 100, probably 20 died or left

³ Lambert’s figures were based on an unpublished card index that he occasionally mentioned in his published work. This was primarily the three volumes of *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, but his findings were best synthesised in ‘Irish Soldiers in South America’, and ‘Los legionarios británicos’ in Fundación de Bello, *Bello y Londres*, Vol.1, (Caracas, 1980), pp.355-76. In ‘Irish Soldiers in South America’, Lambert estimated that there were 5,500 army volunteers in total, and that 5,000 actually arrived on the shores of South America. In addition, he proposed a figure of 500 naval volunteers. Such inconsistency between different sections of his work was typical of Lambert – here I have taken his (higher) figures from ‘Los legionarios británicos’, which are more in line with my own findings.

⁴ Francis Maceroni (dates unknown) was a veteran of the Napoleonic armies who became associated and then disillusioned with Gregor MacGregor, and organised many of his volunteer expeditions. The principal source for Maceroni’s life is his own autobiography, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni, late aide-de-camp to Joachim Murat, King of Naples; Knight of the Legion of Honour, and of St. George of the Two Sicilies; Ex-General of Brigade, in the Service of the Republic of Colombia, etc, etc, with a portrait, in two volumes*, (London, 1838).

⁵ All of this basic information can be found in Hasbrouck, *Foreign legionaries*, and Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, unless otherwise stated.

Angostura without any active campaigning, and around 80 served in the Apure and eventually fought at Carabobo.

Group B: Of the 2,072 members of the British Legion (including the Hanoverians) around 1,000 served in the 1819 campaign on the Venezuelan coast, culminating in the attack on Barcelona. Of these 1,000, perhaps 100 died on campaign, with 900 returning to Margarita. Here, another 100 died or departed, leaving some 800 to reach Angostura. Of these, around 500 were present at Achaguas in December 1820, and then went on to serve at Carabobo. Of these, 100 died, 100 joined the Albion battalion, and 200 went on to serve on the Venezuelan coast in the navy, and were later based around Coro and Maracaibo. This leaves a figure of around 100 who died in, or departed from, Angostura. Taking the figure of 1,000 for the campaign on Barcelona means that 1,072 died on route to Margarita, died at Margarita, or departed the service there and returned home.⁶

Group C: Of the 1,728 members of the Irish Legion, just 678 formed part of the campaign on Riohacha in 1820. 544 of these rebelled and were transported to Jamaica. Some were dispersed throughout the Caribbean and others travelled on to North America. 134 remained in the Independent service, fighting at La Ciénaga, the siege of Cartagena, and later being incorporated into the Albion Battalion. 12 were killed in combat. Of the 1,051 who did not leave Margarita in military service, probably 300 travelled on to Angostura. From there, a smaller proportion (around 100) were incorporated into the British Legion and served at Carabobo and beyond. The remainder (around 200) either died or departed from the service.⁷ This leaves 751 who either died at Margarita or departed and returned home. Of these, given the evidence provided by memoirs of the period, approximately 600 died and 150 were able to depart.⁸

⁶ [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years during the War of Extermination*, p.8 stated that 2,000 took part in the Barcelona campaign. [G.A Lowe], 'A brief sketch of operations', estimated 1,500. Both appear to be excessive numbers proposed by men interested in promoting the size of the expedition for their own benefit.

⁷ [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years during the War of Extermination*, p.175 estimated that 500 died on the outward voyage.

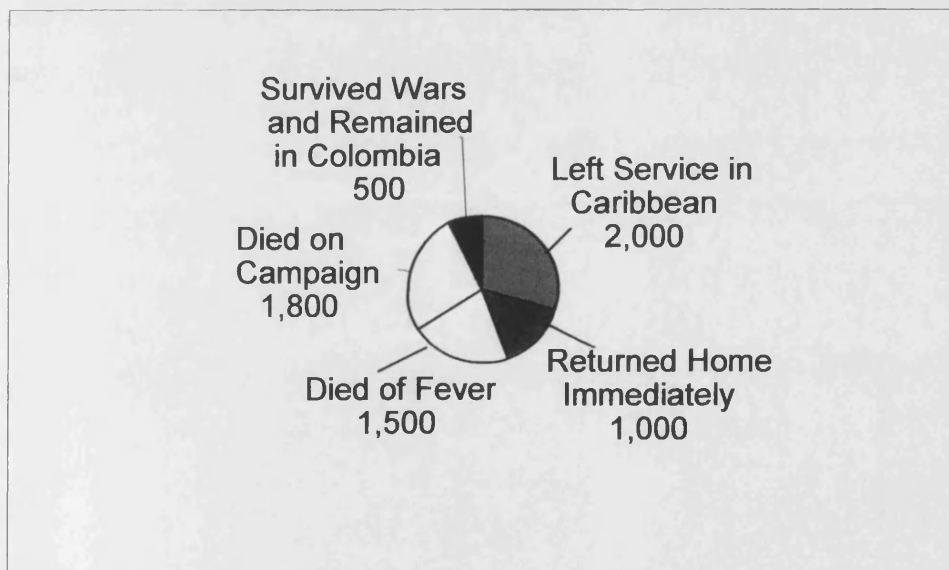
⁸ M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.13; O'Connor, *Independencia Americana*, p.32.

Group D: Of the 900 volunteers recruited by MacGregor and Maceroni, about 300 deserted in the Caribbean before taking part in any military action and either died, or remained in the Caribbean, or returned home. 300 joined the attack on Riohacha and another 300 on Portobello. Of these, very little is known beyond the executions of 150 and the imprisonment of 100 (almost all of whom died in captivity, with the exception of around a dozen who escaped) and 150 said to have escaped from Riohacha before the Loyalist occupation (some of whom re-joined the Independent army at a later stage). This leaves 200 who either died or deserted in the Caribbean.

Group E: Whilst the careers of a minority of the 387 individual volunteers are known in some detail they were so disparate that it is impossible to generalise about them. Very little is known about the naval volunteers, beyond their mobility within the Caribbean region (but not the mainland interior). Lambert did not fully integrate sailors into his study.⁹

The discussion of the volunteers in the groups above enables the following estimation of what happened to them after they arrived in the Caribbean:

Figure 2.2: Summary of Volunteers' Later Careers

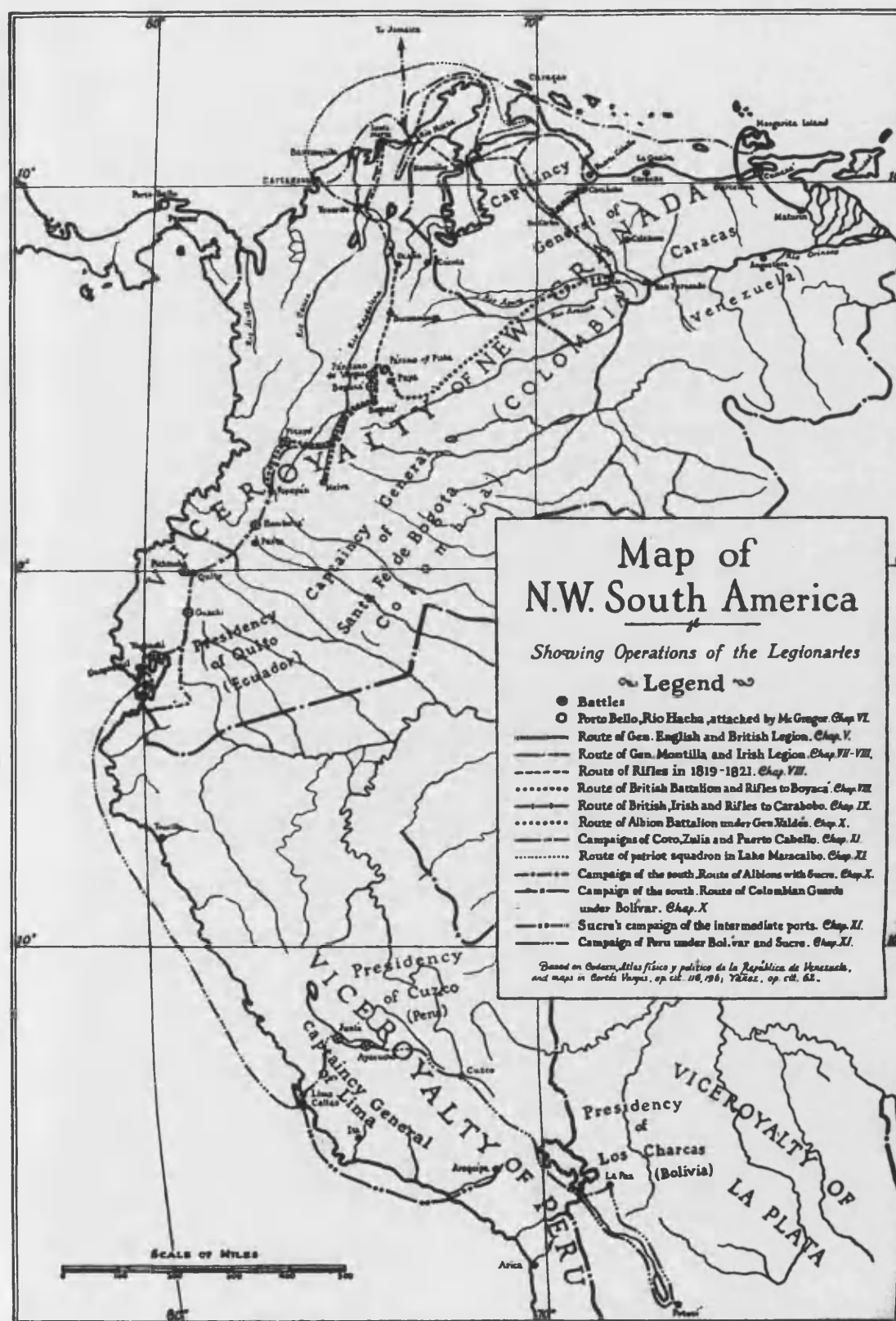


⁹ For discussion of foreign volunteers in the Chilean and Peruvian navies in the 1820s, see Matthew Brown, 'British Volunteers in the Independence of Peru', Unpublished MA thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1997.

Regional Context

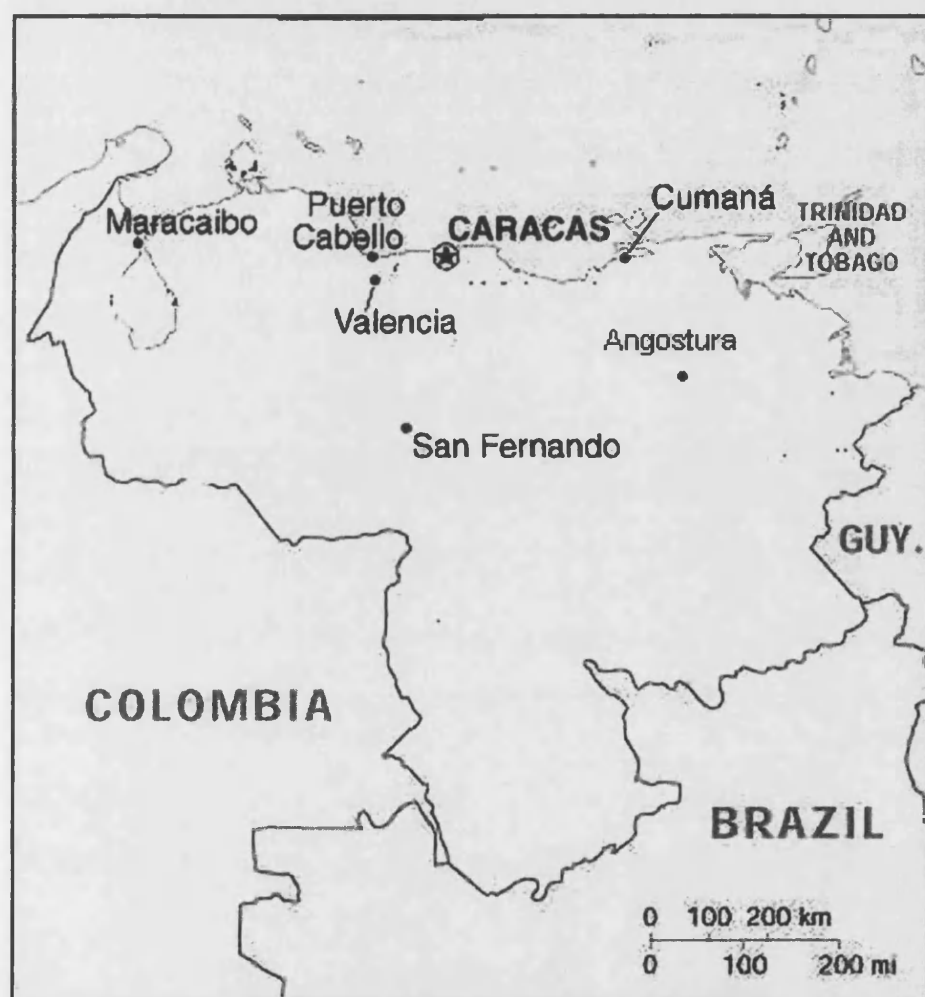
In order to complement the above dissection of the volunteer expeditions, the subsequent section provides an overview of where the volunteers went while they were in Gran Colombia. It divides the territory into thirteen broad regions, and treats them in a generally chronological and geographical order from east to south-west, corresponding with the period that the mass of volunteers reached them (i.e. it starts in Angostura in 1818, and ends in Guayaquil in 1823). In order to provide some historical context for the different localities, each region is briefly discussed in terms of the following issues: topography, demography and race, population density, workforce and slavery, gender, political bodies, the Church, economic situation and economic bodies, the military and previous contact with foreigners. Statistics are provided where available and relevant. The regions to be considered are: Angostura and Guayana; the island of Margarita, the Venezuelan coast; the Venezuelan coastal range, including Caracas; the Llanos; the New Granadan coast including Santa Marta and Riohacha; Cartagena and Panama; the New Granadan Eastern Cordillera, including Bogotá; Antioquía and the Chocó; Cauca, including Cali and Popayán; Pasto and Patía; Quito and the Ecuadorian highlands; Guayaquil and the Pacific Coast. This discussion is dependent upon the available secondary literature, more prevalent for some areas than others. Regions that received only a handful of volunteers, or that were hardly encountered at all, such as the Amazon, are not discussed.

Map 2: Where the Volunteers Went (taken from Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*)



Almost all of the volunteers first arrived in what since 1777 had been the Captaincy-General of Venezuela, a region characterised by the 'frequent and large-scale movement of people in and out of the urban centres'.¹⁰ This phenomenon was greatly exaggerated by the turmoil of the Wars of Independence, and the volunteers became part of a highly mobile population, which at the end of the colonial period was recorded as consisting of 26% whites, 13% Indians, 39% pardos, 8% (free) blacks, and 14% slaves, from a total population of around 700,000.¹¹ Within this region there were marked local variations.

Map 3: Venezuela



¹⁰ Lombardi, *People and Places in Colonial Venezuela*, (Bloomington, Ind., 1976), p.110.

¹¹ Lombardi, *People and Places in Colonial Venezuela*, p.110.

Angostura and Guayana

Population of Angostura c.1810: c.6,000.¹² Population of Guayana c.1807:c.40,000.¹³

The Orinoco delta spans 400 miles across, and ships carrying the volunteers often had difficulty finding the correct channel up the river, needing local pilots to guide them.¹⁴ The journey provided them with an uncertain, 'swampy, rainy and hot' welcome to mainland Venezuela.¹⁵ Most of Guayana's settlements hugged the edges of rivers, leaving expanses of unexplored hinterland to the indigenous peoples, and to the volunteers' imaginations. The towns of the region, principally Angostura, existed to facilitate trade between the llanos and the Caribbean, especially in this period providing hides and beef for the British West Indian garrisons.¹⁶ Previously a relatively neglected outpost of Spanish power, Capuchin missions had spread throughout Guayana and, especially, in the Caroní in the late eighteenth century. Political and military governors appointed in Spain tended not to stay for more the five years expected, and the last colonial military governor of Angostura was an Irishman in the service of Spain, Laurence Fitzgerald.¹⁷ In 1817 the Independents' advance triggered a mass exodus, and the forty-one remaining Capuchin friars either fled, or were killed by the advancing Independent army of Manuel Piar, or died in captivity.¹⁸ In late 1817 Guayana was the Independents' only substantial possession in Venezuelan territory. Bolívar therefore made Angostura his capital and the base for his subsequent campaigns to re-take Venezuela and New Granada from the Loyalist army. In the years 1817 to 1821, the population of Angostura, a small town perched on a hill at a narrowing of the Orinoco, was swollen by the arrival of the Independents' leaders, their armies, and the associated traders, women and followers who accompanied them. A *hacendado* from the llanos, Don Feliciano Pérez, reported in February 1819 that Angostura was 'virtually a foreign

¹² 'Ciudad Bolívar', *Diccionario de la Historia de Venezuela*.

¹³ Izard, *Series estadísticas para la historia de Venezuela*, (Mérida, 1970), p.14. Population figures for Guayana in this period are extremely unreliable, given that many Indians were dispersed across a huge territory, and rarely featured in the colonial censuses. See Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.133.

¹⁴ Hippiisley, *Narrative of the Expedition to the rivers Orinoco and Apure*, p.217.

¹⁵ Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.9.

¹⁶ Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.23.

¹⁷ Cunningham Graham, *José Antonio Páez*, p.106.

¹⁸ Lynch, 'Revolution as a Sin: the Church and Spanish American Independence', in *Latin America Between Colony and Nation: Selected Essays*, (London, 2001), p.133.

colony, as it is mainly populated by foreigners'.¹⁹ The town became a meeting-place for people from across the Gran Colombian region, and probably 1,500 foreign volunteers spent some time there, an extraordinary number given the size of the town. In addition, refugees came in from the missions, where the combined impact of disease and the requisitioning of men and supplies by both Independent and Loyalist armies had led to the collapse of the local population.²⁰ Angostura was a melting-pot for the new Venezuelan republic where, in a small urban centre, Independent officers rubbed shoulders with Indians and the few newly-freed slaves, where whites, pardos and blacks came together in a common enterprise. To all extents and purposes during 1817, 1818 and much of 1819, Angostura was the only fixed point in the Venezuelan Republic. The presence of foreign soldiers and officers was one more element in this rapidly-changing, tense and pressurised environment.²¹

British traders had been linked to Angostura since Spain ceded the island of Trinidad in 1797. These commercial contacts had continued through the periods of free trade, neutral trade and prohibition of trade that accompanied the varying Spanish fortunes in the Napoleonic wars, and foreigners were therefore in a good position to press for better terms upon the establishment of republican government in Angostura.²² Foreigners such as James Hamilton and Samuel Forsyth occupied prestigious positions in Angostura society due to the debts owed to them by the government, and they often hosted important receptions in the houses they took over from Spanish governors and high-level officials. The trade in hides, beef, mules and tobacco continued to interest the British colonies, and the income that this commerce earned the nascent republic largely financed these pivotal years of the war against Spain.²³

¹⁹ 'Copia de la declaración tomada a Don Feliciano Pérez benido de Guayana', 19th February 1819, La Bannosa, AGI Cuba, Legajo 898A, 'Asuntos pertenecientes a la comandancia de los llanos'.

²⁰ Neil Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit: A History of the Caribs in Colonial Venezuela and Guayana 1498-1820*, (Dordrecht, 1988), pp.149-50. In 1825, the population of all Guayana was estimated at 16,310, Izard, *Series estadísticas*, p.14.

²¹ See Matthew Brown, 'La renovación de una élite'.

²² Pino Iturrieta, 'Antecedentes generales y esbozo del comercio inglés en Angostura', (undated, 1985?), pp.131-43.

²³ J.P. Harrison, 'The Colombian Tobacco Industry from Government Monopoly to Free Trade 1778-1876', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of California, 1951.

The forts along the Orinoco had been held by small units of the Loyalist army, and were dislodged when the Independents took control of the region. The Loyalists were replaced by regiments of the Independent army, often made up of the foreign volunteers, who were sent away from Angostura to smaller postings where they could be drilled and prepared for campaigning and fighting. 100 volunteers left Angostura to cross the Andes and marched over the Páramo de Pisba into the Eastern Cordillera of New Granada and up to Bogotá. A total of around 700 joined the army campaigning on the llanos, eventually moving to Achaguas in late 1820, and then on to the battle of Carabobo in 1821.

Margarita

Population in 1810: c.15,000.²⁴

The island of Margarita lies just 15km north of the Venezuelan coast, of which it is usually considered an integral part. It is discussed here separately because of the profoundly important role it played in receiving, barracking and dispersing large numbers of the British Legion and almost all of the Irish Legion. The number of foreign soldiers who passed through the island probably reached 4,000 between 1816 and 1822, many of whom died without reaching the Spanish Main. Most of the population resided in the valleys of the eastern side of the island, where fresh water was most plentiful, and in the four principal towns, La Asunción, Juan Griego, El Norte and Porlamar. As an island which had received many travellers and immigrants during the colonial period, the population was a mixture of whites and pardos with an identifiable Margaritan allegiance, 'eager to perform any office of kindness for strangers'.²⁵

Margarita had been important in colonial times for the trade in pearls, for which slave labour was used to dive and collect pearls from the seabed. This trade was in decline by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Several sugar plantations were dotted around the island relying on slave labour, although by 1819 many of the slaves had been recruited into the Independent army.²⁶ Margarita had pertained to various provinces and administrations during the colonial period, but from 1786 it reported to the *audiencia* in

²⁴ Izard, *Series estadísticas*, p.14.

²⁵ [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, Vol.1, p.31.

²⁶ M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.14.

Caracas which was also responsible for its limited military defence. For ecclesiastical matters it was governed by the dioceses of Guayana from 1790.²⁷ The movements led by two future heroes of Venezuelan Independence, Santiago Mariño and Juan Bautista Arismendi, converted the island into a standard bearer of the Independents' cause, earning it the title of 'New Sparta'.²⁸ Margaritan women were famed amongst Independents for their conduct in resisting Spanish attempts to capture the island, and were often portrayed as 'gallant Amazons'.²⁹

The island's agriculture and cattle-raising was sufficient for its own needs, but was limited by the short rainy season which only lasted from December to January. Those volunteers who arrived outside this period and were temporarily barracked on beaches away from the population centres, therefore struggled to find enough drinking water. These conditions allowed fevers and illnesses to flourish. However, due to their position in Caribbean trading networks, Margaritans had long travelled to fish and trade, and this had brought them into communication with foreigners from other islands. They were therefore generally open and receptive to the large numbers of volunteers who arrived at the island. This tolerance was one reason why Bolívar chose it as the meeting-point for his volunteer soldiers, rather than the more distant and already over-crowded Angostura, in addition to its accessibility from the trans-Atlantic shipping routes.³⁰ Confirming the inclusive reputation, Gregor MacGregor was chosen as one of Margarita's three representatives to the 1821 Congress of Cúcuta.³¹

The Venezuelan Coast, including Cumaná, Nueva Barcelona, Coro, and Maracaibo

Population of coastal region c.1800: c.200,000. Composition of population c.1800:

²⁷ 'Provincia de Margarita', *Diccionario de Historia de Venezuela*, (Caracas, 2000), CD Rom.

²⁸ Santiago Mariño (b.1788 Valle del Espíritu Santo, d.1854 La Victoria) was the principal caudillo of the Venezuelan East. He was involved in many of the political rebellions of the post-Independence years. Juan Bautista Arismendi (b.1770 La Asunción, d.1841 Caracas) commanded Margarita's resistance to Loyalist reconquest, and for a period in late 1819 he was Vice-President of Colombia. He was prominent in Venezuelan politics in the 1820s and 1830s.

²⁹ [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, Vol.1, p.27-32.

³⁰ Francisco Javier Yanes, *Historia de Margarita*, (Caracas, 1948), p.155, p.162.

³¹ Yanes, *Historia de Margarita*, p.167.

15.2% whites, 8.1% Indians, 38.8% pardos, 11.6% free blacks, 26.3% slaves.³²

The Venezuelan coast, from the Orinoco delta to Maracaibo, consists of 'low altitude beach, plain and rock'.³³ It is scattered with ports such as Puerto Cabello, Coro and La Guaira, and towns where rivers from the llanos meet the Caribbean (the Manzanares river at Cumaná, and the Neverí near Barcelona). Between 1816 and 1823, these towns were all attacked and occupied by expeditions of Independents that largely consisted of foreign volunteers. The maritime volunteers spent most of their time in operations on this section of the coast, especially around Coro, Puerto Cabello and Maracaibo. This 'coastal region' was a heterogeneous mix of people throughout the late colonial period. This population was generally confined to the urban centres, leaving large tracts of land in the interior to the many and largely undocumented indigenous groups, where the Society of Jesus was active in founding settlements.³⁴ One volunteer noted fourteen tribes of Indians in Cumaná alone.³⁵ Slavery was an important constituent of the coast's plantation economy, both before and after Independence, and this region had been the scene of Venezuela's principal colonial slave rebellions.³⁶ Slaves used in plantation agriculture and pearl fisheries. *were*

Cumaná was the capital of the province of Nueva Andalucía, prosperous in colonial times due to pearls from the nearby island of Cubagua, but during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries substantially diminished in importance, passing under the influence first of Bogotá and then Caracas. The western coast, including Coro and Puerto Cabello, was governed from Caracas throughout the later colonial period. Maracaibo had a certain administrative autonomy, justified by its key location for the defence of the coast, and its equidistance between Bogotá and Caracas, between whose jurisdictions it passed on several occasions. The Church played an important role in structuring the development of

³² Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.133; Rosa María Guillén Serrano, 'Vida cotidiana en Cumaná en vísperas de la independencia', in Maria Carmen Mena Garcia, ed., *Venezuela en el siglo de las luces*, (Sevilla and Bogotá, 1995), p.203.

³³ Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.7.

³⁴ 'Provincia de Nueva Andalucía', *Diccionario de Historia de Venezuela*.

³⁵ [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, Vol.2, p.234.

³⁶ Federico Brito Figueroa, *Las insurrecciones de los esclavos negros en Venezuela 1777-1830*, (Caracas, 1961), pp.42-98; Miguel Acosta Saignes, *Vida de los esclavos negros en Venezuela*, (Caracas, 1967), p.291

these towns, and in providing asylum and assistance for those threatened in the first years of warfare.³⁷ Nevertheless, until 1786 the region's ecclesiastical affairs were run from the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo, which necessarily meant that a certain degree of independence could develop. After 1816, many clergy fled Venezuela for Cuba, Puerto Rico or Spain.³⁸

At the end of the colonial period, the population of towns like Cumaná and Barcelona was growing rapidly and markets were full of produce from around Venezuela and the Caribbean.³⁹ The region was fundamental to Venezuela's late colonial economic prosperity, producing indigo, cotton and tobacco. As part of the Bourbon reforms of the colonial military defences in the late eighteenth century, the militias in Maracaibo were reformed.⁴⁰ Other coastal towns were left relatively undefended and consequently they regularly passed between the competing armies in the first stages of the war. Coro, Maracaibo and Puerto Cabello remained loyal to Spain well into the 1820s, and much of their antipathy to the Independents' cause can be explained by their relative prosperity under the colonial trading systems, and to their reluctance to be ruled from Caracas.⁴¹ Further east, Barcelona and Cumaná were precariously held by the Independents once they had established control of Margarita and improvised a naval force to connect it to the mainland.⁴² The variety of local circumstances on the coast meant that reactions to foreigners were diverse and dependent on the state of the war, current trading relations, and the composition of the local population.

Venezuelan Coastal Range, including Caracas

Population of region c.1809: 165,929. Composition of population c.1809:

³⁷ [Anon], *Las víctimas de Barcelona, por un caraqueño*, undated, BNC, Fondo Quijano, 12,923.

³⁸ J. Lloyd Meham, *Church and State in Latin America: A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations*, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1929), p.503.

³⁹ Guillén Serrano, 'Vida cotidiana en Cumaná en vísperas de la independencia', pp.206-9.

⁴⁰ Enrique Nobrega, 'Notas sobre la elite militar en la provincia de Maracaibo, 1750-1814', in Mena García, ed., *Venezuela en el siglo de las luces*, pp.255-80.

⁴¹ María Antonieta Martínez Guarda, *La region histórica de Coro y su articulación en tres momentos de la historia de Venezuela: 1528-1824*, (Caracas, 2000), pp.63-70.

⁴² Yanes, *Historia de la provincia de Cumaná en la transformación política de Venezuela desde el día 27 de abril de 1810 hasta el presente año de 1821*, (Caracas, 1949), pp.229-44.

29.4% whites, 8.8% Indians, 34.3% pardos, 6.0% free blacks, 21.5% slaves.⁴³

The Venezuelan Coastal Range sits just behind the coast in the central and eastern portion of Venezuela. Although representing only a small fraction of Venezuela's surface area, the 'stabilized network of hamlets, villages, towns and cities' in its rich inter-montane valleys made it the most densely populated part of the region (eight people per km²), and it held the principal economic and political centres of the area from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.⁴⁴ The region had a unique 'three-way external orientation – Colombian, Caribbean, and Atlantic'.⁴⁵ Its demography was similar to that of the Coast, except its white population was rather larger, reflecting the attraction of its more temperate climate to European settlers.

This high percentage of slaves reflected the development of a 'dynamic cacao economy' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which had replaced the *encomienda* system with a burgeoning numbers of slaves brought from Africa.⁴⁶ Faced with their own relative lack of numbers, white hacienda owners developed closely-linked kinship networks, and protested energetically when they felt that their interests were threatened by colonial initiatives.⁴⁷ As they entered the republican era, there was a ready-constituted set of propertied, educated, predominantly white men.⁴⁸ This group had benefited from Caracas' 'golden age of economic expansion and political maturity' at the end of the eighteenth century, with the establishment of the Captaincy-General of Venezuela based in Caracas in 1777, and the Bishopric of Caracas.⁴⁹ They formed the *consulado* of Caracas in 1793. The clergy was also overwhelmingly situated in the city of Caracas but, by relative standards, the Church was much less powerful in Venezuela than in New

⁴³ Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.133.

⁴⁴ Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.26.

⁴⁵ Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.26.

⁴⁶ Robert J. Ferry, 'Encomienda, African Slavery and Agriculture in Seventeenth Century Caracas', *HAHR*, 61:4 (1981) pp.609-35

⁴⁷ Ferry, *The Colonial Elite of Early Caracas: Formation and Crisis, 1567-1767*, (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), pp.177-216.

⁴⁸ As discussed in Díaz, '*Ciudadanas and padres de familia*'.

⁴⁹ P. Michael McKinley, *Pre-Revolutionary Caracas: Politics, Economy and Society 1777-1811*, (Cambridge, 1985), p.3.

Granada.⁵⁰ In the wake of the influx of slaves, the pardo-dominated population boomed, consequently blurring ethnic differences and ‘creating an integrated middle-class’ of white and pardo plantation and ranch owners who were largely content with the colonial order.⁵¹ Its cacao-based prosperity propelled Caracas into a position of regional importance, cementing an alliance of interest between traditional antipathetic merchants and landowners.⁵² The late colonial diversification of the economy into coffee and indigo facilitated the development of a diverse workforce, consisting as much of day-workers and peones as urban and plantation slaves, and independent smaller producers.⁵³ This prosperous region suffered from the disruptions of the Napoleonic Wars, which affected its capacity to find markets for its products. The previously moderate, consensual political equilibrium was replaced by something akin to desperation to recoup lost halcyon days of wealth.⁵⁴ The Caracas *cabildo* was one of the instigators of moves towards economic and political independence, which mercantile and commercial elites saw as one and the same thing.⁵⁵

The colonial militia in Caracas, officered by the white and pardo landowners and traders, formed the basis of the armies of the First Venezuelan Republic, but it proved an inflexible weapon for waging a national war.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, it meant that the elites had something of a military vocation, in contrast with the interior regions where colonial defence had never been a priority. The Caracas elites were well aware that their past and future prosperity depended on contact and trade with foreigners. When they espoused the correct partisan loyalties, therefore, foreigners were welcomed. After the battle of Carabobo around two hundred foreign volunteers settled in Caracas and maritime volunteers were frequent visitors to the city. After the wars, foreigners were able to settle amidst a general attitude of tolerance. The first official Protestant cemetery was

⁵⁰ McKinley, *Pre-Revolutionary Caracas*, p.29; Meham, *Church and State in Latin America*, p.124.

⁵¹ McKinley, *Pre-Revolutionary Caracas*, pp.9-17.

⁵² McKinley, *Pre-Revolutionary Caracas*, p.2.

⁵³ McKinley, *Pre-Revolutionary Caracas*, p.35.

⁵⁴ McKinley, *Pre-Revolutionary Caracas*, p.169.

⁵⁵ Pedro M. Arcaya, *El Cabildo de Caracas*, (Caracas, 1968); Lucena Salmoral, *Los mercados exteriores de Caracas a comienzos de la independencia*.

⁵⁶ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, pp.73-85.

consecrated in Caracas in 1834, and the British Consul regularly performed Anglican services including marriages.⁵⁷

The llanos

Population of region c.1809: 134,174. Composition of population c.1809:
29.6% whites, 13.6% Indians, 41.7% pardos, 7.2% free blacks, 7.9% slaves.⁵⁸

The area known as 'the llanos' forms the interior heartland of Venezuela, and rolls westwards into New Granada, covered with grass, clumps of trees, and marshes. Rivers and streams dissect the region, regularly flooding vast areas and hence regulating the lives of its cattle-herding inhabitants.⁵⁹ Furthest east are the Llanos de Maturín, one of Venezuela's principal cattle-raising areas, where several hundred volunteers were stationed in 1820.⁶⁰ South of this are the more sparsely populated Llanos de Barinas, and the more frequently flooded Llanos de Apure. Around 700 volunteers were barracked here in 1819 and 1820 and they travelled constantly throughout the region on horseback or on foot. Given the immense territory encompassed, the population density was correspondingly miniscule. The population included many escaped slaves or *cimarrones*, who had fled the plantations to find a life of relative freedom on the llanos. This led to the formation of an informal society based on equality between men, described by Miguel Izard as 'dangerously egalitarian'. The position of women in this society has yet to be seriously studied.⁶¹ The llanos were far from formal Venezuelan colonial politics, and life was only weakly institutionalised. The Church manned the only outposts of colonial rule, generally based in the larger towns, but its presence was in decline by the late colonial period.

⁵⁷ Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America*, p.124; Hans Dieter Elsching, *Cementerios en Venezuela. Los camposantos de los extranjeros del siglo XIX y los antiguos cementerios en Caracas y el Litoral*, (Caracas, 2000), pp.40-7; Manuel Alberto Donio Ríos, 'Sir Robert Ker Porter y los inicios del Protestantismo en Venezuela', *Boletín de la academia de la historia*, 72:327 (July-September 1999), pp.157-81; *Diario de Robert Ker Porter*, p.642.

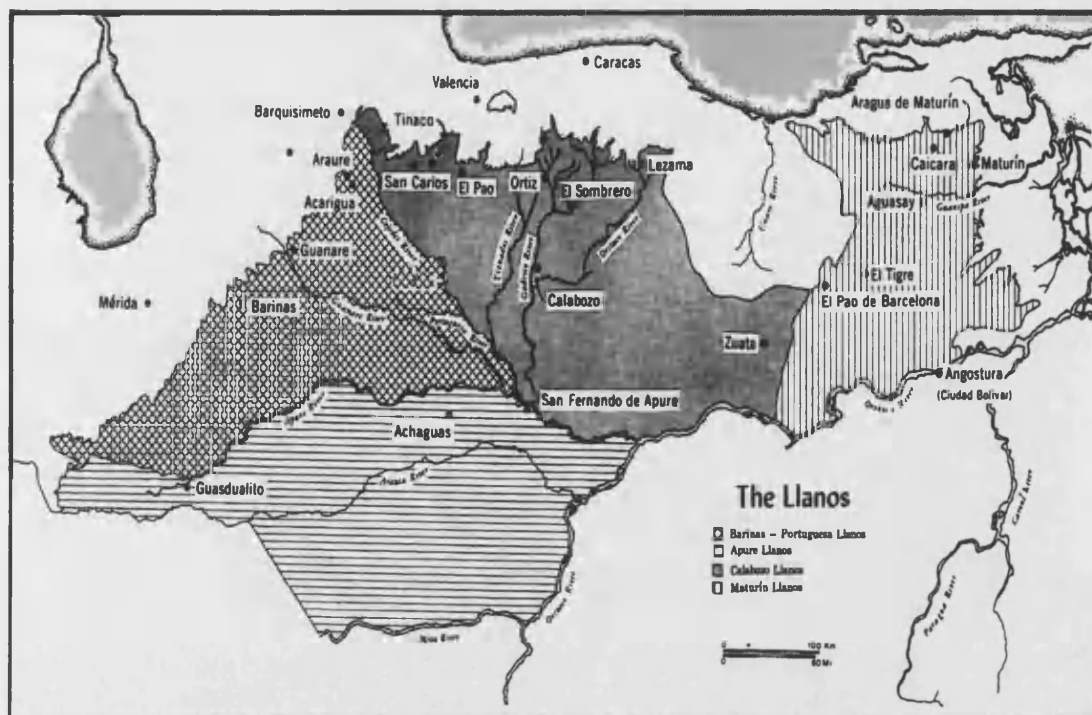
⁵⁸ Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.133.

⁵⁹ Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.9.

⁶⁰ Lombardi, *People and Places*, p.22.

⁶¹ Izard and Richard Slatta, 'Banditry and Social Conflict on the Venezuelan Llanos', in Slatta, ed., *Bandidos*, (Westport, Conn., 1987), p.42.

Map 4: The Venezuelan llanos (adapted from Lombardi, *People and Places*).



In the late colonial period, the informal llanos economy was increasingly incorporated into the prosperous Venezuelan economy.⁶² Until the Wars of Independence, the llanos had witnessed no military mobilisation at all, although some commentators believe that ‘violence was already a way of life’.⁶³ However, the Comunero rebellion of the 1780s demonstrated how the very isolation of the region could act as a haven for subversive groups, and the Independents took full advantage of this under Páez and Francisco de Paula Santander after 1817.⁶⁴ The llanos were a sparsely populated frontier, between Venezuela and New Granada, between the export economy of the coast and the

⁶² Izard, ‘El comercio venezolano en una época de transición 1777-1830’, *Miscelánea Barcinense: Revista de investigación y alta cultura*, 10:30 (1971) pp.7-44, and Izard, ‘Contrabandistas, comerciantes e ilustrados’, *Boletín Americanista*, 20:28 (1978) pp.23-86.

⁶³ Robert Paul Matthews, *Violencia rural en Venezuela 1840/1858: antecedentes socioeconómicos de la guerra federal*, (Caracas, 1977), pp.61-3.

⁶⁴ Jane Loy, ‘Forgotten Comuneros: The 1781 Revolt in the Llanos of Casanare’, *HAHR*, 61 (1981), pp.235-57. Francisco de Paula Santander (b.1792 Rosario de Cúcuta, d.1840 Bogotá) was the principal New Granadan military leader during the Wars of Independence. He was Vice-President of Colombia from 1821, and served as President of New Granada from 1833-7.

subsistence agriculture of the highlands.⁶⁵ Contact with non-Spaniards from across the Atlantic was minimal during the colonial period, but the llaneros were highly mobile people, and meeting strangers was an integral part of any travel in the region. In this frontier, identities were flexible and cultures assimilated rather than clashed.⁶⁶ This was no closed society and foreigners were tolerated and welcomed – providing they were on the right side of the partisan struggle.⁶⁷

The New Granadan Caribbean Coast: Santa Marta and Riohacha

Population of Riohacha 1788: c.4,000. Composition of male population:
1,463 free non-whites, 392 slaves, 181 whites, 11 Indians, 7 clergy.⁶⁸

The continuation of the Caribbean coast westwards from Maracaibo into New Granada was similarly integrated into the regional maritime trading economy. British traders operating out of Jamaica, and Dutch traders from Curacao, had long traded with the Indians of the Goajira peninsula. The relative prosperity of towns like Santa Marta and Riohacha was reflected in their loyalty to the Spanish cause into the 1820s. These towns were essentially colonial outposts until the republican era, with the hinterland occupied by unconquered Indians who had established complex relations of resistance and cooperation with their Hispanic neighbours.⁶⁹ Some slave plantations littered the coast, but the largely unwelcoming topography of mountains and marshland meant that the coastal towns were often isolated from the rest of New Granada and were therefore at

⁶⁵ For Colombia, Rausch, *A tropical plains frontier*, for Venezuela, Izard and Slatta, 'Banditry and Social Conflict on the Venezuelan Llanos', pp.35-46.

⁶⁶ See especially David J. Weber and Rausch, eds., *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History*, (Wilmington, Del., 1994), p.xiv, and Rausch, *Territorial Rule and the Llanos Frontier*, (Gainesville, Fla., 1999), p.x-xi.

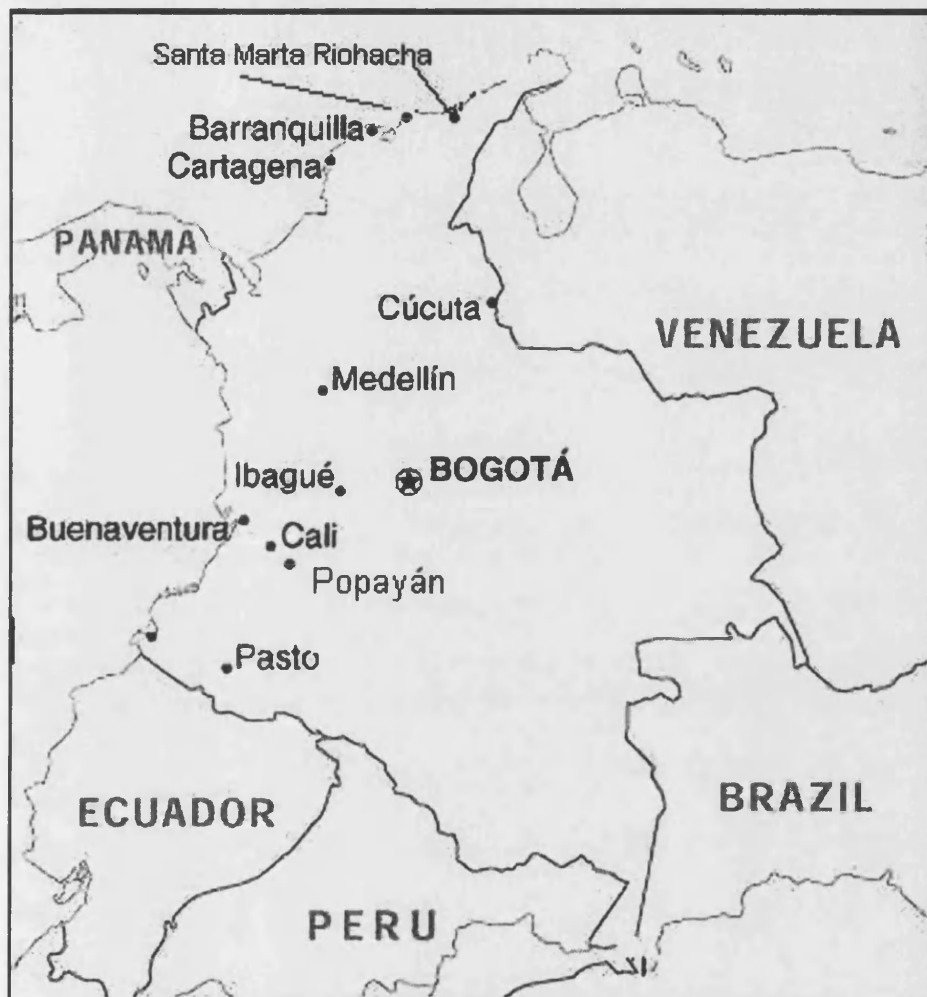
⁶⁷ See for example [Richard Vowell], *Campaigns and Cruises in Venezuela and New Granada and in the Pacific Ocean; From 1817-1830: With the Narrative of a march from the River Orinoco to San Buenaventura on the coast of Chocó and Sketches of the West Coast of South America from the Gulf of California to the archipelago of Chiloe. Also, Tales of Venezuela: Illustrative of Revolutionary Men, Manners, and Incidents in Three Volumes*, (London, 1831), Vol.1, pp.100-29.

⁶⁸ Barrera Monroy, *Mestizaje, comercio y resistencia*, p.284. The proportions were similar in Santa Marta, see McFarlane, *Colombia before Independence: Economy, Society and Politics Under Bourbon Rule*, (Cambridge, 1993), p.359.

⁶⁹ Eduardo Barrera Monroy, *Mestizaje, comercio y resistencia. La Guajira durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*, (Bogotá, 2000), p.221

threat from the depredations of pirates and buccaneers throughout the colonial period.⁷⁰ Faced with the constant sacking of their churches throughout the eighteenth century, the ecclesiastical establishment had been reduced to a bare minimum by the 1810s.

Map 5: New Granada



The elites who occupied positions on the *cabildo* and other political and economic bodies continued even after Independence to be largely white, wealthy and honourable. The sheer number of free non-white men who formed the vast majority of society made them conscious of how precarious this rule could become in the event of racial upheaval.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Arturo E. Bermúdez Bermúdez, *Piratas en Santa Marta: Piratas que atacaron la Provincia de Santa Marta*, (Bogotá, 1978).

⁷¹ Saether, 'Identities and Independence', p.325.

Colonial military reforms had concentrated on these towns' rival to the west, Cartagena de Indias, and thus left Santa Marta and Riohacha vulnerable to concerted attack from the sea. The coast's trading history with foreigners nevertheless meant that its people were open to alliances and agreements with foreigners throughout the Wars of Independence and they were often tolerant of the irritants and abuses that came with such a presence. Gregor MacGregor occupied Riohacha with 300 men in 1819 and almost 700 members of the Irish Legion attacked the town in 1820. Both expeditions attempted to negotiate with Santa Marta having already occupied Riohacha but in the short-term neither was successful. 134 Irish volunteers took part in Mariano Montilla's 1820-1 campaign along the coast, during which Santa Marta was eventually taken for the Independents.

Cartagena and Panama

In contrast to its neighbours, Cartagena was the best defended of Spain's South American possessions as virtually all the efforts of Bourbon military reform in New Granada had been focused on this vital port. Sea-defences were reinforced, the militia system was overhauled, and at the end of the colonial period the town had a functioning defence force that proved vital to provisioning and resistance during the long sieges that it suffered, from Loyalists in 1815 and from Independents in 1821.⁷² Its reinforced walls were virtually impregnable to contemporary weapons and lengthy siege warfare was the only alternative. Combined with the yellow fever that often attacked newcomers to the region, the defences defeated numerically superior British forces on several occasions in the eighteenth century.⁷³ The residue of the Irish Legion took part in the latter campaign and thenceforth Cartagena welcomed the many maritime volunteers who adopted the city as a place of residence and rest between campaigns.

⁷² Fisher, 'Soldiers, Society and Politics in Spanish America 1750-1821', *LARR*, 7:1 (1982), pp.217-22; Kuethe, *Military Reform and Society in New Granada 1773-1808*, pp.18-47.

⁷³ For an analysis of how these actions were interpreted for the burgeoning British identity, see Kathleen Wilson, 'Empire, Trade and Popular Politics in Mid-Hanoverian Britain: The Case of Admiral Vernon', *Past and Present*, 121 (1988), pp.74-109.

As the principal Spanish American entrepôt for the transatlantic slave trade, Cartagena itself had developed a substantial slave and free black population by 1800.⁷⁴ These black communities were linked to Caribbean networks of communication and were thus aware of the processes and consequences of the Haitian Revolution.⁷⁵ Freed slaves and mulatto artisans also formed important sections of the Independents' terrestrial and maritime mobilisation after Cartagena was wrested from Spanish control in 1821.⁷⁶ The area was home to people from a large diversity of ethnic backgrounds and labour relations and this 'extreme fragmentation of the territory and social fabric of the vast Caribbean region precluded mass rebellion'.⁷⁷ Subaltern groups were divided not just along ethnic lines but also by local loyalties and class divisions.⁷⁸ Despite the predominance of Cartagena, the population of the region was dispersed throughout its hinterland and in villages along the edges of the principal rivers connecting the region to the New Granadan highlands. Slavery was of some importance here and the high death rates of male slaves gave an enhanced importance to female slaves in gender relations.⁷⁹ The Church was important in Cartagena, providing a focal point for society and providing some assistance to those left in poverty and need by slavery or warfare.⁸⁰

A distinctive regional identity developed around Cartagena, in large part because of the difficulty of communication with the viceregal capital Bogotá, from which it was separated by a boat journey up the Magdalena river and then a mule ride over the

⁷⁴ Helg, 'Raíces de la invisibilidad del afrocaribe en la imagen de la nación colombiana: independencia y sociedad, 1800-1821', in Gonzalo Sánchez and María Emma Wills Obregón, eds. *Museo, memoria, nación*, (Bogotá, 1999), pp.219-51.

⁷⁵ María Laxxo, 'Haiti as an Image of Popular Republicanism in Caribbean Colombia: Cartagena Province (1811-1828)', in Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, (Columbia, S.C., 2001), pp.176-90.

⁷⁶ Helg, 'Simón Bolívar and the Spectre of Pardocracia', pp.447-71

⁷⁷ Helg, 'A Fragmented Majority: Free 'Of All Colours', Indians and Slaves in Caribbean Colombia During the Haitian Revolution', in Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, pp.157-75.

⁷⁸ Jorge Conde Calderón, 'Provincias, ciudadanía y 'clase' social en el caribe colombiano, 1821-1855', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2001.

⁷⁹ Adolfo Meisel, 'Esclavitud, mestizaje y haciendas en la provincia de Cartagena 1531-1851', *Desarrollo y Sociedad*, 4 (1980), pp.227-78.

⁸⁰ On the power of the Church in a slightly later period in Colombia, see John Carey Shaw, 'Church and State in Colombia as observed by American diplomats 1834-1906', *HAHR*, 21 (1941), p.581.

cordillera.⁸¹ Cartagena elites had much in common with their Caracas counterparts, not least in the prosperity they had gained from the Spanish trading system and their reliance on slavery for much of their labour force. In the early nineteenth century Cartagena elites were loosening the already weak ties that bound them to Bogotá, forming a *Consulado* in 1795.⁸² It served as a focus for efforts to bring the region out of the economic difficulties occasioned by the Napoleonic Wars and the consequent disruption of transatlantic trade. Cartagena declared its own Independence from Spain (and from Bogotá) in 1811.⁸³

The last viceroy of New Granada, Juan Sámano, died in Panama in 1821. The province was a commercial outpost, perched on the mainland but existing only to facilitate transoceanic trade, acting as a link between Atlantic and Pacific and between Spain and the Viceroyalty of Peru. The area was sparsely populated and had little trade of its own. On the Caribbean side of the isthmus throughout the first half of the eighteenth century the Portobello Fair had attracted many foreign visitors, including the British controllers of the *asiento*, and pirates such as Henry Morgan and Francis Drake. The abandonment of the old galleon fleet system of trade in 1739 meant that colonial trade was no longer concentrated at the Portobello and Cartagena fairs. Portobello was the hardest hit of the fleet termini, as the opening of a direct route between Spain and Peru via Cape Horn completely undermined its role. Spain's possession of Portobello became largely symbolic and strategic, rather than economic. It was principally for this reason that its fortifications were improved in the 1760s to defend it against further British attacks.⁸⁴ Gregor MacGregor attacked and captured Portobello in 1819 with 300 men, many of whom were quickly captured by Loyalists and held prisoner in Panama. Like others who showed interest in Panama in this period and beyond, MacGregor was attracted by hopes of further improving communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Alfonso Múnera, 'El caribe colombiano en la república andina: identidad y autonomía política en el siglo XIX', *Boletín cultural y bibliográfico*, 33: 41 (1996) p.36.

⁸² McFarlane, 'Comerciantes y monopolio en la Nueva Granada: El Consulado de Cartagena de Indias', *Anuario colombiano de historia social y de la cultura*, 11 (1983) pp.43-69.

⁸³ Múnera, *El fracaso de la nación. región, clase y raza en el caribe colombiano, (1717-1821)*, (Bogotá, 1998).

⁸⁴ McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, p.203.

⁸⁵ See the map inside the front cover of Weatherhead, *An account of the late expedition against the Isthmus of Darien*, which emphasises the 'perhaps incalculable' advantages of opening 'a new passage of

As cosmopolitan centres for inter-regional trade, Cartagena and Panama had long had a ready acceptance of foreigners, provided they contributed to the principal goal, which was the economic benefit of local merchants. When this was perceived to be so, foreigners with links to commerce were welcomed into society.⁸⁶

New Granada Eastern Cordillera, including Bogotá

Population of Bogotá c.1800: c.30,000.

Population of Tunja c.1800: c.30,000, plus c.40,000 in surrounding area.⁸⁷

This topographical area contained several distinct sub-regions and in the late colonial period consisted of an axis of interconnected local economies.⁸⁸ It was here that several of the key battles of Independence were fought in 1819, most notably at Pantano de Vargas and Boyacá. Furthest north, the *tierra caliente* around Girón and Bucaramanga, the colder areas of Pamplona, and the tropical plains around Cúcuta produced some gold, sugar, cacao, cotton, and, especially, tobacco. To the south was a more temperate and fertile plain, whose economy was orientated to the prosperous and fast-growing town of Socorro and its surrounding parishes.⁸⁹ In the late colonial period cotton production was thriving and this had produced a small middle-class with 'pretensions of nobility'.⁹⁰ Impressed by its enterprise and wealth, Pablo Morillo described it as the 'Manchester' of New Granada.⁹¹ The 1780-1 rebellion of the Comuneros grew out of this area and initially brought together Creoles, mestizos and Indians in common complaint against

communication to the Indian Ocean ... [which] would develop a range and extent of market never yet attempted by the adventurous enterprise of the boldest mercantile speculations'.

⁸⁶ For a study of how Panama maintained this identity as a place of frontier a generation later see Mercedes Chen Daley, 'The Watermelon Riot: Cultural Encounters in Panama City April 15 1856', *HAHR*, 70:1 (1990) pp.95-108.

⁸⁷ McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, p.361.

⁸⁸ McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, p.51.

⁸⁹ For more detail on Socorro, see Phelan, *The People and the King*, pp.39-45.

⁹⁰ Jaramillo Uribe, 'La sociedad colombiana en la época de la visita de Humboldt', in *La personalidad histórica en Colombia*, p.158. See also Safford, *The Ideal of the Practical: Colombia's struggle to form a technical elite*, (Austin, Texas, 1976), p.30.

⁹¹ Pablo Morillo, quoted by Gabriel Puyana García, 'La Primera República y la Reconquista', in Valencia Tovar, ed., *Historia de las fuerzas militares de Colombia*, Vol.1, p.79. General Pablo Morillo (b.1778 Fuentesecas, Spain, d.1837 Baréges, France) fought alongside British officers in the Peninsula War against Napoleon, before being named in charge of the expedition to re-conquer New Granada and Venezuela. He became disillusioned with the lack of resources and support coming from Spain, and left the continent in 1820 after negotiating an armistice with Bolívar.

excessive colonial taxation. It demonstrated the way that political life was constructed around local communities and kinship loyalties, just as much as it focused on the figure of the Spanish monarch and the colonial authorities.⁹² Further south again, and at a much higher and colder altitude, was the *tierra fría* of Bogotá and Tunja. Mestizos provided the labour for the agriculture that was the basis of economic life across the region.⁹³ Mining was in decline well before the Wars of Independence. Bogotá and Tunja were the major population centres, although Socorro and its surrounding parishes were well-populated and growing, which meant that military mobilisation was easier than in other regions.⁹⁴ In 1820-1 Socorro sent around 10% of its men to the Colombian army.⁹⁵ The British and Irish officers who had crossed the cordillera with Bolívar were charged with recruiting in this region and spent lengthy periods there, operating especially in Tunja and Pamplona.⁹⁶

The Comuneros rebellion was defused by the political clout of the Church and the 'diplomatic machinations' of Archbishop (later Viceroy) Caballero y Góngora.⁹⁷ The Church was well-established at the centre of viceregal power and owned land and controlled mortgages much more extensively than it did in outlying areas. The institutions of the state and Church provided the central focus for employment, status, and honour in colonial Bogotá.⁹⁸ The Viceroy and *audiencia* often conflicted, but their presence in the city persuaded residents of their loyalty to the institutions of the state.⁹⁹

While Socorro appeared to be booming, the economy in the wider region was stagnant, extremely limited by the size of the internal market and prevented from expanding into neighbouring areas by the expense and difficulty of transporting goods across the

⁹² McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, pp.264-71.

⁹³ Jaramillo Uribe, 'Algunos aspectos de la personalidad histórica de Colombia', in *La personalidad histórica en Colombia*, p.141.

⁹⁴ McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, pp.50-2.

⁹⁵ Safford and Palacios, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*, p.102.

⁹⁶ For example, AGNC R GYM, Vol.56, ff.235-6, Vol.480, f.9, and Vol.1441, f.544.

⁹⁷ McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, p.263.

⁹⁸ Uribe Urán, *Honorable Lives*, pp.5-7.

⁹⁹ José María Opts Capdequi, 'The Impact of the Wars of Independence on the Institutional Life of the New Kingdom of Granada', *The Americas*, 17:2 (1960) pp.111-98.

mountains.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, some sectors of the economy were prospering in the late colonial period and agricultural production was in fact increasing.¹⁰¹

The colonial militia reform lasted only six years in Bogotá, a city that felt protected by the long distance and difficult terrain that separated it from its perceived enemies.¹⁰² The lack of defences was roundly demonstrated when Bolívar defeated the Loyalist army at the Boyacá bridge and marched straight into the city without any resistance from the Loyalist authorities, who fled in the opposite direction when their fate became apparent. 100 British and Irish volunteers accompanied Bolívar and they were later joined by another 100 who travelled up to Bogotá after campaigning on the Venezuelan coast. These men formed the basis of the Albion Battalion, which travelled south in late 1820. Many returned to settle in Bogotá after completing their service in Ecuador. The Bourbon reforms of the militia never even reached Tunja or Pamplona.¹⁰³ The population lived in villages across the mountains and valleys and, in the absence of any official colonial military tradition in the region, republican military recruitment reflected society's make-up, often enlisting entire regiments from single villages.¹⁰⁴ Despite the active manufacturing sector, Tunja and Socorro had seldom come into contact with Northern Europeans, let alone Protestants. They were therefore correspondingly more guarded than the coastal regions.

With black slavery virtually non-existent in the highlands and much of the population mestizos from generations of mixed-race relationships, the remaining indigenous peoples of the region largely lived in *resguardos*, Spanish-initiated institutions that regulated the dispersed settlement pattern of their pre-conquest ancestors. Membership in the Indian group was determined 'not by genetic inheritance or by any cultural factors such as

¹⁰⁰ Safford, 'Commerce and Enterprise in Central Colombia 1821-1870', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Columbia University, 1965, pp.146-7; McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, p.351.

¹⁰¹ Maurice Brungardt, 'Tithe Production and Patterns of Economic Change in Central Colombia, 1764-1833', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1974, p.324.

¹⁰² Kuethe, *Military Reform and Society in New Granada 1773-1808*, p.187.

¹⁰³ Kuethe, *Military Reform and Society in New Granada 1773-1808*, p.189.

¹⁰⁴ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, p.233.

language or dress, but by birth into and continued participation in Indian communities'.¹⁰⁵ These communities largely existed without much contact with the white communities huddled in the urban centres. Bogotá's cool climate had attracted Spanish colonists and as viceregal capital it serviced a substantial Creole elite who owed their position at the top of society to their caste, wealth, and the considerable privilege related to their monopoly of employment within the state bureaucracy. Creole men maintained their superiority over their urban subalterns though a concern with honour and legal controls on intermarriage and divorce.¹⁰⁶ Indeed these legal limitations on matrimonial possibilities led to an underreported but acknowledged parallel society of transitory sexual relations, single motherhood and unmarried cohabitation.¹⁰⁷

Despite its isolated location, Bogotá had a diverse population and would seem to have been receptive to newcomers, open to change and tolerant towards differences of opinion. Situated far from the transatlantic shipping networks, Bogotá still received regular and detailed postal communications, meaning that its elites were as informed about developments in New York, London and Paris as their equivalents in Caracas or Cartagena, only at some three months further distance.

The Chocó and Antioquía

These regions received only rare and sporadic visits from volunteers and, in comparison to the areas discussed above and below, were relatively untouched by the Wars of Independence. The most notable encounter occurred in the late 1820s, when volunteer officers led attempts by Bolívar's government to quash a rebellion in Antioquía (discussed in Chapter 7).¹⁰⁸ With its perceived lack of accessibility and reliance on fluvial transport, plus its high indigenous and black populations, the Chocó was visited only by

¹⁰⁵ Glenn T. Curry, 'The Disappearance of the Resguardos Indígenas of Cundinamarca, Colombia, 1800-1863', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1981; Aydee García Mejía, 'The transformation of the Indian Communities of the Bogotá Sabana During the Nineteenth Century Colombian Republic', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, New School for Social Research, 1989.

¹⁰⁶ Dueñas Vargas, 'Gender, Race and Class'.

¹⁰⁷ Dueñas Vargas, 'Adulterio, amancebamientos, divorcios y abandono: la fluidez de la vida familiar santafereña 1750-1810', *Anuario colombiano de historia social y de la cultura*, 23 (1996), pp.33-49.

¹⁰⁸ Fernando Botero Herrera, *Estado, nación y provincia de Antioquía. Guerras civiles e invención de la región, 1829-1863*, (Medellín, 2003), p.48.

the most adventurous volunteers.¹⁰⁹ The Chocó was an environment where Spanish colonial power had advanced only weakly, led by the religious orders. Antioquía was prospering in the late colonial period as its mining industry took off, fostering an entrepreneurial culture that produced some of New Granada's principal commercial figures. Antioqueño businessmen negotiated the first Colombian loans with British financiers.¹¹⁰ Slaves made up 20-40% of the region's population, depending on the locality.¹¹¹

The Cauca Valley, including Cali and Popayán

Population of region c.1780: 64,460. Composition of population c.1780:
15.2% whites, 17.6% Indians, 46.4% free mestizos, mulattos and blacks, 20.8% slaves.¹¹²
Population of Cali 1797: 10,990. Composition of population of Cali 1797:
934 whites, 330 Indians, 7,120 free blacks, 2,606 slaves.¹¹³

The River Cauca, which flows through Antioquía and the Chocó, attracted most settlement in this period in the Cauca Valley, a varied region based around the towns of Cali and Popayán. The former is a tropical, lower-lying settlement, while the latter enjoys a more temperate climate. Most of the Indians lived in the many autonomous '*pueblos de indios*' surrounding Popayán and most of the slaves and free blacks and mestizos lived around Cali. The areas around the two towns were therefore distinctly separate spaces.¹¹⁴ The authorities in Popayán played off their colonial superiors in Quito and Bogotá (from which they were roughly equidistant) against each other.

The cabildos in Cali and Popayán represented the land-owning and slave-owning elites.¹¹⁵ While whites were the majority in Popayán, in Cali they were severely

¹⁰⁹ For *Capitán* Henry Macmanus' travels to the Chocó, see AGNC R GYM, Vol.1447, f.399.

¹¹⁰ Twinam, *Miners, Merchants and Farmers in Colonial Colombia*, (Austin, Texas, 1982), p.149.

¹¹¹ McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, p.356.

¹¹² McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, p.353.

¹¹³ McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, p.362.

¹¹⁴ Martha Herrera Angel, 'Configuración territorial, dominación y resistencia. Provincia de Popayán, siglo XVIII', Unpublished Paper presented to XII Congreso de Historia, Popayán, August 2003.

¹¹⁵ Demetrio García Vásquez, *Los hacendados de la otra banda y el Cabildo de Cali*, (Cali, 1928), especially pp.143-84.

outnumbered by slaves and, especially, free blacks. The Church remained the main power-broker in the region, especially in Popayán, retaining a tenacious grip on civil life even after the Wars of Independence.¹¹⁶ Alongside this traditionalist, white-dominated and conservative society, new social groups made up largely of free blacks emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century. They began to take advantage of their increased numbers and the upheaval of the Wars of Independence to negotiate better conditions.¹¹⁷ Free-born blacks and manumitted slaves, poor whites, pardos, and mulattos were able to carve out small parcels of land on the margins of the large haciendas.¹¹⁸ Newcomers to the region were able to incorporate themselves into this expanding (although small-scale) agricultural economy, largely based on the production of tobacco.¹¹⁹ Further from the urban centres, areas of subsistence farming remained, which provided a similar refuge for those fleeing conflict, poverty, or enslavement.¹²⁰

Because of its economic wealth and key location on the road from Bogotá to Quito, the Cauca Valley was repeatedly fought over throughout the Wars of Independence. Its slave-based economy was devastated by the loss of much of its labour, and its mining industry (which had been in decline throughout the eighteenth century) was destroyed by flooding. In the early years of republican rule, it struggled to reincorporate itself into the national economy after such an immense set-back.¹²¹ The Albion Battalion was barracked in Popayán in 1821-2, and campaigned regularly in the surrounding varied and hilly terrain. Other volunteers joined the guerrilla bands which had flourished in this environment since 1814. Paradoxically, the consequent plaguing of other travellers by bandits and ambushes, together with its religious conservatism, meant that the region received few foreign visitors after Independence.

¹¹⁶ Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America*, p.141.

¹¹⁷ Colmenares, 'Castas, patrones de poblamiento y conflictos sociales en las provincias del Cauca 1810-1830', in Colmenares, ed., *La Independencia: ensayos de historia social*, pp.137-80.

¹¹⁸ Colmenares, 'Castas, patrones de poblamiento y conflictos sociales', p.152.

¹¹⁹ Zamira Díaz de Zuluaga, 'La fuerza de trabajo en el Cauca grande 1810-1830', in Colmenares, ed., *La Independencia*, p.67.

¹²⁰ José Escorcía, 'Haciendas y estructura agraria en el valle del Cauca, 1810-1850', *Anuario colombiano de historia social y de la cultura*, 10 (1982), p.138.

¹²¹ Colmenares, 'Castas, patrones de poblamiento y conflictos sociales', pp.143-6.

Pasto and Patía

Population of Pasto c.1800: 26,773.

Composition of population c.1800: 60% Indians, 39% whites, 1% (184) slaves.¹²²

In contrast to those Indians nearer to Popayán, indigenous people in Pasto and Patía were much more closely tied to haciendas and had less liberty to dispose of their labour as they wished.¹²³ Their distance from colonial capitals in Bogotá and Quito meant that elites in Pasto developed a marked autonomy from colonial legislation and, correspondingly, the Pasto Indians learned to 'organise themselves independently of the elite' in order to resist unwelcome developments.¹²⁴ The loyalty of the region to the Spanish Crown has conventionally been explained by the influence of the clergy over the indigenous people, although this was much more due to a sense of local identity than to any overpowering religiosity.¹²⁵ Clergy were even the focus of rebellion when they were perceived not to be acting in the local community's best interest.

In Patía, warfare detached many men from the land they had worked, and the topography especially leant itself to banditry. The possibility of ambush meant that communication through the region became even more fraught.¹²⁶ The three principal bandit bands were led by a mulatto, Juan José Caycedo, a pardo *capitán* called Joaquín Pardo, and a freed slave, Simón Muñoz.¹²⁷ These independent bandit leaders eventually took sides in the partisan struggle, passing from Loyalists to Independents, but the men who followed them often returned to their own lands.¹²⁸

¹²² McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, p.353.

¹²³ Colmenares, 'Castas, patrones de poblamiento y conflictos sociales', p.140.

¹²⁴ Earle, 'Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform in New Granada: Riots in Pasto, 1780-1800', *HAHR*, 73:1 (1993), p.110.

¹²⁵ Earle, 'Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform in New Granada: Riots in Pasto, 1780-1800', pp.100-17.

¹²⁶ Eduardo Pérez Ortiz, *Guerra irregular en la independencia de la Nueva Granada y Venezuela*, (Tunja, 1982), pp.201-4.

¹²⁷ Francisco Zuluaga Ramírez, *Guerrilla y sociedad en el Patía: Una relación entre clientelismo político y la insurgencia social*, (Cali, 1993), p.72.

¹²⁸ Zuluaga Ramírez, *Guerrilla y sociedad en el Patía*, pp.115-6.

The Cabildos in Pasto represented the white landowners but shared the indigenous peoples' concerns to preserve the region's autonomy.¹²⁹ With such a strongly felt local identity, Pasto 'became Colombia's Vendée, the centre of counterrevolutionary resistance to a new Independent, republican government'.¹³⁰ From 1811 the region was in a state of war and its economic fortunes continued to plunge. With their labour force dislocated and decimated by mobilisation, elites also had to support the cost of Independent troops garrisoned in their locality.¹³¹ Perhaps, as was the case for Santa Marta, the fact that Loyalist troops extracted less resources here than elsewhere also went some way to explaining the region's continued loyalty to the Spanish Crown.¹³² But the huge economic consequences of warfare combined to leave Pasto and Patía essentially absent from the wider regional economy.¹³³ The recurrent banditry, and the image of black savagery and anarchy that this fostered with Creoles and foreigners, meant that contact with outsiders was restricted. Pasto was seen to be 'far from everywhere'.¹³⁴ When outsiders did venture into the region, as Bolívar's army did in 1822, the result was often violent confrontation. The foreign officers in the Rifles Battalion were prominent in Bolívar's controversial suppression of Loyalist resistance in Pasto.¹³⁵

¹²⁹ Zamira Díaz López, 'La actitud política de los cabildos de Cali, Popayán y Pasto en la Independencia', unpublished paper presented to XII Congreso de Historia, Popayán, August 2003; Gerardo León Guerrero Vinuena, *Pasto en la guerra de independencia, 1809-1824*, Vol.2, (Bogotá, 1994), p.10.

¹³⁰ Safford and Palacios, *Fragmented Land, Divided Society*, p.100.

¹³¹ Díaz de Zuluaga, *Guerra y economía en las haciendas, Popayán, 1780-1830*, (Bogotá, 1983), pp.70-9.

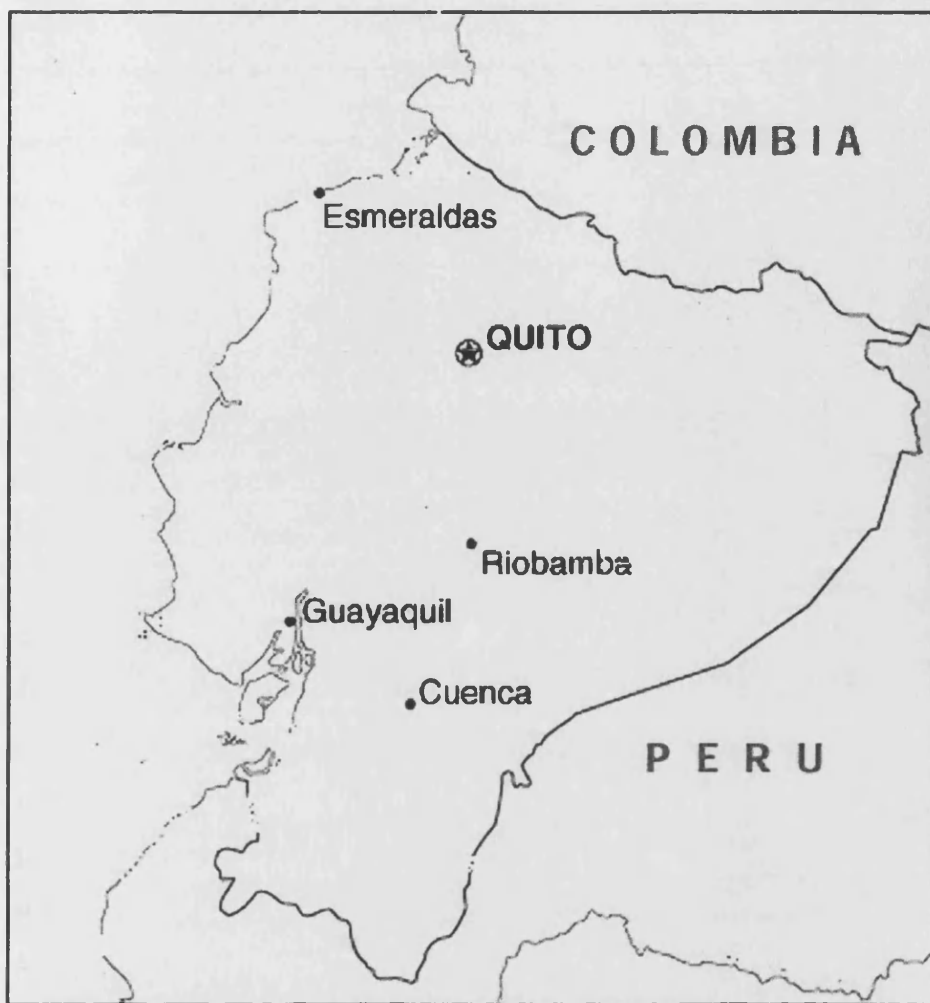
¹³² Earle, 'Popular Participation in the Wars of Independence in New Granada', in McFarlane and Posada-Carbó, eds., *Independence and Revolution in Spanish America*, pp.97-101.

¹³³ Guerrero Vinuena, *Pasto en la guerra de independencia*, Vol.2, p.162.

¹³⁴ Sergio Elías Ortiz, *Agustín Agualongo y su tiempo*, (Bogotá, 1979), p.393: 'lejos de todo el mundo'.

¹³⁵ Guerrero Vinuena, *Pasto en la guerra de independencia*, Vol.2, p.144.

Map 6: Ecuador



Quito and highlands

Whilst nominally governed by Bogotá from 1720, the *audiencia* and Presidency of Quito retained relative autonomy.¹³⁶ Set high up in the Andes and surrounded by a scattered and largely indigenous population, Quito and its surrounding area were even further away from the currents of Atlantic thought that took so long to reach Bogotá.¹³⁷ This did not stop white landowning elites in Quito declaring their Independence from Spain in 1809, but the subsequent Loyalist reconquest was swift and complete, and Quito was only forcibly taken for the Independent cause by an army commanded by Antonio José de

¹³⁶ María Susana Vela Witt, *El Departamento del Sur en la Gran Colombia 1822-1830*, (Quito, 1999).

¹³⁷ Brooke Larson, 'Andean Highland Peasants and the Trials of Nation-Making during the nineteenth century', Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas, Vol.3, South America, Part 2*, (Cambridge, 1999), pp.594-5.

Sucre after the battle of Pichincha in 1822, in which the Albion Battalion fought.¹³⁸

Given the topographical diversity of the region, local and regional identities remained strong into the nineteenth century.¹³⁹ The urban artisans and servants of Quito had a markedly different outlook from their rural counterparts, whose involvement in colonial rebellions was limited.¹⁴⁰

The Church was also powerful in Quito, contributing to a conservative approach to the Wars of Independence, although as in other ecclesiastical capitals, the bishops were often isolated in their palaces from the Indians outside.¹⁴¹ Like New Granada, the economy was already regionalised when the Independents arrived but it at least benefited from not being ravaged by warfare during the preceding years.¹⁴² Defended primarily by its surrounding mountains and distance from the sea, the region did not develop any military tradition until the arrival of the Venezuelan officer who became its first President, Juan José Flores.¹⁴³ Flores had served alongside the foreign volunteers of the Rifles and Albion Battalions, and many of them later rose to positions of authority in the region under his patronage. Quito and the Ecuadorian northern highlands therefore occupied a paradoxical place with regard to the foreign volunteers. Historically distant from the transatlantic networks of trade and ideas that had so affected Venezuela, Quito and its surroundings found themselves by the mid 1820s governed by Venezuelans, and largely occupied by an army officered almost entirely by non-locals. These included the few hundred volunteers who had made it this far, many of whom continued on to Guayaquil.

¹³⁸ Manuel Chiriboga, 'Las fuerzas del poder durante el proceso de la independencia y la Gran Colombia', in Enrique Ayala, ed., *Nueva historia de Ecuador, Vol. 6, Independencia y el período colombiano*, (Quito, 1989), p.280. Antonio José de Sucre (b.1795 Cumaná, d.1830 Berruecos) was a young Bolivarian loyalist whose astute leadership led many contemporaries to believe he was destined to succeed Bolívar. He commanded military operations in Peru, including the final victory at Ayacucho, and was later named President of Bolivia. He was assassinated when travelling between Bogotá and Quito, presumably by political rivals.

¹³⁹ Roger Davis, 'Ecuador Under Gran Colombia, 1820-1830: Regionalism, Localism and Legitimacy in the Emergence of an Andean Republic', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Arizona, 1983.

¹⁴⁰ McFarlane, 'The Rebellion of the 'Barrios'. Urban Insurrection in Bourbon Quito', in Fisher, Kuethe, and McFarlane, eds., *Reform and Insurrection in Bourbon New Granada and Peru*, (Louisiana, 1990), p.253.

¹⁴¹ Lynch, 'Revolution as a Sin', p.114.

¹⁴² Andrien, 'The State and Dependency in Late Colonial and Early Republican Ecuador', in Andrien and Johnson, eds., *The Political Economy of Spanish America in the Age of Revolution* p.184.

¹⁴³ General Juan José Flores (b.1800 Puerto Cabello, d.1864 Santa Rosa, Ecuador) was a Bolivarian loyalist who became President of Ecuador between 1830-4, 1839-43, and 1843-51.

Guayaquil

South America's second-largest Pacific port, Guayaquil was booming in the late eighteenth century based on its export of textiles and cacao.¹⁴⁴ In contrast to the conservatism of Quito, the world of the Guayaquil traders was one of 'fearful and wonderful fluidity, of questioning old norms, widespread disagreement, and political bickering'.¹⁴⁵ This increasingly wealthy town turned its face towards the Pacific trade routes that provided its life-blood and its back to the indigenous people and slaves who laboured to produce its products. Slavery was particularly prevalent on the coastal plantations leading north up the coast to Esmeraldas, but virtually non-existent in the interior, creating a situation where indigenous peoples and blacks mixed only in a few small areas in the north, and in urban centres such as Guayaquil.¹⁴⁶

The Guayaquil traders dominated the political manoeuvring that led to the proclamation of the Independence of a city-republic in 1820. Much of Guayaquil's prosperity was based on the production of cacao, and this persuaded the commercial sector to prefer domination by Peru, rather than be ruled by their cacao-producing rivals from Venezuela.¹⁴⁷ Guayaquil therefore had a paradoxical relationship with foreigners, especially after Bolívar annexed it to Colombia. As a cosmopolitan port city it was open and tolerant of incomers, especially sailors and foreign merchants, many of whom had been resident for several decades, and there had long been a tradition of the daughters of merchant elites marrying into the families of newly-arrived Spaniards. At the same time the city had built a strong local identity out of its relationships with Quito and Cuenca in the highlands and Lima further south. Guayaquil marked the end of the road for the Albion Battalion, whose five year contracts were terminated here in 1823. Rather than settle in Guayaquil, many foreign soldiers travelled by land back to Bogotá, where they could petition the authorities for recognition, unpaid wages, prizes and pensions. Those

¹⁴⁴ Chiriboga, 'Las fuerzas del poder durante el proceso de la independencia', pp.280-1. For an analysis of these changes over the longer-term, see Michael T. Hamerley, *Historia social y económica de la antigua provincia de Guayaquil, 1763-1842*, (Guayaquil, 1975).

¹⁴⁵ Townsend, *Tales of Two Cities*, p.77.

¹⁴⁶ Nicola Foote, 'Race, Nation and Society in Ecuador, c.1900-40', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, forthcoming 2004.

¹⁴⁷ Chiriboga, 'Las fuerzas del poder durante el proceso de la independencia', p.282.

volunteers who settled or remained in Guayaquil tended to be related to the naval forces based there.

To conclude: Gran Colombia was a topographically, economically, demographically diverse region, which the disintegration of Spanish colonial rule had brought to varying degrees of social decomposition. In some areas, institutions were in disarray, while in others, loyalties to the colonial system remained strong. The experiences of the foreign volunteers would be correspondingly diverse.

Realities of Adventuring: Mobility, Personnel Turnover, Death and Desertion

Having established the terrain upon which the Wars of Independence took place, it is necessary to trace the way foreign volunteers could survive and prosper in such an environment. Thibaud posited that the small band of experienced mercenaries was a crucial component of a 'third generation' of military officers reaching positions of authority in 1818-21. He argued that this group was vital to Bolívar's 'professionalisation' of the Colombian forces.¹⁴⁸ Some volunteer officers clearly did think that the Independent army could be improved by their know-how. *Coronel* Joseph Gillmore produced a prospectus for the design of a new rifle, and *Capitán* James Fraser translated British Army drilling instructions, which he believed would convert the Independent forces into disciplined, efficient fighting machines.¹⁴⁹ Lambert observed that a kernel of brave foreign officers could inspire discipline and courage in local troops, dissuading nervous and unenthusiastic troops from retreat or desertion.¹⁵⁰ More tangibly perhaps, the value of the minority of British Army veterans in the expeditions lay in the vital experience they had acquired of being victorious in military conflict, something most Hispanic Americans still lacked in this period. Veterans of the Royal Navy brought

¹⁴⁸ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, pp.411-25.

¹⁴⁹ Santiago Fraser, *Manuel de táctica de infantería*, (Mérida, 1824), copy in AGNC R GYM, Vol.56, ff.34-51; Gillmore, 'Observaciones sobre el fusil y avisos sobre su adelantamiento', undated, copy in FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-825, ff.235-9. For the 'third generation', see Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, pp.379-83. Joseph Albert Gillmore (b.Bogshead, Co. Antrim, dates unknown) fell ill in Margarita. In several histories he is either 'Gilmour', 'Guilmore' or 'Gillmore'. He returned to Britain in 1819. In the 1840s he was a barrack master in Glasgow. Lambert, 'Irish Soldiers in South America', p.24, p.33, PRO FO 80/36, f.123.

¹⁵⁰ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.3, p.455.

with them 'a high level of technical experience, aggression and a confidence in victory derived from years of unquestioned British supremacy at sea'.¹⁵¹ Yet the findings of Chapter 1 that the volunteers were not a crack force of military veterans indicate that, when laid alongside Thibaud's wider conclusions, any immediate or wholesale 'modernisation' or 'professionalisation' of the army by the mercenaries was unlikely. Thibaud's work emphasised the highly improvised nature of all military campaigning and training in this period, along with the high turnover of troops through illness and desertion. The regularization of units therefore depended on the skills of individual officers charged with transforming their men into disciplined units in short time-scales.¹⁵²

Recurrent loss of personnel through desertion or death made such aims impossible to realise. Over half the volunteers (3,633 from 6,808) died in the Caribbean without much engagement with the Independent forces, or else deserted and returned home after rapidly becoming disenchanted with the service. Those who left quickly still left a mark on the Independents' morale, with widespread bad feeling the result of the promises and threats employed by Bolívar to try to retain desperately-needed manpower.¹⁵³ Many others died before they could leave the region. Their numbers decreased so rapidly that some observers commented that the great numbers of foreign reinforcements regularly expected by Bolívar were no more than a rhetorical device to inspire his troops to remain loyal.¹⁵⁴ Documentary sources reveal the names of just sixty volunteers who died from fever, twenty-five who died from other diseases, 307 who died violently (in combat, or executed after being taken prisoner) and ten who drowned (from a total of only 402 named volunteers whose cause of death was recorded). This great gap in knowledge

¹⁵¹ Brian Vale, *A War Betwixt Englishmen: Brazil Against Argentina on the River Plate, 1825-1830*, (London, 2000), p.15.

¹⁵² While the likes of James Rooke, Thomas Manby and John Mackintosh received the praise of their Creole peers, other volunteers were not so appreciated. Carlos Soubllette described the services of *Mayor* Daniel MacLaughlin as 'embarrassing and useless, because he does not understand Spanish. This is an essential skill for instructing troops, and by lacking it his contribution is effectively negative. Please, give him something else to do, as even if we gave him the best of all our troops, he couldn't do a thing with them'. Soubllette to Páez, 28th January 1823, Caracas, AGNC R GYM, Vol.44, f.201.

¹⁵³ Bolívar's reaction to the departure of several dozen *ingleses* from Angostura was recorded in 'Declaración de Don José Antonio Velasco, practicante de cirugía', 19th March 1819, Gamarra, AGI Estado, Legajo 911A, 'Declaraciones de pasados o aprehendidos'.

¹⁵⁴ 'Declaración de Cristóbal Ricaus', 11th April 1819, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A, 'Declaraciones de pasados y aprehendidos'. See also 'Declaración de Julián Ximénes', 24th March 1819, Gamarra, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A.

necessitates a better understanding of how the volunteers died or left the service, based on other more illuminating sources.

Certainly yellow fever dispatched far more than sixty volunteers. The figure was probably twenty times that, as anonymous private soldiers were accommodated in far worse conditions than officers, and the names of those who died were seldom felt worth reporting.¹⁵⁵ Many died of fever on their ships even before they could reach the mainland. The corpses of these men were thrown overboard before they could infect the rest of the crew – often a forlorn hope.¹⁵⁶ During the years 1818 to 1820, fevers swept through Angostura and Margarita.¹⁵⁷ New arrivals brought ‘the seed of yellow fever with them ... [it] spread like a pestilence, and the unfortunate newcomers were swept away daily’.¹⁵⁸ High numbers of death from fever were not out of keeping with the experience of soldiers in the British West India garrisons. In the same period 80% of white British soldiers in the Caribbean died from either yellow fever or malaria.¹⁵⁹ 90% of the Spanish soldiers serving in the Wars of Independence also died from tropical fever, and soldiers often deserted in large numbers when an epidemic threatened.¹⁶⁰

The piecemeal recruitment of volunteers by private individuals meant that units arrived throughout the period 1816 to 1822, rather than in one fleet *en masse*. What could

¹⁵⁵ Some deaths were described with more detail than others, for example that of Dr Perkins in Angostura in 1818 in Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition to the rivers Orinoco and Apure in South America*, pp.475-6, and James English in Juan Griego on Margarita, in Lambert, ‘La Muerte y Entierro del General English’, *Boletín histórico*, 24 (1970), pp.319-26.

¹⁵⁶ For several such cases see Brown, *Narrative of the Expedition to South America*, p.50; Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition to the rivers Orinoco and Apure in South America*, Appendix R; [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, pp.17-22.

¹⁵⁷ Margarita was portrayed as a death-trap by those volunteers who managed to return home. *Capitán* William Hill was said to have died from a raging fever in the same instance as he stepped off his ship at Porlema in early 1820. *Freeman's Journal*, 6th March 1820; *Dublin Evening Press*, 30th November 1820.

¹⁵⁸ Vowell, *Campaigns and Cruises*, p.152. There are similar descriptions in [Anon], ‘Fragment of Another Account’, following Robert James Young, ‘Diary of the Voyage of Robert James Young, and of General Devereux's Expedition to Margherita with the Irish Legion, Bolívar, PRO NI D/3045/6/3/2 f.53, and Robinson, *Journal of an Expedition*, p.78.

¹⁵⁹ Phillip Curtin, *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge, 1989), p.30. Figures for Jamaica in 1817 to 1836 are provided by Roger Norman Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies: Society and the Military in the Revolutionary Age*, (Gainesville, Fla., 1998), p.215.

¹⁶⁰ Earle, ‘A Grave for Europeans? Disease, Death and the Spanish American Revolutions’, *War and History*, 3 (1996) pp.371-83.

therefore have been a short-lived epidemic, dying out once survivors had developed immunity, was continually renewed by the regular arrival of new groups who had not previously been exposed to the mosquitoes.¹⁶¹ One volunteer saw ‘piles upon piles of human bones, of both sexes and all ages’.¹⁶² Early improvised experiments with the use of quinine provided little empirical data and so saved few lives.¹⁶³ Fever rates only declined once marching and campaigning began, as volunteers were able to flee from their confinement in the low-lying barracks in Margarita and Angostura that had fostered epidemics.¹⁶⁴ The Caroní missions in Guayana were in turn ravaged by the diseases brought by the mercenaries and lost a substantial proportion of their population to yellow fever and warfare.¹⁶⁵ Those who recovered from yellow fever were immune in the future, yet other tropical fevers such as malaria continued to claim victims even when mercenaries reached the highlands of Ecuador.¹⁶⁶

High levels of wastage due to illness can also probably be attributed to the condition of the soldiers. Since the expeditions were unofficial and illegal, there were no medical examinations before a soldier or officer could enlist. Even those soldiers who did have experience in the British Army had been physically weakened and could have been more susceptible to illness. Nutrition was also a contributory factor, as local economies in Margarita and Angostura struggled to provide enough food for the volunteers, let alone a

¹⁶¹ For the way this happened see Curtin, *Death by Migration*, p.69 and Michael Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar and Seapower. The British Expeditions to the West Indies and the War against Revolutionary France*, (Oxford, 1987), pp.356-9.

¹⁶² Robinson, *Journal of an Expedition*, p.94.

¹⁶³ For the development and use of quinine, extracted from South American bark in this very period, see Curtin, *Death by Migration*, p.62; Weatherhead, *An account of the late expedition against the Isthmus of Darien*, p.130; Dr Joseph Clark to Vicente Lecuna, 19th September 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.10, f.126; C.S. Cochrane, *Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia during the years 1823 and 1824*, (London, 1825), Vol.1, p.394.

¹⁶⁴ For the effects of these conditions see Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos*, Vol.1, p.241; Papers relating to James Constant, AGNV IP, Vol.21, ff.73-85; and Morgan O’Connell in his letter to the *Dublin Evening Post*, 25th November 1820.

¹⁶⁵ Jonathan D. Hill, ‘Indigenous Peoples and the Rise of Independent Nation-States in Lowland South America’, in Salomon and Schwartz, *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, p.728.

¹⁶⁶ For the death of Maurice O’Connell, see Arthur Sandes to Daniel O’Connell, 10th September 1822, Quito, UCD, P12/3/110. Deaths from malarial fevers were also recorded in papers relating to the death of Edward Fitzpatrick, 5th November 1824, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0676, f.10, and ‘Inventario de bienes del finado Guillermo Maquinec [William McGuinness]’, 3rd February 1828, Antigua Guayana, AHG CB, 2.1.1.111.15. See also Weatherhead, *An account of the late expedition against the Isthmus of Darien*, pp.130-2.

balanced diet of fruit or vegetables. The experience of seeing the volunteer expeditions ravaged by fever deeply affected many of the later volunteer writers. Reflecting on the grave of an English officer near Angostura, James Robinson wrote that

such a sight was highly calculated to excite sensations, which the usual visitations of death fail to produce. Very probably in this place was lately deposited the body of one who had been bent on enterprise, and ardent in the pursuit of honourable fame. Youthful enthusiasm perhaps induced him to leave his native lands, relations, friends, and probably ties which the heart of feeling, of delicacy, of honour alone can know. He had nearly reached the place where his conduct might raise him in the estimation of those he loved, and waft his renown to those far-distant shores, where many an anxious heart beat high for the success of his heroic deeds. Like the bud nip't by an untimely host, he was cut short in his career, and sunk prematurely, without a relative or a friend to do him the last mournful offices of humanity.¹⁶⁷

Key to Robinson's lament was the way the anonymous officer had died. Denied glory and honour, the fever was blamed for averting his adventurous destiny. Officers stressed the efforts they made at least to bury their colleagues 'in as becoming a manner as possible, considering the circumstances of our situation', erecting small wooden crosses in the sand to mark their place of rest.¹⁶⁸

Despite ravaging them, yellow fever did not destroy the expeditions. Around two hundred were killed in formal set-piece battles. Most notably, eleven officers and ninety-five men were killed in combat at Carabobo, but others died at Villa del Ortiz, El Semen, Boyacá, Pantano de Vargas, and La Ciénaga de Santa Marta.¹⁶⁹ At least 120 more were executed by Loyalist troops after being taken prisoner, mainly after Gregor MacGregor's attacks on Portobello and Riohacha.¹⁷⁰ Several volunteers died of wounds received in battle.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Robinson, *Journal of an Expedition*, pp.268-71. Similar preoccupations were expressed in *Dublin Evening Post*, 3rd February 1820, and *Carrick's Morning Post*, 11th February 1820, recounting the death of James Purcell of Leinster.

¹⁶⁸ William Sullivan to Mr Fenton, 8th November 1819, on board the *San Rafael*, anchored off Long Island, Bahamas, UCD, P12/3/247.

¹⁶⁹ Lambert, *Carabobo 24 de junio de 1821 Algunas relaciones escritas en inglés*, (Caracas, 1974), pp.28-31. A higher estimate was that twelve volunteers died in combat at La Ciénaga in November 1820 and 150 volunteers died at Carabobo; [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, Vol.2, p.99, p.196.

¹⁷⁰ Another twenty-one died after being taken prisoner at the same engagements. For listings of those executed see Governor Juan Solís to Viceroy Juan Sámano, 10th November and 20th November 1819, Riohacha, in Friede, 'La expedición de Mac-Gregor a Riohacha', pp.81-85; for those initially imprisoned see Solís to Sámano, 13th October 1819, Riohacha, reproduced in Elías Ortiz, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Colombia*, pp.270-3. Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*, p.421 listed those he believed killed in the actions, several of whose names coincide with those listed by Solís as having been executed after the event.

¹⁷¹ This was the case for *Capitán* Charles Smythe who died in Caracas in 1826 of the head wound he received at Carabobo, Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.241. Another to die of his wounds after Carabobo

The names of the volunteers killed in battle were much more likely to be recorded than the many others who perished due to the harsh campaigning lifestyle. Their neglect by historians can be traced back to a comment by James Rooke, who told *General Anzoategui* that the men who died crossing the mountain pass at Pisba had ‘deserved their fate – those men were the worst behaved in my unit, which can only prosper from their deaths’.¹⁷² But despite Rooke’s assertion, dying on the march was more the consequence of sharp variations in climate and the incomplete provisioning, clothing and shoeing of the men, rather than some divine retribution for bad character as he implied.¹⁷³ Even disciplined, experienced men died marching in all regions and all climates.¹⁷⁴ Others drowned while being transported by sea or river. Over two hundred officers, soldiers and crew perished when the ‘Indian’ sank off France in late 1817.¹⁷⁵ In Venezuela men continued to die when they fell into rivers, at least a dozen perishing in this way while fishing or travelling.¹⁷⁶ Six soldiers died when their boat overturned whilst they were rowing the fevered corpse of an officer to his burial ground.¹⁷⁷

Matters of honour and discipline accounted for the lives of several volunteers. At least a dozen officers were killed in duels or physical confrontations with other volunteers. Twenty-five were executed after failed attempts at desertion or thwarted

was Private Isaac Everett, an Essex-born baker, Lambert, *Carabobo*, p.34. Some volunteers were said to have died in consequence of medical intervention, see for example James Rooke as discussed above, *Capitán* James Leadwitch Phelan, whose death was described in Wright, *Destellos de Gloria*, p.54; and *Teniente* Hepote, who died in Quilchao in the Cauca Valley in late June or early July 1820 because there were not enough medical instruments to perform an operation he required, as related by Manuel Valdés in a letter to José Concha, 4th July 1820, Quilchao, ACC, Sala Independencia, M1 - 4 - C, Sig. 6532, f.3.

¹⁷² O’Leary, *Narración*, Vol.1, p.572. *General* José Antonio Anzoategui (b.1789 Barcelona, Venezuela, d.1819 Pamplona, Colombia) was a Bolivarian loyalist who died after the victory at Boyacá.

¹⁷³ For *Teniente* Thomas Westbrook see Wright, *Destellos de Gloria*, p.54.

¹⁷⁴ As was the case for Luke Burke, who died marching in the Goajira peninsula, and Dr John Mortimer marching from Juan Griego to Porlamar, as recorded in Robert Parsons’ letter to *Dublin Evening Post*, 30th November 1820. John Wilton died marching from Maracaibo to Bogotá, as recorded in Casa de Moneda, Db1496, Db4825, Db0696.

¹⁷⁵ A list of some of those who died is reproduced in FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-715, f.89. Other men drowned during the Atlantic crossing on other ships, such as Robert Lewis; anonymous letter to *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th June 1820.

¹⁷⁶ Brown, *Narrative of the Expedition to South America*, p.52. Other drownings were recorded in Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.364; Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M’Gregor*, p.425; ‘Review of Rifles under John Mackintosh’, 1st March 1819, AL, Vol.14, f.37; Declaration of John Devereux, 25th December 1823, Baltimore, English Papers, HA157/6/32; *Dublin Evening Post*, 30th November 1820; *Dublin Evening Post*, 23rd November 1820.

¹⁷⁷ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.104.

insubordination.¹⁷⁸ Ten were killed in violent encounters with indigenous people, giving rise to many stories and rumours of volunteers 'found with [their] heads cut off' on beaches shortly after arrival at Margarita.¹⁷⁹

Along with the high death-rates, the 'kaleidoscopic rate of personnel turnover' meant that effective training had to focus on the short-term, especially during the peak years 1816-22, when both turnover and volunteer involvement were at their highest.¹⁸⁰ Because of the high rates of desertion, a good soldier was often simply one who did not run away in the night.¹⁸¹ Thibaud saw popular desertion as partly related to subaltern resistance to elite projects, illustrating widespread 'popular dislike of the republic and its wars'.¹⁸² The topography and under-population of much of the region provided substantial opportunities for escape and then subsistence and modest insertion into legal and contraband trading networks, just as it had for colonial slave maroons.¹⁸³ Despite its obvious importance, historians have tended to follow Hasbrouck in his dismissal of volunteers' desertion as 'inconsequential'.¹⁸⁴ Yet if mercenaries were able to take part in

¹⁷⁸ These deaths, which occurred in Soledad in 1820, are all examined in more detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁷⁹ James Towers English to Luis Brion, 10th September 1819, Juan Griego, AL, Vol.14, f.46. This manner of death is discussed at length, with especially reference to the case of *Coronel* Donald MacDonald, in Chapter 3.

¹⁸⁰ The phrase is taken from Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries: The Wild Geese in Spain 1618-68*, (Dublin, 1994), p.113. Although Stradling referred to Irishmen in the Spanish Army in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, his observation agrees with Thibaud's comments on desertion in the Bolivarian armies, which he estimated to have reached 5-15% per month in campaigning units during 1819-21, *Repúblicas en armas*, pp.334-46. For the similar situation in the Loyalist armies, see Margaret L. Woodward, 'The Spanish Army and the Loss of America 1810-1824', *HAHR*, 48 (1968), p.588; and Juan Marchena Fernández, *Oficiales y soldados en el ejército de América*, (Sevilla, 1983), p.325. Agricultural seasons affected desertion too. Small farmers in particular were reluctant to fight when their labour was needed at home in sowing, harvesting or weeding. Independent officers eventually had to accept this as an inevitable obstacle to their recruiting plans. They either resorted to the use of ever more physical force to restrain their recruits, or adapted to the needs of recruiting soldiers for short periods.

¹⁸¹ Tirado Mejía, *Aspectos sociales de las guerras civiles en Colombia*, p.42; Earle, *Spain and the Independence of Colombia*, pp.69-74.

¹⁸² Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, p.517.

¹⁸³ Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, (New York, 1973); McFarlane, 'Cimarrones and Palenques: Runaways and Resistance in colonial Colombia', in Gad Heuman, ed., *Out of the House of Bondage: Runaways, Resistance and Marronage in Africa and the New World*, (London, 1986), pp.131-49.

¹⁸⁴ Racine, 'A Community of Purpose', p.12, following Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.122.

this tactic of resistance and survival, it would necessitate a re-assessment of Hasbrouck's interpretation.¹⁸⁵

Those who left the service unofficially were seldom recorded in any fashion – the only deserters to be recorded were the few who were re-captured. One officer who did desert the service, Dennis O'Reilly, was expelled from the territory of the Republic as punishment in 1821, but just two years later he returned and rejoined the army.¹⁸⁶ Soldiers did not receive such lenient treatment and regulations were introduced in 1819 to hunt down those who abandoned the Independent service and punish those who harboured them.¹⁸⁷ Occasional references to mass desertion in the Caribbean and the ease of mobility between the naval and terrestrial services do show that at least for those volunteers operating on the coast, it was not impossible to depart the service in small groups.¹⁸⁸ British volunteers were deserting even before they arrived in Hispanic America. *Coronel* Hippisley reported that forty of his men deserted on the island of Grenada, 'many of whom died in their new employments of clerks, overseers, bailiffs and bailiffs' followers'.¹⁸⁹ One of the few recorded examples of British desertion was that which occurred in response to a proclamation by *General* Morillo inciting them to join the Spanish army in 1819.¹⁹⁰ That night, *General* Rafael Urdaneta reported, some forty British soldiers escaped, and five were captured the next morning. Urdaneta submitted the first recaptured group to a Court Martial and they were executed.¹⁹¹ Some, like

¹⁸⁵ Thibaud did not analyse the desertion of British or Irish troops, so it is difficult to know whether they deserted at a higher or lower rate than local troops.

¹⁸⁶ Pedro Briceño Méndez to Dionisio O'Reilly, 5th March 1821, Trujillo, in *Memorias de O'Leary*, Vol.18, f.107. O'Reilly's return to the service was recorded in Casa de Moneda, Db0569. Pedro Briceño Méndez (b.1792 Barinas, d.1835 Curacao) was a general in the Wars of Independence and later politician and diplomat. He served as Bolívar's personal secretary for many years, moving naturally on to be Secretary of War and Marine from 1820.

¹⁸⁷ Santander, 'Reglamento para la conservación de los ejércitos de la república', 26th November 1819, Bogotá, AGNC R GYM, Vol.323, f.900. Vowell, *Campaigns and Cruises*, p.211. In this period Vowell was one of the Popayán *vocales*, sitting on courts and regularly passing the death penalty as punishment for desertion.

¹⁸⁸ For British desertion in Spain and Portugal see Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p.456.

¹⁸⁹ Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition to the rivers Orinoco and Apure*, p.175. For desertion from MacGregor's forces at Amelia in 1817, see Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*, p.103.

¹⁹⁰ Morillo's proclamation was printed in English on a handbill; see English Papers, HA157/5/34. It was reproduced in *The Times*, 24th September 1819.

¹⁹¹ Urdaneta, *Memorias del general Rafael Urdaneta*, p.233. *General* Rafael Urdaneta (b.1788 Maracaibo, d.1845 Paris), was a Bolivarian loyalist who was given command of the British troops in 1819. He occupied many political positions, most notably as Secretary of War. Urdaneta estimated (pp.237-9) that

Private John Evans, reached the Loyalist camp, gave themselves up, and eventually made their way home to England.¹⁹² George Laval Chesterton wrote that 'it was evident that the whole force was prepared to follow their example', and in subsequent days the British troops 'continuously deserted, and seemed to prefer death to re-joining our columns'.¹⁹³ Raimundo Valdés, a conscript from Achaguas, reported having heard Creoles say that by early 1819 'most of the *ingleses* had deserted'.¹⁹⁴ Others soldiers captured by Loyalists claimed that desertion was so great, and the fear of rebellion so prevalent, that the British troops in the llanos in mid-1819 were surrounded while they marched, with cavalry at their flanks, and Creole infantry in front and behind them.¹⁹⁵

Like their Colombian counterparts, British and Irish private soldiers continually tried to desert when they felt that they could escape the bands sent in their pursuit. This happened near the coast and also in the llanos, where groups of five or six soldiers struck out for the Loyalist camps.¹⁹⁶ Over one hundred successfully deserted from the llanos in 1819 and 1820, totalling about 7-8% of the foreign contingent operating in the region. This evidence reveals that although British and Irish volunteers were more reluctant to desert than other groups, they certainly did desert, and when they did go, they went in larger groups. Perhaps this was because of their fear of a threatening environment. After conversing with several retired volunteers, C.S. Cochrane observed that 'some at first turned their thoughts to desertion, but a moment's reflection convinced them of the

eighteen volunteers were later killed in the skirmish attempting to re-capture them, and a further nineteen gave themselves up and were permitted to re-join the Independent ranks.

¹⁹² John Evans, letter to *Carrick's Morning Post*, 23rd November 1820. Evans' co-deserter, a Private Marsh, was captured and shot by the Independents.

¹⁹³ Chesterton, *Peace, War and Adventure*, pp.68-9. Chesterton later (p.97) recounted the re-capture of a further eight British deserters, who all died of their exertions in the bush before they could be executed. It should be noted that in much the same way that the Spanish colonial authorities used indigenous troops to capture slave maroons, the Independent armies used men that Chesterton described as 'half-black' to capture their escaped British mercenaries.

¹⁹⁴ 'Declaración de Raimundo Valdés', 24th March 1819, Gamarra, AGI Estado, Legajo 911A.

¹⁹⁵ 'Declaración de Cristóbal Ricaus', 11th April 1819, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A.

¹⁹⁶ Report from captured Loyalist correspondence, reproduced in 'Relación histórica del Exto. de Occidente al mando del Sr. General José Antonio Páez desde la Villa de Achaguas en 1 de noviembre de 1819', AGNC R GYM, Vol.323, ff.325-342. Urdaneta informed Bolívar that ten British soldiers had tried to desert his forces by April 1819. See also Urdaneta to Minister of War, 18th April 1819, Juan Griego, *Memorias del general Rafael Urdaneta*, p.210; Felipe Pérez, 'State of the Army of the East', 7th January 1820, Achaguas, *Memorias de O'Leary*, Vol.17, ff.28-9.

impossibility: how could this be affected without guides? How could they traverse those immense plains? And how explain themselves? How exist?’¹⁹⁷

Nevertheless, the correspondence of the Independent authorities in Guayana reveals that by 1820 they were accustomed to the regular desertion of groups of *ingleses*, and they drew up procedures for re-distributing the rifles and bayonets of those who left the service.¹⁹⁸ Later, in Peru, volunteer officers like Francisco O’Connor executed deserters and ‘treated recruits as if they were prisoners, so that they could not escape’.¹⁹⁹

Examination of naval documentation shows how the Independent navy mopped up many of these foreign deserters from the terrestrial forces.²⁰⁰ Between periods of service these men resided temporarily in ports in Jamaica and Haiti, ‘literally starving, and pitiable to look upon, ragged and lame, pale and thin from hunger’.²⁰¹ Members of Gregor MacGregor’s expeditions, which made very little incursion into the Hispanic American interior, can also often be traced within this mobile Caribbean community of ‘sailors from every nation’, privateers, soldiers and corsairs.²⁰² Private William Johnson served in MacGregor’s 1819 attack on Portobello, where he was among those captured by the Loyalists. In 1823 he was at Maracaibo serving as a sailor on the Independent corsair ‘Marte’, and in April 1824 he was on the frigate ‘La Venezuela’.²⁰³ This was not just a phenomenon of mobile lower-class men – *Teniente* George Wilkinson abandoned

¹⁹⁷ C.S. Cochrane, *Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia*, Vol.1, p.470.

¹⁹⁸ See for example José Montes to Provincial Governor, 25th May 1820, Nueva Guayana, AGNV GDG, Vol.13, f.289.

¹⁹⁹ José D. Espinar to O’Connor, 9th January 1824, Pativilca, in *Memorias de O’Leary*, Vol.21, p.470, and Espinar to O’Connor, 3rd February 1824, Pativilca, *Memorias de O’Leary*, Vol.21, p.523..

²⁰⁰ For further discussion see my unpublished paper ‘Atlantic Networks of Mercenaries and the Arms Trade: British Mercenaries, the Spanish American Wars of Independence and the Caribbean’, presented to the Caribbean Studies Association Conference in Bristol, 7th July 2003.

²⁰¹ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.241. One of those named by Alexander, William Burke, returned to the Independent service two years later when he was employed as a lookout on the ‘Independiente’, AGNC R GYM, Vol.326, ff.13-25.

²⁰² ‘*Marineros de toda nación*’. ‘Declaración de Pedro Alejandro Richon’, undated, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A, ‘Extracto de cinco declaraciones de igual número de franceses fugados de la escuadrilla rebelde’.

²⁰³ For William Johnson, see the list of prisoners reproduced in Elías Ortiz, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de Colombia*, pp.244-5, and AGNC R GYM, Vol.326, ff.13-25 and Vol.363, ff.850-936. Other examples include Privates James Moss and Richard Howard, who also appear in AGNC R GYM, Vol.778, f.162.

MacGregor in Haiti in early 1819, and joined the Independent naval forces in the early 1820s.²⁰⁴

The crew listings of Independent ships demonstrate that foreigners tended to be grouped together on particular, generally larger, ships. Smaller launches were filled with local men. Personnel turnover was such that only 22.8% of the crew of 'La Venezuela', captained by Walter Chitty, served between March and December 1824.²⁰⁵ These were split equally between Hispanic Americans and foreigners, indicating that mobility through the naval forces was not something unique to the volunteers, but rather a characteristic typical of the service. A handful disappeared in May but had returned by December. There were several men on the ship who had fought three years earlier at Carabobo, among them Bandsman Joseph Olive and *Cabo* James Gilbert, a cotton-spinner from Portaferry in Co. Down.²⁰⁶

Those sailors who left their duties on a Colombian vessel often rejoined another soon after.²⁰⁷ There was also considerable movement of personnel between the British Royal Navy and the Independent navies, as men sought better prospects according to the military climate.²⁰⁸ In 1818 the (British) crew of the Venezuelan brig 'Colombia' mutinied at Trinidad, protesting against the supposed 'cowardice' of their commanding officer, Brion. They demanded pay and prize money, neither of which they had received

²⁰⁴ For Wilkinson see Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*, p.424; AGNC R GYM, Vol.363, ff.850-936.

²⁰⁵ Of the 202 sailors to appear on the three roll lists (from March, May and December), 122 (60.4%) were Hispanic Americans, listing a wide range of towns and villages across Venezuela and New Granada as their place of birth. The eighty foreigners (39.6%) demonstrate the broad variety of backgrounds that composed the Independent navies in this period. There were men from Norway, Germany, Brazil, Wales, Italy, Peru, 'Africa', St. Bartholomew, Jamaica, and Holland. Those with more than a couple of representatives were Ireland and Scotland (five each), the United States (ten) and England (twenty-nine).

²⁰⁶ For Olive see Lambert, *Carabobo*, p.39; Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, Appendix H; AGNC R GYM, Vol.363, ff.850-936. For Gilbert see 'Descriptive Roll', Acta 3; Lambert, *Carabobo*, p.34; Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, Appendix H; AGNC R GYM, Vol.363, ff.850-936. In addition, *Sargento* John McGowan, who had been resident in Angostura with his young family, seems to have joined the naval forces some time in 1821 or 1822, AGNV GDG, Vol.13, f.142; AGNC R GYM, Vol.363, ff.850-936.

²⁰⁷ Appendix 3 reproduces an autobiographical statement from one such sailor to illustrate the variety and mobility of their Caribbean careers.

²⁰⁸ The best works on the Independent navies are Charles Chabaud-Arnault, *La marine pendant les guerres d'Indépendance de l'Amérique du sud*, (Paris, 1894); L. Florez Álvarez, *Acción de la marina colombiana en la guerra de independencia 1806-1830*, (Bogotá, 1919), and Jiménez López, *La armada de Venezuela en la Guerra de la Independencia*.

for some time; this they were refused. In consequence, their captain George Thomas (also known as 'Savage Bear') and eleven men stole the brig and sailed it to New York in search of further employment.²⁰⁹

Naval service offered a dissatisfied volunteer much greater opportunities for desertion or, less dramatically, a change of ship, than the soldier who was dependent upon his company for rations in an unfamiliar environment. Documentation reveals that only very rarely was a ship able to maintain any continuity of personnel. In 1823, the Independent naval forces at Maracaibo engaged in a full roll-call of their officers and crewmen. Several of the foreigners listed (who made up 20% of the crews) had joined up via other branches of the Independent service, such as William Gow of Perthshire who had fought at Carabobo.²¹⁰

Those volunteers who became Caribbean privateers are even more difficult to track down, as very few records survive relating to privateering activities. It seems likely however that soldier/sailors like William Gow found work as privateers in the gaps in the records of their 'official' military and naval career. The vicissitudes of privateering during the Wars of Independence meant that sailors often had to be ready to change masters at a moment's notice.²¹¹ Capture and re-affiliation of loyalties were frequent.²¹²

Despite the number of occasions on which it occurred, the idea of 'deserting' remained extremely dishonourable for officers, at least while the cause itself was still felt to be

²⁰⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, 27th November 1818. See also the statement given by Brion, St. Georges, Grenada, undated, reproduced in *Morning Chronicle*, 4th December 1818. Another crew deserted under Mayor Bates the next year, as reported in the *London Chronicle*, 14th July 1819.

²¹⁰ William Gow's career has been reconstructed from PRO WO 97/1122/160; Lambert, *Carabobo*, p.35; AGNC R GYM, Vol.363, ff.850-936. A similar career path was followed by *Sargento* William Walker of Middlesex, as documented in Casa de Moneda, Db0576; 'Descriptive Roll', AHG G, Acta 2; AGNC R GYM, Vol.326, ff.13-25 and Vol.363, ff.850-936. Other soldiers to have made a similar transition to naval service, recorded in the same AGNC documents as Gow and Walker, include William Young, John Doyle, George Moore, David Murphy and George Scott.

²¹¹ On privateering in the period see Jane Lucas de Grummond, *Renato Beluche: Smuggler, Privateer, and Patriot, 1780-1860*, (Baton Rouge, Louis., 1982); Anne Perotin-Dumon, 'Les corsairs de la liberté', *Histoire*, 43 (1982), pp.24-9; Perotin-Dumon, 'The Pirate and the Emperor: Power and Law on the Seas, 1450-1850', in James D. Tracy, ed., *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade, 1350-1750*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

²¹² For example the events and services described in Sullivan to Fenton, 8th November 1819, Long Island, Bahamas, UCD, P12/3/247, and Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*, p.425.

honourable. British officers declared that inducements to desert were a stain on their honour.²¹³ The honourable man was loyal to his duties, and all of the memoirs written before 1824 presented the author's departure from the Independent army as something forced upon them by circumstance or bad health, rather than having been actively sought. The existence of the phenomenon was therefore denied by sympathetic chroniclers, and those volunteers who returned home were lambasted for 'deserting the cause of liberty'.²¹⁴ Desertion existed and underscored all of the adventurers' activities in South America.

Rationing and Payment

Those who did manage to leave the Independent army often justified their return home by lamenting the insufficiency of rations. Indeed, warfare had triggered economic dislocation, poverty and crisis.²¹⁵ The movement of armies around the region further disrupted traditional food supply networks, and meant that the mercenaries passed above and between the short-range and loosely-connected economies that made up the many local markets.²¹⁶ Military commanders struggled to form new relationships with suppliers in each town or village they passed through, which proved a major drain on the small reserves of coinage that they carried with them. In this sense any markets that the volunteers had access to were small and informal and often set up on an improvised basis to meet their needs as they passed through. Where food was scarce, soldiers went hungry.

The foodstuffs available in each area differed from town to town and between the seasons, and soldiers had to take what they could get. On occasion, Independent officers even withheld available food from the volunteers, claiming that they did not wish to create unequal conditions between the foreigners and other troops.²¹⁷ Those soldiers who had served in the British Army had certain expectations, although standard rations represented the perceived needs of a British soldier in Northern European conditions, not

²¹³ *Correo del Orinoco*, 27th November 1819.

²¹⁴ Adam, *Journal of Voyages to Margaritta, Trinidad and Maturín*, p.v.

²¹⁵ Halperin Donghi, 'Economy and Society in post-Independence Spanish America', *CHLA*, Vol.3, pp.299-345.

²¹⁶ McFarlane, *Colombia before Independence*, p.351.

²¹⁷ José María Ossa to Director of Finance, 26th May 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.10, f.64.

the tropics, and lacked the vegetables and fruited needed for a healthy diet. The weekly allowance in the British Army consisted of ‘seven rations’: seven pounds of bread or flour, seven pounds of beef or four pounds of pork, six ounces of butter, three pints of peas, and a half pound of rice or oatmeal.²¹⁸ In Angostura in 1819, the mercenaries were dismayed at the limited fare they received. A local official noted that ‘the English never stop complaining about the rations they have not received, but there is nothing here apart from bread and beef. There is no rum, paper, salt, tobacco or soap, all of which they request every day’.²¹⁹ The recruitment advertisements for the Irish Legion had offered substantial rations as an inducement: ‘1lb of Beef or Pork, 1lb of Bread, 1½ lb of Potatoes, 1 Noggin of Whiskey per day’.²²⁰ These rations were fanciful if not intentionally fictional. Certainly there was very little pork or potatoes available to the volunteers, and whiskey simply did not exist except for the most fortunate of officers.²²¹ At least initially, many volunteers had to survive on their remaining ‘sea-rations’, known as ‘bad biscuit’, until they could be supplied with the new staple of their diets: beef.

There was little awareness among soldiers and officers alike that high daily alcohol intake was unhealthy and could worsen existing maladies in hot tropical climates. Drinking was one of the volunteers’ principal recreational activities: the daily regime of one volunteer was apparently ‘at five in the morning a glass of sling, a smoke at 7, breakfast at 8, a glass of grog after, some toddy at 11 o’clock, Solomon Grundy at one, dinner at 3 o’clock, two tumblers of grog after, a smoke at 5 o’clock, tea at 7, a nip at 8, and a smoke at 9, and then turn in, except upon the meetings of the Club, which enabled him to take four additional tumblers’.²²² Unsurprisingly, doctors accompanying the expeditions perceived excessive alcohol consumption as one of the main causes of illness. After diagnosing one officer with rheumatic gout, Dr Edward Kirby advised ‘the removal of this gentleman to a hospital were [sic] he might be kept from indulging in the

²¹⁸ Frey, *The British Soldier in America*, pp.30-3.

²¹⁹ Joaquín Moreno to Director of Finance, 3rd March 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.10, f.235.

²²⁰ *Carrick’s Morning Post*, 8th January 1820.

²²¹ Francisco Burdett O’Connor claimed to have carried two bottles of whiskey from Ireland, until he shared them with Sucre, Sandes and Ferguson on St. Patrick’s Day, 1824, *Independencia Americana*, p.105.

²²² As recorded in ‘Diary of the Voyage of Robert James Young’, p.10. The regular consumption of alcohol by officers was a recurrent theme in the diary.

cause of his complaint'.²²³ Judging by the protests made whenever it was withheld, soldiers regarded their daily rum ration as a necessity, a pleasure, and a right. Officers and soldiers alike recognised the links between drunkenness and rebellion, and between a lack of alcohol and rebellion.²²⁴ Rum was often believed to be healthier than the local water, and new distilleries were set up on appropriated haciendas to cope with the soldiers' 'extraordinary rum consumption'.²²⁵ An elaborate bottle recycling scheme was introduced on the Orinoco. The number of illegal distilleries is unknown, but government correspondence shows how the authorities actively sought to maintain control of this trade and to regulate the amount of alcohol that reached the troops.²²⁶

Officers acknowledged that well-fed soldiers were more likely to be brave and less likely to rebel. The British representative in Bogotá later advised approving a loan to the Republic of Colombia on the basis that 'everybody knows that soldiers don't fight heartily in a cause without pay and living on bad rations'.²²⁷ Some volunteers found their rations unpalatable. *Coronel* Hippiusley simply 'could not eat the [unsalted] beef, nor drink the ration rum', describing the beef as 'mangled' and 'fit only for dogs'.²²⁸ This was one of the main reasons why he returned home. Chesterton remarked that 'I took so great a dislike to the sight of beef, as to be unable to bring myself to taste it: until compelled to do so for the support of nature'.²²⁹ Others who could not get used to the food could leave if they were still at Margarita or Angostura, and many did. Generally, though, officers were more concerned at the quality of food and clothes they had rather than quantity, and sometimes overstretched their resources in order to keep up their standards.²³⁰

²²³ Dr Edward Kirby to Governor of Angostura, 11th May 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.7, f.154.

²²⁴ 'Declaraciones de Juan de la Concepción Rueda, Licinio Franco, and Manuel Quiñónez, undated, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A.

²²⁵ Vowell, *Campaigns and Cruises*, p.237.

²²⁶ Anon, 20th April 1818, AGNV GDG, Vol.6, f.179.

²²⁷ Hamilton to Joseph Planta, 15th April 1824, Bogotá, PRO FO 18/3, f.54.

²²⁸ Hippiusley, *Narrative of the Expedition to the rivers Orinoco and Apure* p.275, p.315, p.422. Hiram Bingham, writing a century later, agreed with Hippiusley on the horrors of eating 'nothing but freshly killed beef', Bingham, *The Journal of an expedition across Venezuela and Colombia in 1906-7: An exploration of Bolivar's celebrated march of 1819 and of the battlefields of Boyacá and Carabobo*, (New Haven, Conn., 1919), p.200.

²²⁹ Chesterton, *A Narrative of Proceedings in Venezuela and South America*, p.86.

²³⁰ Anon to Provincial Commander, 15th July 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.11, f.38.

Other officers felt they were being dishonoured by ‘miserable’ rations. One volunteer ‘begged’ the Minister of War ‘to consider that my companion and I were Britons, and unused to such treatment’.²³¹ Some felt they were being deceived by those who distributed the rations. When James Robinson accused the crew and captain of the boat transporting him up the Orinoco of taking more than their fair share, he was told that the crew were ‘comfortable with the biscuit rations, and that the other mulatto passengers were too; that the English were all gluttons, and could not have one week without flesh’.²³² Perhaps this comment reflected a perception amongst Venezuelans, and amongst non-whites in particular, that foreigners were unrealistic in their demands, requesting more than they needed to survive in a time of inescapable hardship and pronounced shortages. Certainly some Creole officers perceived the volunteers as fussy. In August 1819 the *Gazeta de Santa Fe de Bogotá* reproduced a letter favouring the recruitment of black troops from the British Army Jamaica garrison because ‘they are healthy wherever they go, they don’t need bread, and they eat bananas, yams, or whatever there is’.²³³ So these black troops, probably newly-arrived Africans recruited directly into the British Army, were by 1819 being explicitly preferred to the white British troops who were seen to die too quickly and complain too much.²³⁴

Some volunteers detected ‘great jealousy amongst the native troops’ at their perceived preferential treatment.²³⁵ But even the essentials like beef, cereal, salt, and alcohol were not uniformly available across the region and supplies were often irregular. In Coro, volunteers received bread, meat, salt and bananas.²³⁶ In Cumanacoa, Chesterton lamented

²³¹ Adam, *Journal of Voyages to Marguaritta, Trinidad and Maturín*, p.112.

²³² Robinson, *Journal of an Expedition*, pp.67-71.

²³³ D.Y.C to Don Juan Elías López, 25th April 1819, Jamaica, reproduced in *Gazeta de Santa Fe de Bogotá*, 19th August 1819.

²³⁴ See Chapter 4 for the black members of the volunteer expeditions. Refusal to eat bananas was not a common British trait – sailors regularly relied on stocking up on bananas, freshwater and firewood when sailing up the Pacific coast. Andrés de Castro to Intendant of Ecuador, 24th June 1819, Esmeraldas, ANE Fondo Especial, Caja 228, 1819, Vol.2, f.36.

²³⁵ An Officer Late in the Colombian Service, *The Present State of Colombia*, p.99. Alexander Alexander agreed that Bolívar used the ration system as a way to reward those who were loyal, and buy off those who threatened rebellion, *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.27.

²³⁶ Woodberry, ‘Diario de operación’, in Arturo Santana, ed., *La campaña de Carabobo (1821) Relación histórica-militar*, (Caracas, 1921), pp.177-315.

that he marched past limes, peppers and guava, whilst being rationed on just one pound of lean beef, eaten without salt and with only water to drink.²³⁷ Vicente Lecuna reported that he had not been able to feed the volunteers or the patients in the Angostura Hospital on 18th October 1819, as his flour supplies had run out so he could not produce any bread.²³⁸ British or Irish officials were therefore often given the position of Chief of Staff, charged with keeping the officers and troops rationed and armed, their movements coordinated, prisoners guarded, and their complaints controlled. This was especially so when campaigning on the Caribbean coast, because of their perceived links to British regional traders. *Coronel* George Woodberry and *Coronel* Thomas Richards served in this position under *General* Páez and *Admiral* Brion respectively.²³⁹

In early 1820 Richards negotiated the purchase of cod and flour to feed the troops stationed at Pampatar, but the diet of the troops changed according to geographical location, transport and market availability, from beef in the llanos to bananas in the tropical valleys.²⁴⁰ On occasions they were given special treatment. In March 1820 in Neiva, a local official received delivery of salted meat and biscuits, and recorded having to ration those destined for ‘the English soldiers who don’t eat bananas’, and who had requested extra flour to bake bread.²⁴¹ Two days later, the same official reported on the care he was taking of ‘our *ingleses*’. He claimed to have ‘accommodated them to the best of our abilities and limited resources’, and indeed he personally supervised the cooks

²³⁷ Chesterton, *Peace, War and Adventure*, p.98, Chesterton, *A Narrative of Proceedings*, p.74.

²³⁸ Vicente Lecuna, 18th October 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.10, f.134. Interestingly, even in this case Lecuna did not run out of flour because of a shortage in supply, but because he had been ordered to send fifty-five barrels of flour to Margarita. Note that this Vicente Lecuna (b.1790 Valencia, Venezuela, d.1862 Caracas), one of Colombia’s principal civilian administrators, should not be confused with his great-grandson, the historian Vicente Lecuna (b.1870 Caracas, d.1954 Caracas), author of *Crónica razonada*.

²³⁹ For many documents relating to Woodberry’s organization of Páez’ army in 1823, see AGNC R GYM, Vol.44 and Woodberry’s operation diaries, reproduced in Santana, ed., *La campaña de Carabobo*, pp.177-315. Woodberry methodically reported the daily ‘Movements, Events, Instruction, Subsistence’. Every few days he noted desertions or deaths of soldiers. Woodberry was of such standing that he had his own personalised printed headed paper; for an example see AGNV IP, Vol.84, f.310. See also Carlos Pérez Jurado, ‘Tras las huellas del Coronel George Woodberry’, pp.116-8. For Thomas Richards, see AGNV GDG, Vol.6, ff.33-40; for his links to the financier Charles Herring, see Mary English, ‘Diary of Mary English’, [1822], English Papers, HA157/11/10.

²⁴⁰ Thomas Richards to Minister of Marine, 22nd January 1820, Juan Griego, *Memorias de O’Leary*, Vol.17, pp.45-8.

²⁴¹ José Fructuoso Durán to Domingo Caycedo, 21st March 1820, Neiva, reproduced in Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Enrique Ortega Ricaurte and Ignacio Rivas Putnam, eds., *Archivo Epistolar del General Domingo Caycedo*, Vol.1, (Bogotá, 1943), pp.100-1.

assigned to the newcomers. He informed his superiors that 'I have told them to complain directly to me if they experience any problems, but they have thanked me and told me that they desire nothing more'.²⁴²

The officers may have been content with this situation, but volunteer soldiers did not get such a good deal. The distribution of rations was often chaotic, especially when 'more than a hundred men compete[d] for what there is, grabbing whatever they can get their hands on'.²⁴³ The subsequent rioting often led to fights and desertions. Yet despite the complaints and disorders triggered by rationing, there is little evidence that the volunteers fell back on hunting, fruit picking or fishing, except in the most abject emergencies. The experiences of Richard Vowell, who scavenged in local woods and plantations for food to survive after the battle of El Semen, were relatively rare.²⁴⁴

Whilst officers complained about the type of food they were given, soldiers were more likely to be denied it in the required amounts. Lacking sustenance, enterprising and ruthless private soldiers often took food from those who had it. In September 1820, at Soledad across the Orinoco from Angostura, Private George Wall was accused of stealing 'food, some liquor, some clothing, a shaving blade and other articles' from *Capitán Herrenyn*, who he had been serving as a domestic servant. The theft had allegedly been carried out in league with 'another individual called Excimito'.²⁴⁵ Such a haul increases the probability that Wall and 'Excimito' intended to sell on some of these items.

Travelling armies taking local resources caused irritation and discontent amongst the affected communities. The fear of marauding troops undermined confidence in the market economy, already weakened by the lack of currency and mules caused by military requisitioning. All this contributed to peasants keeping food back from market, and so making worse the very food shortages that caused hunger, and therefore looting

²⁴² Durán to Caycedo, 23rd March 1820, Neiva, *Archivo Epistolar*, Vol.1, pp.101-3.

²⁴³ Durán to Caycedo, 23rd March 1820, Neiva, *Archivo Epistolar*, Vol.1, pp.101-3.

²⁴⁴ Vowell, *Campaigns and Cruises*, pp.87-92.

²⁴⁵ J. Herrenyn to Juan José Conde, 24th September 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.11, ff.43-4. Conde dismissed the case and set Wall free.

tendencies, amongst the mercenaries.²⁴⁶ The non-delivery of rations was a prime motive for complaint and, occasionally, rebellion. Chesterton remarked that ‘the internal harmony of our corps was every now and then disturbed by the same want of regularity in the issue of the rations ... the men never failed to inveigh bitterly against the breach of promise towards them, and generally demanded what they termed “their rights”.’²⁴⁷ Such well-founded complaints often resulted in pillaging, even by those battalions reputed to be the best-behaved.²⁴⁸ For this reason, officials tried to manoeuvre unpaid campaigning units into ‘enemy’ territory, so that they could loot with more impunity.²⁴⁹ Just as in the Iberian Peninsula, British and Irish forces did just this, and the path of the army was often ‘marked by a trail of arson, theft, rape and murder’.²⁵⁰ Charles Esdaile’s conclusion for the Peninsula War, that such behaviour was ‘probably inevitable’, holds true for Gran Colombia.²⁵¹ Independent and Loyalist soldiers had recourse to pillage when they were ‘left with no other means of survival’, and for some it became ‘a way of life’.²⁵² As at Ciudad Rodrigo in the Iberian Peninsula, ‘a town taken by storm [like Barcelona, Riohacha, or Portobello] was by tradition regarded as the legitimate prize of the men concerned’.²⁵³ Stories of drunken abandon always accompanied the news of plunder of captured towns.²⁵⁴

Perhaps as big a concern as the scarcity of rations was the lack of wages. Much correspondence of the period related to problems of coinage, its availability and its reliability. Volunteers hoped to take some riches home, but they also wanted money to alleviate their wants, their boredom or their curiosity. One of the Independent leaders’

²⁴⁶ On the widespread lack of confidence in the New Granadan economy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, see McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, p.162. On requisitioning see Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, p.447.

²⁴⁷ Chesterton, *A Narrative of Proceedings in Venezuela and South America*, p.24.

²⁴⁸ On the ‘scandalous behaviour’ of the Rifles Battalion see Briceño Méndez to José María Carreño, Rosario, 21st May 1820, *Memorias de O’Leary*, Vol.17, p.192.

²⁴⁹ Briceño Méndez to Páez, 25th May 1820, San Cristóbal, *Memorias de O’Leary*, Vol.17, p.203.

²⁵⁰ Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p.151.

²⁵¹ Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p.198.

²⁵² Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p.318, p.151. For the depredations of the Loyalist soldiers, see Earle, *Spain and the Independence of Colombia*, pp.111-2.

²⁵³ Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p.380.

²⁵⁴ Three examples from many are Urdaneta, *Memorias del general Rafael Urdaneta*, p.230; [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, p.77; and Young, ‘Diary of Robert James Young’, p.53. For Spain, see Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p.416. The phenomenon is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

most frequent explanations for not rationing or paying their troops was that the treasury was empty, and confusion over coinage and value occupied the minds of many at the time.²⁵⁵ Indeed, in Angostura in 1819 it appears that the principal problem was lack of specie, not lack of food. A local official wrote that he had not been able to supply departing British troops, 'because those who have the food choose not to give it, disregarding any promises we might make. There is no money to buy anything'.²⁵⁶ This was as much the case in peace-time as in war. *Coronel* Hippiisley expressed the same view, finding that 'nothing but carrion beef could be obtained for either officer or man. No bread or cassava; no vegetables; no rice; no salt or pepper, no sugar, candles or soup, no rum or wine. Were there any articles in the stores – in merchants' houses – in the common grog shops? Yes, plenty for money!' ²⁵⁷

Hippiisley thought that although the quality of food was poor, the principal problem was the lack of currency.²⁵⁸ Indeed, when volunteers sought other means of exchange, they found they had little to offer. Many officers reported that they were forced to sell their spare shirts, and other inessential items, but these resources were quickly exhausted, and some attempted to use metal buttons as coins.²⁵⁹ Such exchanges were sought by the local population as well – upon the imminent arrival to Angostura of a regiment of the British Legion in April 1820, local officials felt it necessary to 'prohibit any person from buying clothes, accessories, etc, from the arriving troops'.²⁶⁰ Anyone caught engaging in this illicit trade was to be fined 100 reales. Private soldiers did not carry trunks full of such goods and therefore had even less capacity to exchange. Such a situation probably

²⁵⁵ For the examples of Ibagué and Cali see ACC, Sala Independencia, M1-11-ad, C1-5f. Robert Garson, 'Counting Money: The US Dollar and American Nationhood, 1781-1820', *Journal of American Studies*, 35:1 (April 2001), pp.21-46, argued that the US dollar was integral to the 'success' of US nation-building in the first fifty years after Independence. There is no equivalent research into the effect of the confusion over currency in Spanish America in the similar period. For a useful study of the movements of silver currency in late colonial New Granada, see Twinam, *Miners, Merchants and Farmers*, pp.45-73.

²⁵⁶ José María Olivares, Military Governor of Angostura, to Director of Finance, 19th November 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.10, f.144.

²⁵⁷ Hippiisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.430

²⁵⁸ Such was the desire of some travellers to eat beef 'as it is cooked at home', that when the British Commissioner Hamilton encountered doctor George Wallis, resident in Popayán for twenty years, Hamilton cooked him roast beef and plum pudding, which Wallis claimed not have tasted since he left home over twenty years ago. J.P. Hamilton, *Travels Through The Interior Provinces of Colombia*, Vol.1, (London, 1827), pp.69-71.

²⁵⁹ Chesterton, *A Narrative of Proceedings*, pp.19-20.

²⁶⁰ José María Olivares, 'Proclamación', 15th April 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.233.

encouraged looting, desertion, and other unconventional ways of adding to the volunteers' income.

The army used fixed and official salary scales, but the lack of coined currency meant that officers were often paid in kind by receiving 'extra' rations:

Figure 2.3: Military rations in Angostura, July 1819.²⁶¹

<i>General in Chief</i>	16 rations
<i>General of Division</i>	12 rations
<i>General of Brigade</i>	6 rations
<i>Coronel</i>	4 rations
<i>Teniente Coronel to Mayor</i>	3 rations
<i>Capitán down to subteniente</i>	2 rations
<i>Sargento down to Private Soldier</i>	1 ration

It can be presumed from Figure 2.3 that Simón Bolívar, *General in Chief*, was not expected to eat four times as much as a *Coronel*, or for that officer to eat four times as much again as a private soldier under his command. Officers could not simply sell rations to private soldiers, who also lacked ready cash. Instead, this rationing system provided a cash-free way of allowing officers to employ assistants. Presumably, private soldiers took such jobs in order to receive extra rations, and the other opportunities offered by such relatively privileged positions.²⁶² Such informal, client-patron relationships thus took shape in the shadow of the formal hierarchies represented by military ranks. This meant that 'special' treatment was given to certain individuals or groups on occasions, such as in Cali in March 1821, when 'American' soldiers and officers of the Santander Battalion were awarded one quarter of the wages they were owed, and foreigners one half.²⁶³

A wider trend of illegal smuggling and rustling activities that went undetected (or colluded with) by the local authorities may be illustrated by the case of one Irish soldier,

²⁶¹ Lecuna, 'Relación del número de raciones que le corresponde a los militares y algunos empleados según la minuta que pasó en el tiempo que se establezca esta oficina el EM General', 13th July 1819, AGNV GDG, Vol.7, f.172.

²⁶² The prevalence of activities like gambling also shows that there was some cash to circulate amongst campaigning troops.

²⁶³ Manuel Castrillón, 'Presupuesto del Batallón Santander', 13th March 1821, Cali, ACC, Sala Independencia, M1-2-ad, f.27.

Sargento Thomas Cannon.²⁶⁴ He was apprehended late one night outside Popayán by his own army's patrol, as he led two cows with ropes around their necks. He and his accomplice Private Encarnación Ximénes were accused of stealing state property, and of intending to sell the cows to the neighbouring Indian village of Yanacones. Witnesses were produced to testify that Cannon and Ximénes had boasted that the mayor ['*alcalde* '] of Yanacones and his brother-in-law had paid five pesos for each cow. Another witness stated that the Irishman had attempted to bribe the patrol's leader, offering him half of all the profit made by the trade. When hauled in for interview, the Indian *alcalde* Manuel María Patía denied everything. The authorities arrested Patía as well, and shifted the blame for the operation from Cannon to the Indian community. This indication of clear links between lower-class mercenaries, local Independent soldiers and indigenous leaders, in the case of Thomas Cannon shows how (often illicit) trade could foster mutually beneficial encounters. Such operations were probably more likely in areas like Cauca, where volunteer soldiers had more freedom than back in Angostura, where they took (as Private George Wall did) from those closest to them. In this particular case, such trading resulted in imprisonment for all parties, and presumably some subsequent unrecorded reprisals.

The distribution of food and rations was often the scenario for tension and conflict. Some officers managed to combine their military duties with legally reimbursed employment. In Angostura in February 1819 a British *capitán*, George Cook, was tried for 'insulting behaviour' towards the local butcher in charge of the distribution of meat rations. According to the accusation levelled against him, Cook charged into the shop and forcibly took all the meat he could carry.²⁶⁵ In the same period, a local man reported to the government the news that

opposite the house where I am residing, the English have killed a cow that they were leading to their lodgings. Because it was tired and crippled it could not continue, so they killed it. There and then, they sold some of the meat to passers-by, and the rest they have carried off themselves. I have been informed that

²⁶⁴ Comandante Luis Castillo, 'Investigation into the arrest of *Sargento* Tomás Cañon', 14th September 1822, Popayán, ACC, Sala Independencia, J1-15-cr, Sig. 6109.

²⁶⁵ Libro de Ordenes, 2nd July 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.9, f.295.

they do the same thing every day, killing cows in different parts of the town, which means that the correct allocation of meat cannot be arriving to the plates of the other troops.²⁶⁶

The group of British soldiers who killed this cow did so not out of outright hunger, but to gain currency by selling it. The Albion Battalion's journey from Guayaquil to Bogotá in 1822 further demonstrates volunteers' improvised approach to the distribution of rations.²⁶⁷ Documents relating to these journeys show just how little these underpaid soldiers had to offer in exchange to the citizens they forced to feed and shelter them on the way, providing little stimulus to war-ravaged economies.²⁶⁸ In June 1822, *General* Sucre gave permission for a small preliminary group from the Albion Battalion to leave Guayaquil for Bogotá. *Sargento* José Baller, *Cabo* Roberto Brin, *Cabo* Julian Osón and Private Francisco Mater (recorded, as was customary, with their hispanified names), travelled by boat to the Isthmus of Panama, and received four mules in Cartagena to carry their belongings, as well as three rations of bread, nine of meat, and one of vegetable stew. Thirteen days later, on 15th June, they received five rations each in Turbaco, and they would be similarly supported in Mompox on 18th June, Girón on 7th July, San Carlos on 8th July and San Gil on 10th July. On 11th July they arrived at Socorro, where they were given 'three shirts, as they were naked, and rations for four days'. At Puente Nación a week later they were granted double rations, presumably because they again appeared extremely hungry.²⁶⁹

Two months later, the rest of the Albion Battalion travelled to Bogotá. Instead of following Baller's group, they made the whole journey by land. *Coronel* John Mackintosh left Guayaquil on 3rd August 1822 with twenty-three officers and thirty-

²⁶⁶ Unsigned and undated (probably Angostura, late 1819), AGNV GDG, Vol.8, f.415.

²⁶⁷ Bolívar created the Albion Battalion in November 1819 in Pamplona. The foreign members of the battalion were to be fully paid from the beginning, whilst local recruits would have their pay withheld until they had been 'fully disciplined'. Bolívar to Mackintosh, 'Creación del batallón Albion', 22nd October 1819, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.3, pp.132-3. Gerhard Masur followed Bolívar in stressing that this was a perfect example of foreign soldiers being able to 'teach the natives'. Masur, *Simón Bolívar*, (Albuquerque, N.M., 1969, 1st edition 1948), p.288.

²⁶⁸ See documents in ACC, Sala Independencia, M1-8-ad, Sig. 1244.

²⁶⁹ Passport granted by Mariano Montilla, 2nd June 1822, Cartagena. Other details written on reverse, AGNC R GYM, Vol.1447, f.606.

seven British soldiers.²⁷⁰ On 3rd September, they were in Cali. There, the local community provided twenty pesos to purchase two cows to feed the troops, six pesos to hire three mules to carry their luggage and a further nine pesos to pay two *peones* to escort the mules to the next stop, Cartago. The British officers never returned the loaned mules, or the saddles, instead appropriating them for the rest of their journey.²⁷¹ The reaction in Cali, to what must have appeared extremely ungrateful behaviour, is unknown, yet such an action demonstrates that the Albion Battalion did not preoccupy themselves with how they were perceived by the local communities they passed through. Their concern by this stage was to return to the capital, in marked contrast to the public thanks offered by *Teniente Coronel* John Johnston to the Colombian government in 1820 for the ‘good welcome and treatment’ that the Albion battalion had received in Neiva.²⁷²

Such actions may also indicate some dissatisfaction amongst the volunteers at the conditions of their humble return to Bogotá, after the victories of the Campaign of the South. But when seen within the context of other volunteer actions across Colombia studied in this chapter, it seems to be a further example of resort to small-scale criminality. When they stopped off at the village of Amaine, the local mayor purchased a bull with which to feed them, costing fifteen pesos. Whilst this was more than enough to feed the troops and provide rations for the next leg of the journey, the mayor wrote that ‘the troops overpowered me and took *all* of the meat: there was nothing I could do’.²⁷³ ‘With the same disorder’ they also took all the salt they could find. In the subsequent villages where the battalion stopped to replenish its supplies, local officials complained that the Albion Battalion took all available horses without asking, and that they refused to provide receipts to prove what they had taken.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ See documents in AGNC R GYM, Vol.1447, ff.735-7. This volume contains many passports granted to British officers and soldiers to travel around Colombia in this period, for personal, health and service reasons. All were granted rations as they arrived at the many staging posts across the country.

²⁷¹ Alcalde Ordinario Francisco Molina to José Concha, 3rd September 1822, Cali, ACC, Sala Independencia, M1-8-ad, Sig. 1244, f.1.

²⁷² *Correo del Orinoco*, 3rd June 1820.

²⁷³ José Antonio Barrelas to Francisco Molinas, 2nd September 1822, Cali, ACC, Sala Independencia, M1-8-ad, Sig. 1244, f.4 [original emphasis]. Barrelas also provided 2 arrobas of salt (5 pesos), 2 arrobas of rice (3 pesos), candles (1 peso), and a *peon* to cut wood to make them a fire (4 reales).

²⁷⁴ One small village provided a list of the horses loaned to the Albion Battalion on 30th August, which member of the community owned the horse, and to which town it could be ridden before being returned.

These travelling armies highlight the extent to which much military activity in this period was essentially local – when armies could not feed their troops, the rank-and-file tended to return to their villages where they could gain subsistence. Without such links to local communities, foreigners like the Albion Battalion seized what they needed. Their conceptions of honour did not prevent them from engaging in such actions, because these rural communities were not perceived by the British and Irish as a potential source of honour.²⁷⁵ Civilians therefore increasingly saw the military, and especially the ‘foreign’ military, as a burden to be tolerated during times of danger, to be limited in peacetime. ‘Foreign’ in this sense was understood in very local terms – as someone from outside the local economy and community, who would not contribute to production but would instead demand to be supplied.

Conclusions

In 1824, Commissioner Hamilton informed the Foreign Secretary of some standard prices in post-war Bogotá, converting them into British currency for ease of understanding:

A dozen silk pocket handkerchiefs	£10
A pound of beef	4d
Hams	12s
A dozen bottles of claret	£5
A dozen bottles of champagne	£12
A well-furnished house	About £400 a year ²⁷⁶

Possibly only a commissioner appointed by the British Foreign Office could have made a pound of beef appear inexpensive in post-war Colombia. In contrast the volunteers were

For example, Luis José Sen loaned one horse for the Popayán-Cali journey, charging 12 reales, whereas Manuel Escarta charged 2 pesos for three horses from Las Juntas to Cali. Others loaned saddles and stirrups, again stipulating exactly the conditions of the loan. ACC, Sala Independencia, M1-8-ad, Sig. 1244, ff.9-14.

²⁷⁵ This situation was made clear by Commander Basilio Palacios in Popayán in 1826. Reflecting that he could not pay his officers because of a lack of funds, he commented that ‘almost all of the officers in my Battalion are strangers [‘forasteros’], and therefore they do not have those relationships which commonly allow the locals [‘hijos del pays’] to satisfy their needs’. He compared the officers with local soldiers ‘who are at least able to eat bread in the morning and evening, whereas the foreign officer finds every day is closed to him, and so must perish of hunger’. Comandante Basilio Palacios to Comandante General, 17th April 1826, Popayán, ACC, Sala Independencia, M1-1-c, Sig. 2400, ff.3-4.

²⁷⁶ Hamilton to Planta, 9th April 1824, Bogotá, PRO FO 18/3 ff.32-7.

forced to accept what they were given, and to take what they could. The large distances they travelled meant that only rarely could they develop formal relations with the regions they passed through. Whilst Thomas Cannon's rustling and the Albion Battalion's cow-snatching could be seen as 'enterprising', they operated on an even more improvised basis than the medium-scale arms traders and food suppliers who followed them, or the investors back in London proposing colonisation schemes and arms deals. Forced into these transactions by lack of currency and supply difficulties, non-commissioned officers and soldiers were left to their own devices. When this was not enough, and opportunities to leave arose, they contemplated and attempted desertion.²⁷⁷ The reality of adventure was founded on these everyday battles for survival.

²⁷⁷ For the activities of those merchants, see Lynch, 'British Merchants and the Independence of Latin America', pp.1-30. For the British merchant Benjamin Hatton's activities and negotiations in Cali in 1820, see ACC, Sala Independencia, C1-5f, Sig. 956.

Chapter 3: Re-negotiating Honour

What gives value to travel is fear. It breaks down a kind of internal structure ... stripped of all our crutches, deprived of our masks ... we are completely on the surface of ourselves ... This is the most obvious benefit of travel.

ALBERT CAMUS (1937) ¹

The volunteer expeditions were rooted in adventure. Away from Britain and its empire, the adventurers were not purely 'mercenary' in the sense of overt concern with pay, prizes, and short-term remunerative employment. There was also great emphasis placed on obtaining and maintaining honour. This was as much about prestige and romantic conceptions of 'glory' as it was about race and national pride. The adventurers' desire for honour meshed well with the concerns of Creoles, for whom it was a central preoccupation throughout the colonial period.²

Over the period 1780-1850 in New Granada, there was a transition in which economic wealth played more of a role in status, and colonial ideas of 'status-honour' became correspondingly less important.³ Under Spanish rule and republican government alike, status-honour was directly linked to the institutions of the state, which dispensed recognition and patronage. The British and Irish volunteers shared Creoles' concern for honour in the sense that, in Uribe Urán's words, it was a 'a motivating sentiment and code of conduct observed by individuals and families looking for ways to accumulate prestige, esteem, influence, and other opportunities to increase their social standing',⁴ which was then 'convertible' into material advantage. As Elías Pino Iturrieta has argued

¹ Albert Camus, 'Carnets 1935-7', NRF/Gallimard 26 (1962) p.26, quoted in Peter Phipps, 'Tourism, Terrorists, Death and Value', in Kaur and Hutnyk, eds., *Travel Worlds*, p.80.

² For a synthesis see Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, (Albuquerque, N.M., 1998), pp.8-14. For Venezuela in particular see Pellicer, *La vivencia del honor en la provincia de Venezuela* and Pino Iturrieta, *País Archipiélago: Venezuela 1830-1858*, (Caracas, 2002), pp.68-9. Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets*, pp.31-3 contains a sophisticated criticism of much of the historiography on honour. For the way honour was negotiated in colonial New Granada, see also Margarita Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones: variaciones sobre la política en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, 1770-1815*, (Bogotá, 1993), pp.18-28.

³ Uribe Urán, *Honorable Lives*, p.5.

⁴ Uribe Urán, *Honorable Lives*, p.11.

for the Venezuelan republic, the upheavals of wartime and the accompanying social and economic changes meant that ideas of honour began to give more value to conduct and, correspondingly, less to birth.⁵ The virtue (or *honra*) of the good citizen was incorporated into elite Venezuelans' understandings of what it meant to be honourable. Both Pino Iturrieta and Uribe Urán consciously focused on civilian aspects of society, seeing them as the 'true bases for nationhood'. New Granada experienced a lower degree of military conflict than did Venezuela, but in both cases unprecedented levels of military mobilisation conditioned and transformed civilian codes of honour. The vast majority of the military in this period were not professional soldiers, but were rather lawyers (like Santander), *hacendados* (like Bolívar), peasants or slaves who had taken up arms either for opportunistic reasons, or from necessity. Indeed the civilian Creole elites studied by Uribe Urán had often fought in the Wars of Independence themselves. During over a decade of warfare, what Michael Ignatieff has called a universal and timeless 'warriors' honour', implying 'an idea of war as a moral theatre in which one displayed one's manly virtues in public ... [fighting] without fear, without hesitation and, by implication, without duplicity'⁶ was therefore superimposed upon pre-existing conceptions of honour.⁷ The foreign volunteers also self-consciously adopted and brought with them a military discourse of honour which emphasised the appropriate conduct for officers and gentlemen, and correspondingly (although to a lesser degree) that of the common soldier.

Integral to their honour as soldiers in a foreign land was the contemporary resurgence of interest in chivalric codes in Britain and Ireland. Indeed it could be argued that the very lack of military experience found in the adventurers led to an even greater emphasis on the 'warrior's honour'. Daring, endurance and glory gained greater value than ever against a cultural background in which Walter Scott's Romantic heroes were increasingly popular: 'brave, dashing, honourable, proud of his birth, pure-minded, gentle to women and loyal to his masters'.⁸ James Rooke (who died after the battle of Pantano de Vargas

⁵ Pino Iturrieta, *País Archipiélago*, pp.68-9.

⁶ Michael Ignatieff, *The Warrior's Honour: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*, (London, 1998), pp.109-63.

⁷ Ignatieff, *The Warrior's Honour*, p.17.

⁸ Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, (London, 1981), p.36, p.93; Peter Mandler, 'In the Olden Time': Romantic history and English national identity, 1820-50', in Laurence

uttering '*Viva la patria*' on his deathbed⁹) and William Ferguson (who was killed protecting Bolívar from an assassination attempt¹⁰) epitomised the self-sacrificing chivalric hero. The cult of the chivalric hero emerged from the Wars of Independence as an integral part of the new republican patriotism.¹¹

Chivalry and Adventure

Several authors and chroniclers consciously linked the volunteer expeditions to the principal Hispanic chivalric figure of their imaginations, a new translation of whose adventures was being advertised in London as the expeditions were being recruited.¹² Donald MacDonald was described as 'our Quixotic Colonel'.¹³ As the wars continued however, there was increasing tension between the disinterested chivalric ideal and the national identity the adventurers were supposed to be fighting for.¹⁴ This tension was demonstrated by the first commemorations of the Independents' military victories. When José Manuel Groot described the 1821 celebrations of the second anniversary of the

Brockliss and David Eastwood, eds., *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles c.1750-c.1850*, (Manchester, 1997), p.81.

⁹ A succinct description of Rooke's death was given in López, *Recuerdos históricos del coronel Manuel Antonio López*, p.12.

¹⁰ *El Colombiano de Guayas*, Edición Extraordinaria, 4th November 1828. For an alternative interpretation, claiming that Ferguson was armed and was killed only in self-defence, see Florentino González, *Memorias*, (Medellín, 1971), p.151.

¹¹ For an enlightening discussion of levels of heroic death in New Granada, see Bernardo Tovar Zambrano, 'Porque los muertos mandan. El imaginario patriótico de la historia colombiana', in Carlos Miguel Ortiz Sarmiento and Bernardo Tovar Zambrano, eds., *Predecir el pasado*, (Bogotá, 1997), pp.125-169; also Earle, 'Padres de la Patria and the Ancestral Past: Commemorations of Independence in Nineteenth Century Spanish America', *JLAS*, 34:4 (November 2002), pp.775-805. In Venezuela, the cult of Simón Bolívar rapidly overshadowed these distinctions, as discussed in Carrera Damas, *El culto a Bolívar*, and the more literary work it inspired, Brian Conway, 'Imagining Bolívar: Mythic Representation and Official Memory in Nineteenth-Century Venezuela', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of California, San Diego, 1996. See also Ocampo López, *El proceso ideológico de la emancipación en Colombia*, (Bogotá, 1999, first published 1974), pp.343.

¹² [Anon], *The Soldiers of Venezuela*, (London, 1818), p.114; E.L Joseph, *Warner Arundell*, pp.250-3; Robinson, *Journal of an Expedition*, p.5; Vowell, *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, p.197; Vowell, *The Savannas of Varinas*, p.36. Francisco de Miranda and Sir Robert Ker Porter had *Don Quijote* in their travelling libraries, Walter Dupouy, ed., *Sir Robert Ker Porter's Caracas Diary 1825-1842: A British Diplomat in a Newborn Nation*, (Caracas, 1966), p.lxxix; Pedro Grases and Arturo Uslar Pietri, *Los libros de Miranda*, (Caracas, 1967), p.13; *Morning Chronicle*, 2nd November 1818.

¹³ [Anon], *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the ship 'Two Friends'*, p.65. Donald MacDonald (d.1817 Guayana) was a Scot, sometimes referred to as 'Macdouall' or 'McDonald'. He was aide-de-camp to General Francisco Ballesteros during the war against Napoleon in Spain.

¹⁴ Nevertheless, historians have continued to feel the comparison retains some value, for example Plazas Olarte, 'La Legión Británica en la Independencia de Colombia', p.296; Bushnell, ed., *La República de las Floridas: Text and Documents*, (México D.F., 1986), p.17; Earle, *Spain and the Independence of Colombia*, p.165.

battle of Boyacá, he glowingly listed the preparations for the event, the marches, displays, laurels, music, the enormous crowd and the beautifully made-up women. ‘When all this was over, there was a ceremonial march in which all the gentlemen of ancient times paraded. Then there was more music and patriotic singing’.¹⁵ In 1822 there was an innovation that coincided with the Albion Battalion’s return to Bogotá after their successful campaign of the South. The traveller C.S. Cochrane described the festivities which the volunteers had related to him:

To commemorate their victories over the Spaniards, and to rejoice at their liberty, and the Independence of their country ... [there was] a magnificent display in imitation of the ancient tournaments. Horsemen [were] attired after the manner of the knights-errant of old, belonging to the four quarters of the world. ... The most adroit of the knights were then selected by the judges, and received various prizes from the Queen of the Tournament, who was generally the most beautiful young lady of the place.¹⁶

Cochrane lamented that in the year of his visit, 1823, there was a lack of money and ‘a sufficient number of knights could not be collected’. Instead, the tournament was replaced by a demonstration of learning and education.¹⁷ None of the Colombian commentators recorded this chivalric re-enactment, and even by the time Cochrane’s memoirs were published, Bogotá’s 1822 Chivalric Tournament was already a dimly recalled memory.¹⁸ If indeed it was anything more than a figment of Cochrane’s imagination, it was an indication of the importance of deeds of chivalric heroism to the adventurers themselves. The decline of this ‘romanticised idea of honour’ showed that those trying to stabilise the republic did not cherish the link to an age of chivalric adventuring.¹⁹ By 1823 they preferred to celebrate the hopes of education and republican aspiration in the shape of the Lancastrian schools.

The language of chivalry infused much of Cochrane’s correspondence, describing Mary English as ‘the fair damsel who has enslaved [his] heart’, and volunteer officers as ‘noble knights’.²⁰ John Potter Hamilton described a volunteer officer he met who was ‘now on

¹⁵ Groot, *Historia de la Gran Colombia*, p.126. For a description of the same events, marvelling that ‘it seemed that we had been transported back to Ancient Greece’, see *Gazeta de la Ciudad de Bogotá*, 19th August 1821.

¹⁶ C.S. Cochrane, *Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia*, Vol.2, p.285.

¹⁷ C.S. Cochrane, *Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia*, Vol.2, p.285.

¹⁸ It is not mentioned at all in Earle, ‘Padres de la Patria’ and the Ancestral Past’, pp.775-800.

¹⁹ Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera, *The Faces of Honor*, p.8.

²⁰ For example C.S. Cochrane to Mary English, 9th October 1825, London, English Papers, HA157/3/168.

his way from Cartagena to Maracaibo, '*pour faire amour*' to a pretty girl, whom he afterwards married: to get at this fair prize, he had to encounter as many perils and dangers as most knights-errant of yore'.²¹ In 1824 an English officer, 'Julian', was accused of stealing a bag of specie from the house of a Bogotá merchant, Braulio Fernández. The Englishman's defence was that he had entered the house 'on hearing the screams of a maiden', and that he had in fact rescued her from the clutches of her abusive husband.²²

Women were at the centre of much of the chivalric language of honour. For volunteer soldiers and officers women were 'motive, booty, pretext and reward'.²³ They regularly encountered Colombian women who served as soldiers, spies and cooks, or performed tasks in propaganda and communications.²⁴ Elite women such as Manuela Sáenz played vital roles in military and political affairs.²⁵ This meant that they came into regular contact with the foreign mercenaries.

Occasionally the volunteers were accused of abusing local women, as in the case of Peter Grant considered later in this chapter, but by and large such behaviour was covered by

²¹ Hamilton, *Travels Through The Interior Provinces of Colombia*, Vol.2, p.25.

²² Testimony of Francisco Sierra, 6th April 1824, Bogotá, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 29, f.940.

²³ The phrase comes from Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*, p.78.

²⁴ For Gran Colombia, see General José Dolores Monsalve, *Las mujeres de la revolución de la independencia*, (Bogotá, 1926); Evelyn Cherpak, 'The Participation of Women in the Independence Movement in Gran Colombia, 1780-1830' in Asunción Lavrin, ed., *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, (Westport, Conn., 1978), pp.219-34. For Venezuela, the fascinating pamphlet by the writer and publisher Domingo Naves Spinola, *Las ilustres americanas: influencia de las mujeres en la sociedad*, (Caracas, 1848, re-printed from first 1826 edition). Manuel Pérez Vila, in the *Diccionario de Historia de Venezuela* suggested that Spinola was merely the editor of this book, originally written by 'a German in the service of Peru, Pedro Creutzer'. The book is in the BNC, Fondo Quijano. See also Violeta Rojo, 'Luisa Cáceres de Arismendi: A woman in the Venezuelan War of Independence', unpublished paper presented to SLAS annual conference, University of Birmingham April 2001, and Claire Brewster, 'Women Soldiers in the Wars of Independence: *'La amazona'* Juana Azurduy', paper presented to SLAS annual conference, University of Manchester, April 2003.

²⁵ Manuela Sáenz (b.1797 Quito, d.1856 Paíta, Peru) married an English merchant, James Thorne, but became Bolívar's principal lover, and was able to gain considerable political influence as a result. Works that propose a more active role of women in the Independence period include Aida Martínez Carreno, 'Revolución, independencia y sumisión de la mujer colombiana del siglo XIX', *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, 76:765 (April – June 1989), pp.415-430; and Pamela S. Murray, 'Loca or Libertadora? Manuela Sáenz in the eyes of History and Historians, 1900-c1990', *JLAS*, 33:2 (May 2001), pp.291-310.

the umbrella of 'indiscipline' and was rarely addressed by the authorities.²⁶ Rape could be a means of bringing shame and degradation to families, communities, fathers and brothers, as well as the women themselves, although the sources consult do not reveal who often this occurred.²⁷ Looking back on the sexual activities of the volunteers during the Wars of Independence, Thomas Manby implied that many relationships had resulted in the birth of children. Writing in 1836 he commented that 'some of our friends are now legitimate fathers, and others in a fair way of being so in due time'.²⁸ Manby's confident allusion to past seductions and elopements may have been the bravado of an aging soldier but it demonstrates that adventurers did combine their military duties with the search for female attention and companionship. Given the conduct of British troops in other parts of the globe in this period, it seems unlikely that all remained celibate.²⁹

In an extract often cited to demonstrate the devotion of foreign women to the Independents' cause, Daniel O'Leary described the British wife of a soldier giving birth to a child in the snow half-way up the Páramo de Pisba mountain pass.³⁰ Such stories of female endurance were common to contemporary accounts of warfare, and an almost identical story was told regarding the British retreat from La Coruña in 1808-9.³¹ Yet although they were largely ignored by O'Leary and subsequent historians, the women left

²⁶ See for example Rhonda Copelon, 'Surfacing Gender: Re-conceptualising Crimes Against Women in Time of War', in Alexandra Stiglmeier, ed., *Mass Rape*, (Lincoln, Neb., 1994), p.213. For a wide-ranging discussion of this issue for the Wars of Independence, see Earle, 'Rape and the Anxious Republic: Revolutionary Colombia, 1810-1830', in Maxine Molyneux and Elizabeth Dore, *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), pp.134-42.

²⁷ Lipsett-Rivera, 'A Slap in the Face of Honor: Social Transgression and Women in late colonial Mexico', in Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera, eds., *The Faces of Honor*, pp.194-5.

²⁸ Manby to Mary English, 8th May 1836, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/215. Original emphasis. Analysis of the small surviving documentation for Angostura in the early 1820s does not shed any further light on the matter. There does not seem to have been any increase in the birth-rate which could have been caused by volunteers fathering children. AHG CB, 1824, 1.1.1.41. Thomas Manby (b.1799 Norfolk, d.1881 Bogotá), sometimes referred to as 'Mamby', 'Manly' or 'Manbi'. His uncle was aide-de-camp to Lord Townsend, serving alongside James Rooke's father. He married María Josefa Fortoul in Bogotá in 1836 and occupied military positions until the 1850s. De Mier, 'Tomás Manby'; Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, p.279.

²⁹ For examples see Colley, *Captives*. Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*, (Cambridge, 2001), p.338: 'Sex in wartime covers a range of contexts, with women's voluntary participation at one end (sometimes becoming 'war brides'), their implicit or explicit trading of sex for money or food in the middle, and rape at the other extreme. On this continuum, most war-related sex occurs in the middle ...'

³⁰ *Narración de O'Leary*, Vol.1, p.568.

³¹ Esdaile, *The Peninsular War*, p.152.

in Angostura did not allow the authorities to forget about them and persistently demanded recognition of their predicament.³² These 'women and daughters of the English' were largely successful in their appeals, receiving a fixed allowance from the Creole authorities despite the parlous state of the treasury.³³ Few foreign women remained in Colombia after the early 1820s. Six 'legitimate' (presumably meaning married) women were listed as having accompanied the British Legion throughout their campaigning to Carabobo and Maracaibo, arriving at Caracas in September 1822.³⁴ Faced with the reluctance of the government to provide them with sustenance, they either left or discovered new ways of supporting themselves.³⁵

Rites of Passage

Women were important to the language of honour, but the male volunteers also valued the idea that they were undertaking an 'adventure' or rite of passage that would gain them honour on their return. Many Irish and British families 'were induced to send their children out ... as candidates for a portion of ... fame and glory'.³⁶ As John Tosh has observed, in order to be considered as men, nineteenth-century young British males had to perform a rite-of-passage 'involving detaching oneself from the home and its feminine comforts. It required a level of material success in the wider world which was so often represented in threatening and alienating terms ... a period of conflict, challenge and

³² Manuel Manrique, 23rd January 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.9, f.11. See also the list of British women, undated but probably from May 1819, in AGNV GDG, Vol.8, f.81; Zea to Governor of Angostura, 24th March 1819, AGNV GDG, Vol.9, f.295; Lecuna, 'Relación de los ingleses en Angostura que reciben raciones', 3rd April 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.10, ff.255-8; 'List of Foreign Women and Children in Angostura', 17th November 1819, AGNV GDG, Vol.7, f.207. The foreign women are discussed further in Matthew Brown, 'Adventurers, Foreign Women and Masculinity'.

³³ Lecuna to Director of Finance, 5th January 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.11, f.165; Manuel Bota to Director of Finance, 17th May 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.11, f.190. See also the petition from Martha McCarroll in October 1820, AGNV GDG, Vol.11, f.64.

³⁴ 'Lista nominal de las mugeres del expresado [Batallón Carabobo] llegado ayer de Maracaibo', signed Colonel Ashdown, 5th September 1822, AGNV, Papeles de Dr Julian Viso, Vol.1, ff.326-7. The document leaves open the possibility that there were also 'illegitimate' women who had come from England, as well as 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' women from Venezuela too. Only the 'legitimate' foreign women were listed and formally awarded rations [*el socorro acostombrado*].

³⁵ See Juan Bautista Dalla Costa, 'Padrón de todos los extranjeros de ambos sexos que se encuentran en esta Capital, con distinción de sus oficios, motivo de su permanencia, y los que están, o no, naturalizados en Colombia', May 1823, AHG CB, Sig. 1.3.4.103.5.

³⁶ [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service*, p.172. For further discussion of this theme, see Matthew Brown, 'A Landscape of Adventure: British and Irish Mercenaries and their Fear of the Orinoco', 'Society of Latin American Studies Annual Conference at the University of Manchester, April 2003.

exertion'.³⁷ Whether this was through fighting, settling or trading, an adventure in a relatively dangerous region was an important initiation into manhood.

One such example was Morgan O'Connell, the second son of the Irish politician Daniel O'Connell.³⁸ The whole O'Connell family were saddened at their 'darling Morgan's imminent departure'.³⁹ His mother Mary O'Connell wrote that 'Morgan is in the highest spirits, [with] the hope of being off soon, while I am just the contrary. As the time approaches for parting with my fine boy, my heart fails me and I regret ever having given my consent'.⁴⁰ Throughout his absence, Morgan's parents worried about his well-being and hoped for his safe return.⁴¹ Daniel O'Connell compared his son's expectations against the shame of these 'children' who returned even before Morgan had left London, describing them as 'the raw and unfledged youths who have returned for more of their mothers' breast milk!!'⁴² Writing to Bolívar, he claimed that

I hitherto have been able to stow only good wishes upon that noble cause. But now I have a son able to wield a sword in its defence, and I send him, illustrious Sir, to admire and profit by your example, and I trust under your orders and auspices to contribute his humble but zealous exertions to the success of the aims. ... The delusions of paternal affection may well cause me to applicate [sic] beyond the value of the services which are now offered to you.

³⁷ Tosh, *A Man's Place. Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, (London, 1999), p.110.

³⁸ Daniel O'Connell (b.1775 Co. Kerry, d.1847 Genoa) was a prominent Irish Catholic lawyer who founded the Catholic Association in 1823 which campaigned for Catholic Emancipation, passed in 1829. In the 1840s he founded and led the Repeal Association, and was known as 'The Liberator'. His son Morgan O'Connell (b.1804 Dublin, d.1885 Dublin) served in the Irish Legion, and then in the Austrian Army. He was MP for Meath between 1832 and 1840. He married Kate Mary Balfe of Roscommon on 12th July 1840. Lambert and F. Glenn Thompson, 'Captain Morgan O'Connell of the Hussar Guards of the Irish Legion', *Irish Sword*, 14:53 (Winter 1979), pp.280-2. His case is exceptional only because of the survival of intimate personal correspondence involving his father, brother, mother and sister.

³⁹ Daniel O'Connell to Mary O'Connell, 4th September 1819, Tralee, and Mary O'Connell to Daniel O'Connell, 4th January 1820, Dublin, in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.2, 1815-1823, p.218, p.229.

⁴⁰ Mary O'Connell to Daniel O'Connell, 27th March 1820, Dublin, in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.2, 1815-1823, p.248.

⁴¹ Daniel O'Connell to Mary O'Connell, 12th October 1820, Tralee, in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.2, 1815-1823, p.285. The next day he emphasised this point in another letter: 'Make your mind easy about my darling Morgan. His share of the evils which befell the Irish Legion is small indeed. He has means to supply his wants and can return when he pleases. Daniel O'Connell to Mary O'Connell, 13th October 1820, Tralee, in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.2, 1815-1823, p.286. See also Daniel O'Connell to Mary O'Connell, 15th September 1821, Limerick, in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.2, p.334.

⁴² Daniel O'Connell to John Finlay, 6th March 1820, Limerick, in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.2, 1815-1823, p.237.

I feel I owe it to the cause of liberty to give you the best proof of my power of the devotion with which your fame and character are admired and cherished in remote regions. The second is, that my son may be enabled to form one link in that kindly chain which, I hope, long bind in mutual affection the free people of Colombia and the gallant but unhappy natives of Ireland ...⁴³

Daniel O'Connell made many alterations to his first draft. He struggled to express just how little he had previously been able to offer Bolívar's cause, amending 'little' to 'nought' to the final 'only good wishes'. He decided that he admired Bolívar's 'fame' rather more than the original 'cause'. In this letter, Morgan O'Connell was not a young man engaging in a rite of passage experience, but rather a gift, a symbol, a proof of devotion and a link in a chain between Colombia and Ireland. In his letters home from Venezuela, Morgan marvelled at the tales of bravery he was told about the Independents, and reassured his father that 'you may rely on it, that I will never do anything to disgrace the name I bear, either as a Soldier or a Gentleman'.⁴⁴

The rite of passage successfully negotiated, Morgan returned in 1821 to be 'safe in the bosom of [his] protecting family'.⁴⁵ His family were satisfied that the adventure had 'done him nothing but good'.⁴⁶ His younger sister felt that Morgan had become a man while he was away, and now he was 'an old Sailor, [as he had] been in South America and the West Indies, and shipwrecked on his way home'.⁴⁷

Fear of the Unknown

While the New World was a field of enterprise for those behind the volunteer expeditions, they were only able to persuade volunteers like Morgan O'Connell to risk adventuring with them by contrasting the riches and glory to be gained, with the perils

⁴³ Daniel O'Connell to Simon Bolívar, 17th April 1820, Dublin, in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.2, 1815-1823, p.257. O'Connell's first draft of this letter is in NLI, MS 13645, f.22. A Spanish version appears in *Memorias de O'Leary*, Vol.12, p.263.

⁴⁴ Morgan O'Connell to Daniel O'Connell, 16th June 1820, Margarita, in *Carrick's Morning Post*, 29th August 1820. The possibility exists that these letters published in Dublin newspapers had been edited by Daniel O'Connell before publication, or indeed written by him. None of the published letters appear in manuscript collections in NLI or UCD.

⁴⁵ Devereux to Morgan O'Connell, 16th July 1822, Bogotá, NLI, Microfilm, n.2718 p.1622.

⁴⁶ Daniel O'Connell to Hunting Cap O'Connell, 5th January 1822, in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.2, 1815-1823, pp.344-7. Brian McGinn, *Venezuela's Irish Legacy*, (www.illyria.com/irish, 1991) also argued that the expedition had 'made a man of Morgan'.

⁴⁷ Ellen O'Connell, 'Narrative of a Residence in France, 1822-3', NLI, Microfilm, n.2718 p.1622, entry for 2nd May 1822.

that could await them in the unknown South American hinterland. By definition, adventure had to entail dangerous risk in the unknown. Fear of being captured by pirates or Indians was a constant in the imaginations of British adventurers across the globe in this period.⁴⁸ In South America, these anxieties crystallised quickly around the death of the leader of one of the first volunteer units, *Coronel* Donald MacDonald. Stories of the manner of his death circulated among the volunteers for several years and they illustrate the variety of fears of the unknown held by members of subsequent expeditions. There is no definitive account of what happened.⁴⁹

On his way to South America in 1817, Donald MacDonald was shipwrecked and survived the mutiny of the crew of his ship the 'Two Friends'. Upon eventually arriving at Angostura with the remnants of his men, he died on his way to meet Bolívar in early 1818. A young black sailor was the only survivor of an attack on MacDonald's boat by 'river pirates' on the Orinoco.⁵⁰ None of the commentators inferred that the testimony of this survivor was unreliable, either because of his age or colour. But the subsequent additions and alterations they made to the story imply that they did hold such reservations. Gustavus Hippiusley speculated that MacDonald had been killed by Indians on the riverside. In his version, a local *cacique* had been jealous at the attention that female Indians were showing to foreigners. Hippiusley also thought that Indians had massacred the Scotsman's group because they had neglected to wear white feathers in their caps, as was customary for the Independents.⁵¹ This comment reveals the unreliability of markers or symbols of identity in the period. Other commentators

⁴⁸ Colley, *Captives*, p.147.

⁴⁹ As Peter Phipps has written with regard to tourist massacres of the late twentieth century, 'these acts resonate so powerfully in the Western media, at least in part, because they confirm the worst fears, anxieties and fascination of tourists with their own destruction'. Phipps, 'Tourism, Terrorists, Death and Value', p.88. MacDonald's death served the same purpose for contemporary popular historians seeking to conjure up an ambience of danger for these valiant brave soldiers to march into, i.e. Terry Hooker and Ron Poulter, *The Armies of Bolívar and San Martín*, (London, 1991), p.8. For further discussion of these themes, see Brown, 'A Landscape of Adventure', pp.5-7, pp.13-4.

⁵⁰ The most reliable account is that of Richard Vowell who served under MacDonald for a while, but this was not published until 1831. Vowell, *Campaigns and Cruises*, p.49. Vowell, like other commentators, referred to MacDonald as 'the Colonel', although it is not clear exactly when (or if) he was formally promoted to that rank.

⁵¹ Hippiusley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, pp.245-6.

expanded Hippisley's comments to blame MacDonald's 'most vain' dress, saying that it was this extravagance that had excited the Indians' avarice.⁵²

The danger of the unknown environment was an undercurrent to all of the versions of MacDonald's death, but some volunteers saw local 'savage barbarity' as explanation enough.⁵³ Others embellished the story of MacDonald's death to fit their own understandings of the hostile environment. Indians on the shore made duplicitous signs, pretending to welcome MacDonald while secretly planning his death.⁵⁴ The Indians were still attracted by the richness of MacDonald's uniform, but they were now using it just to 'pick a quarrel', rather than out of avarice or wonder. This is consistent with what Linda Colley has identified as 'the pornography of real or invented Indian violence' in accounts of North American colonial encounters, which were inserted into narratives 'in part because such lurid passages attracted readers even as they allowed them to feel properly repelled'.⁵⁵

The context for the way in which MacDonald's story was told was important. On previous pages of Charles Brown's narrative he described how his fear of being eaten by tigers and alligators had prevented him from sleeping. He was horrified at the sight of vultures picking at poorly-buried corpses, and by his encounter with several hundred human skulls, the victims of Independent massacres of Loyalist prisoners. He later related a story of other volunteers who strayed into Indian territory and were promptly eaten by tigers, with 'hardly any other vestige of them remaining'.⁵⁶

⁵² [Anon], *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the ship 'Two Friends'*, p.14; Brown, *Narrative of the Expedition to South America*, p.19. Based on these sources, Hasbrouck blamed 'MacDonald's incorrigible vanity'. Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.163. Hasbrouck based his conclusion on the versions of Hippisley and Vowell. Carlos García Arrieche, selectively following Lecuna who had selectively followed Vowell, also blamed the flamboyant uniforms. García Arrieche, 'La legión británica en la emancipación de Venezuela y Colombia', *Boletín histórico*, (1971), p.355.

⁵³ Robinson, *Journal of an Expedition*, p.147. Recounting his own travels through Venezuela and his retreat to the mouth of the Arauca river, fear of being caught and murdered by the hidden Indians pervaded Robinson's narrative from start to finish. See especially pp.205-230.

⁵⁴ For example, Brown, *Narrative of the Expedition to South America*, p.98. Throughout his narrative Brown used the civilisation-savagery dichotomy more familiar to historians of later nineteenth century Latin American history as 'civilisation-barbarism'. He repeatedly referred to 'uncivilised natives' (p.37, p.149) and 'savage Indians' (p.48, p.149). The 'civilisation' against which he contrasted them was epitomised by his own person.

⁵⁵ Colley, *Captives*, p.177.

⁵⁶ Brown, *Narrative of the Expedition to South America*, p.99.

Just like Rómulo Gallegos a century later in *Doña Bárbara*, Brown described the Venezuelan interior as a ferocious landscape, within which he situated MacDonald's death.⁵⁷ This was a dangerous land filled not only by savage Indians, but where there had been a war to the death, and even the alligators and tigers were murderous.⁵⁸

The only non-British or Irish officer to comment on MacDonald's death was Luis Brion. He heard the rumours from Angostura, and then filtered them into a letter to López Méndez back in London. Brion's concern was with MacDonald's temerity in heading out into regions he was not familiar with. He warned against ignoring the advice of local oarsmen by venturing into unknown territory alone and unarmed.⁵⁹ Brion followed the black escapee's interpretation of a planned Loyalist ambush, rather than an improvised act of savagery.⁶⁰ For Brion, MacDonald's death was a warning for volunteers who felt they could act independently of the pre-existing Creole command structure.

Despite the variations on the theme of MacDonald's death, the principal moral of the story for many mercenaries was that the signals sent out by indigenous people should not be believed. This was an element not mentioned by the most reliable commentator, Vowell. But according to those who embellished the story and passed it on, the innocent-looking individual waving on the shore, belying the ambush ahead, was evidence of the natural duplicity of the indigenous population. Such stories became commonplace throughout the volunteer expeditions, perhaps encouraged by Creole denigration of indigenous men. Chesterton described an occasion in which 'a soldier was missing from the regiment, and we concluded that he had deserted; but his body was found by a

⁵⁷ Rómulo Gallegos, *Doña Bárbara*, (Caracas, 1929), is the classic fictionalised discussion of the civilisation-barbarism paradox in Venezuela.

⁵⁸ In later campaigns, such fears were sometimes translated into reality, with straggling troops being executed by bandit bands in the Patía. López, *Recuerdos históricos del coronel Manuel Antonio López*, p.63.

⁵⁹ Brion to López Méndez, 10th May 1818, San Bartolomé, reproduced in De Mier, ed., *Misión de López Méndez en Londres y Expedición de George Elsom*, (Bogotá, 1971), p.30

⁶⁰ This was the version of the story that later reached North America: the *Charleston Times* recording that MacDonald had been 'attacked and cut off to a man' upon arrival on the Spanish Main. Extract from the *Charleston Times*, undated [1818], cutting in John MacGregor papers, NAS, GD50/184/104/25, Vol.2, f.365.

patrolling party, a short distance from the town [Barcelona], with his throat cut, and lying by him'. Such an event meant that the troops 'complained that they could not stir from their immediate neighbourhood, without the danger of having their throats cut by the natives'.⁶¹ Adventurers feared being 'overwhelmed by a horde of Indians',⁶² or being murdered by an unscrupulous Indian chief, 'an inhuman, diabolical monster' who was reputed to declare that he 'inflicted such a cruel death merely because they were Englishmen, having butchered on many previous occasions, numbers of men of that nation from the same feeling'.⁶³

Two years later D.G. Egan, an officer in the Irish Legion, remembered MacDonald's death, combining the strands of two different versions – that MacDonald had been murdered by 'tribes on the banks of the water, quite wild [who] will destroy any white man they lay hold of', triggered by a dispute over a woman.⁶⁴ Egan, like the other commentators, emphasised how MacDonald had killed some of his attackers before giving up his life. Apart from MacDonald's death itself, this was the only element of the story to remain constant throughout all its evolutions. MacDonald's death informed subsequent mercenaries' attempts to survive and prosper by means of imposing themselves physically on the environment and its inhabitants. While death at the hands of explicitly racialised savages (who were 'out to destroy any white man they lay hold of') was indeed dishonourable, the shame could be lessened by killing before being killed.

Later historians like Hasbrouck, Lambert and Hooker were engaged by this event only as an entertaining diversion from the serious matters of 'real' military history. Relying on these accounts, Eric Lambert concluded that what happened to MacDonald and his colleagues was 'the inevitable' result of entering Indian territory.⁶⁵ But descriptions of

⁶¹ Chesterton, *A Narrative of Proceedings in Venezuela and South America*, pp.46-7. See also 'Diary of Robert James Young', p.15, and p.17: 'I heard one of our men had been murdered by the natives; he had been drunk and straggled from the party, and was found with his head severed from the body'.

⁶² Wright, *Destellos de Gloria*, pp.35-6.

⁶³ Extract of a Letter from an Alcalde at Trinidad to a Gentleman at Halifax, 25th October 1818, taken from the *Halifax Weekly Journal*, and reproduced in the *Morning Chronicle*, 17th November 1818. Hippisley related the same events in *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.643.

⁶⁴ D.G. Egan to Anon, 20th May 1820, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th July 1820.

⁶⁵ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, pp.158-60.

MacDonald's death played their part, as these examples have shown, in conditioning volunteers' understandings of the Venezuelan environment. Even if the rumours and anecdotes were all based on fact, the database of 3,013 volunteers reveals that no more than a dozen volunteers were ever captured or killed by hostile Indians, or eaten by tigers. The constant repetition of their stories enabled other volunteers to present their own adventures as dangerous and therefore as confirmation of their manliness.

Fundamental to these discussions were Enlightenment ideas of 'natural' characteristics of Indian 'races' as described by Alexander von Humboldt and commonly held by Creoles.⁶⁶ Some Indians, like those around Bogotá, were considered to be hard-working and 'passive', whereas Indians in Guayana, and Goajira, and Pasto, were especially 'savage' and threatening.⁶⁷ Volunteer chroniclers, like Humboldt before them, dedicated much time and effort to detailing which were which. Stories such as those of MacDonald, and the attacks on the Irish Legion in the Riohacha interior, served to reinforce these conceptions, and local people picked up on these anxieties. On the eve of the Irish Legion attack on Riohacha, Miguel José Gómez observed that "the attackers are scared to death of the Indians".⁶⁸

Reflection on the reporting of Donald MacDonald's death entails some comment on the nature of these sources. Whilst travel accounts and officers' memoirs can clearly be seen to have some authorial intent, the letters published in the London and Dublin press could be mistakenly taken as true reflections of events in Venezuela. This was certainly not the case. The intense and public nature of the debate led newspaper editors to embellish or invent intelligence sources in order to promote their own interpretations of the conflict. Despite its claim to publish only the most authentic correspondence – written by 'men who have looked all dangers and all difficulties in the face, and after all, have determined to abide by the result' – the *Dublin Evening Post* occasionally published letters which

⁶⁶ Safford, 'Race, Integration and Progress: Elite Attitudes and the Indian in Colombia 1750-1870', *HAHR*, 71:1 (1991) pp.1-33; María Eugenia Chávez, 'The Making of Race in Colonial Latin America', Paper Presented to Occasional Seminar Series, ILAS London, 13th March 2002.

⁶⁷ Good examples are Vowell, *Campaigns and Cruises*, p.167, p.223, and Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*, pp.326-67.

⁶⁸ Miguel José Gómez to Solis, 15th March 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745.

read like press releases from the Independents, with mercenaries claiming to be ‘well off in every respect, but money, which we expect to be paid when we get to the Main’.⁶⁹

One case of exaggerated intelligence is particularly illuminating. It detailed the capture of a sixteen-year old Irish officer, Joseph Battersby, who was among a group of Irishmen said to have been captured by Loyalists and immediately executed. In an anonymous letter Battersby was described as having ‘displayed the greatest strength of mind and intrepidity – he cried out to them to fire, but exclaimed, that his brave countrymen would shortly revenge his death. This was conduct truly patriotic, and becoming an Irishman – far different from those who have left us like cowards, a disgrace to the name’.⁷⁰

The fear of being degraded when captured was integral to these anxieties.⁷¹ But there was also a great concern for an honourable and manly death for adventurers overseas, in contrast to Donald MacDonald’s fate at the hands of ‘savages’. *Carrick’s Morning Post* reported the (fictitious) death of Daniel O’Leary in January 1820 from a fever provoked by wounds received in battle.⁷²

The key here was the means of death chosen for the prematurely deceased young Irishman (who in fact lived on until 1854). As Joshua Goldstein has commented, ‘good soldiers need to do more than just die’, and the manner of death had symbolic connotations.⁷³ O’Leary’s fictional death served important purposes. It glorified him (and therefore his family and friends back in Ireland) by evoking battlefield heroism – perhaps

⁶⁹ M. Ternan to Luke Ternan, 1st November 1819, Pampatar, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 3rd February 1820. There is no definitive way of knowing which of these letters published in the Irish press were fabricated. The authenticity of these sources is less important here, when examining perceptions and representations of manliness, than in the previous sections, which were concerned with assessing the numbers of volunteers and their activities on the mainland, where such sources have been used with caution. See also *Dublin Evening Post*, 9th April 1820.

⁷⁰ Anon to his parents, 2nd November 1819, Pampatar, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 3rd March 1819. Some weeks later, it was revealed that in fact the story of Battersby’s death was entirely fictional. Instead, Battersby and his colleagues had in fact been exchanged for Loyalist prisoners, and were back in the Independent army. Letter (undated) from M. Talbot, *Dublin Evening Post*, 19th February 1820.

⁷¹ Anon, ‘Letter from St. Thomas’, 20th December 1819, reproduced in *Carrick’s Morning Post*, 10th February 1820.

⁷² *Carrick’s Morning Post*, 29th January 1820. See also the obituary of James Purcell, printed in *Carrick’s Morning Post*, 11th November 1820, reproduced from the *Leinster Journal*. Purcell, of Kilkenny, died of fever aged 22 at Margarita in October 1819.

⁷³ Goldstein, *War and Gender*, p.258.

inspired by that of James Rooke at the same time – yet combined it with a nod towards the most common way for Irishmen to perish in Colombia, fever. In all likelihood these stories were not the inventions of bored journalists back in Britain and Ireland. They were based on word-of-mouth reports coming from the volunteers themselves, which had been discussed around camp-fires, embroidered during the inaction between military duties, and passed through a news network in the West Indian colonies before crossing the Atlantic.

Duelling

We may best understand the dialectic between equality and hierarchy in the modern affair of honor if we think of it as a kind of rite of passage. The duel created for its participants a moment of perfect liminality, when, in the face of possible injury or death, men were suspended between honor and dishonor, depending on how their nerves and luck held out. The stakes were high, but to have survived and shown *sangfroid* was to confirm a kind of corporate male solidarity that built or reaffirmed durable bonds between antagonists, who, as often as not, clasped hands warmly moments after trying to cripple or kill one another.⁷⁴

Unsubstantiated reports of the violence of indigenous people, such as those linked to the death of Donald MacDonald, simultaneously reinforced fear and anxiety, whilst encouraging volunteers to seek refuge in the existing racial hierarchies. This anxiety made asserting honour and masculinity an even more pressing concern. One of the ways this was achieved was by another rite of passage, duelling. Duelling was an established part of British and Irish aristocratic society, and increasingly emulated by the rising middle classes as a means of asserting and gaining honour. Famous nineteenth-century duellists included literati like Sheridan, Byron and Marx and politicians such as Canning, Castlereagh and Daniel O’Connell.⁷⁵ In Ireland the increasingly egalitarian tone of political discourse meant that the ‘field of honour’ was no longer an exclusively Protestant place, and Catholics also came to ‘defend their bravery under fire’.⁷⁶ By 1850 the increased access to duelling for wider sectors of society had undermined its exclusivity and hence its use and purpose in society, but in the 1810s and 1820s the duel

⁷⁴ Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, (New York, 1993), p.214.

⁷⁵ One contemporary counted 172 duels in England between 1760 and 1821, with 91 fatalities. In eighteenth century England, 15 % of all homicides were duels. Shoemaker, ‘Male Honour and the decline of public violence in Eighteenth Century London’, pp.195-6. Holmes, *Redcoat*, p.284; Green, *The Adventurous Male*, p.193; for O’Connell killing a man in an 1815 duel see O’Connell Papers, UCD, P12/3/223; for his other duelling challenges see Kelly, ‘*That Damn’d Thing Called Honour*’, pp.242-7.

⁷⁶ Kelly, ‘*That Damn’d Thing Called Honour*’, pp.239-40.

was still a key arena for addressing issues of honour and equality in a society where religious and social identities were rapidly changing.

Outside of Northern Europe, duelling was not as popular in this period. The principal history of the duel, V.G. Kiernan's authoritative *The Duel in European History* (1988), was inconsistent and contradictory on the few occasions where it dealt with Spain. At times Kieran explained the persistence of the duel in Spain by its 'backward' and feudal character, and at other times he argued that duelling could never flourish in Spain because of the opposition of the Catholic Church.⁷⁷ Cervantes' satire of the duel in *Don Quijote* may have influenced Spanish and Hispanic American elites, but it is more likely that colonial constructions of honour were too strongly grounded in other concepts for duelling to have been of much use to anyone. The honour gained by individuals and families in the conquest of the New World had now been subsumed into a culture valuing blood and family.⁷⁸ Steve Stern has argued that the equality assumed between duellists was substituted in Mexican culture by concentration on the assertion of honour by 'using [one's] power to punish a subordinate'.⁷⁹ Historians of both Old and New World agree that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the spread of republican and liberal ideologies meant that honour was less defined by public reputation, and henceforth was defined much less publicly.⁸⁰ There was thus not as much need to respond when insulted,

⁷⁷ V.G. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History: Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy*, (Oxford, 1988), pp.71-2, p.258. The Catholic Church formally prohibited duelling at the Council of Trent in 1563. An excellent study of issues of duelling and honour in this period ignores both Spain and Hispanic America: Pieter Spierenburg, ed., *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*, (Chicago, Ohio, 1998). The only research into the duel in Latin America is Angel Escudo, *El duelo en México*, (Mexico City, 1936), recently expanded upon for the early twentieth century by Pablo Piccato, 'Politics and the Technology of Honor: Dueling in Turn of the Century Mexico', *Journal of Social History*, 33 (December 1999), pp.331-54. Mark A. Burkholder, 'Honor and Honors in Colonial Spanish America', in Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera, eds., *The Faces of Honor*, contains a short section on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century duels and sword fights, p.34. This lack of interest from historians is in direct contrast with the obsession with the subject shown by Latin American writers and novelists, notably Jorge Luis Borges and Julio Cortázar. A good discussion of the reasons for this interest is Alberto Moreiras, *Tercer Espacio: Literatura y duelo en América Latina*, (Santiago de Chile, 1999).

⁷⁸ For a useful discussion of this process see Luis Miguel Córdoba Ochoa, 'Las relaciones de méritos y la difusión de la cultura política castellana en Indias', Unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla, 2003.

⁷⁹ Stern, *Secret History of Gender*, p.161; also Julian Pitt-Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', in J.G. Peristiany, ed., *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, (Chicago, 1966), p.30.

⁸⁰ Shoemaker, 'Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence', pp.204-5; Stern, *Secret History of Gender*, p.161.

and a resultant trend towards fewer physical confrontations. The duel survived because twenty-five years of ‘practically endless warfare’ in Europe in which ‘permanent mobilisation and the high prestige of military elites’ nourished the spread of military virtues throughout civil society.⁸¹ This led to a wartime resurgence of interest in the duel, which especially flourished in the imperial armies. When British and Irish men left home for the outside world and empire, when they formed new relationships of power and authority with previously unknown men, they felt the need to mark out their honour publicly. This conscious attempt to publicly assert honour in a new environment was the context for duelling in the volunteer expeditions.

No Hispanic American documents have been found relating to the volunteers’ duels, or their procedures, motivations, or consequences. Hispanic Americans did not document these activities, even though they were illegal. They were accepted by elites as unavoidable baggage brought by the volunteers, and best ignored.⁸² Everything known about the duelling of mercenaries in Hispanic America therefore comes from the memoirs of volunteers themselves. Alexander Alexander recorded a period in Angostura in 1819 when ‘foolish duels became frequent, two and three of a morning’.⁸³ E.L. Joseph’s narrator commented that the mercenaries ‘seemed not displeased at the continued recurrence of hard blows; on the contrary, as if the enemy did not afford them enough, they were perpetually exercising their pugnacious propensities upon each other’.⁸⁴

Figure 3.1 lists what is probably only a small fraction of the duels that took place. It features a total of twenty-one named volunteers involved in duelling. With a minimum of two seconds per duel, this gives a total of forty-four men, without mentioning the surgeons who usually attended. These are just the duels where documentary record has

⁸¹ Shoemaker, ‘Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence’, p.197; Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*, p.23, p.132. See also John Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, p.316.

⁸² Alexander Alexander wrote that out of regard for Britain, Simón Bolívar allowed the volunteers to duel, while threatening other officers with the firing squad should they join in. *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, pp.26-8.

⁸³ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.39.

⁸⁴ Joseph, *Warner Arundell*, p.253. Joseph’s protagonist Warner Arundell mocked the volunteers’ duels, and lamented his own involvement in them, but was able to do so from the privileged perspective of someone with a remarkably accurate shot, triumphant in numerous duels throughout the book.

remained, but circumstantial evidence suggests that the actual number of duels was much higher. Those duels which did not result in fatalities were much less likely to leave a trace. Nevertheless, Figure 3.1 is useful in that it reveals some basic trends. It shows that duels tended to be fought between men of equal military rank, or where the difference was perceived as minimal (between *teniente*, *capitán*, and *mayor*, for example). No private soldiers were involved and there were no women. The duel was a way of rectifying small differences in perceptions of status and honour – not a challenge to existing social hierarchies. Duels took place before leaving Britain, on board ship, on the Caribbean islands and continued in Venezuela. At this stage (all the duels in Figure 3.1 occurred before the end of 1820) there were explicitly no duellists from outside the volunteer legions, with no non-whites or Hispanic Americans. As Kenneth Greenberg has observed, ‘since the whole point of the duel was to heal a breach within the community of gentlemen ... it made no sense to duel with a stranger’.⁸⁵ The stranger in this sense could be strange in terms of race, gender, or class: the duelling community was closely defined.

⁸⁵ Kenneth S. Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, The Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting and Gambling in the Old South*, (Princeton, N.J., 2002), pp.81-2.

Figure 3.1: Duels involving Named Volunteers in the first years of the Wars of Independence.⁸⁶

Duellist 1	National Identity	Outcome	Duellist 2	National Identity	Location and date of Duel
Teniente John Sutton	Scottish or Irish	Killed by	Mayor Lockyer	British or Irish	Isle of Wight, December 1817
Cornet John Dewey	British	Duelled with	Cornet Humphries	British or Irish	St. Bartholomew, c.1818
Capitán Zenetitch	Not Known	Wounded by	Capitán Bombatch	Not Known	On board the 'Monarch' off Margarita, January 1819
Capitán Smith	Irish	Duelled with	Capitán Boyd	Irish	Margarita, August 1819
Teniente Braybrooke	British or Irish	Killed by	Capitán Gustavus Hippiisley	English	Grenada, February 1818
Lieutenant C ____	Irish (serving in British army, and not a volunteer)		Capitán De B ____	Irish	Ballyhackmore, near Belfast, January 1820
Assistant Surgeon Gray	British or Irish	Killed by	Mayor William Davy	British	Maturín, November 1819
Capitán Rupert Hand	Irish	Wounded by	Teniente William Lynch	English	Maturín, November 1819
Capitán Block	English	Duelled with	Capitán ____	Scottish	Cumaná, January 1820
Surgeon Compton	Irish	Killed by	Mayor Heisse	British or Irish	Barbados, June 1820
Coronel John Blosset	Irish	Killed by	Coronel William B. Middleton Power	Irish	Achaguas, August 1820

Because they took place in an otherwise non-duelling environment, the volunteers' duels on arrival in Venezuela were extremely noticeable and public affairs, 'almost as well attended as any other entertainment'.⁸⁷ Following Greenberg's writings on the American

⁸⁶ References to these duels come respectively from *The Times*, 9th February 1818; Hippiisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.136; Weatherhead, *An account of the late expedition against the Isthmus of Darien*, p.6; 'Diary of Robert James Young', p.13; [Anon] *Narrative of the Expedition to the rivers Orinoco*, p.555; *Belfast Chronicle*, reproduced in *Carrick's Morning Post*, 11th February 1820; Chesterton, *A Narrative of Proceedings in Venezuela and South America*, p.107; Adam, *Journal of Voyages to Marguaritta, Trinidad and Maturín*, p.85; *The Life of Alexander Alexander* Vol.2, p.139; *Dublin Evening Post*, 15th July 1820; [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, p.83.

⁸⁷ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.113.

South, it could be argued that the duelling volunteers were trying to reaffirm their superiority to the new, supposedly subservient, social groups they found surrounding them by making it clear that they did not fear death. It is hard to tell if this had the desired effect. Those commentators who did record the events denounced the duels as ‘trivial’ and soldiers tended to mock the elaborate rituals.⁸⁸ Alexander noted how the consistent duelling of the foreign officers was ridiculed by their compatriots and by Venezuelans, writing that ‘such conduct, and the immoralities of numbers of the English, gradually sunk the national character in the estimation of the people, so much so, that they became a term of reproach, which the natives used in their quarrels with each other’.⁸⁹ According to Alexander, after witnessing these demonstrations of honour, lower-ranked soldiers would pretend to duel with blanks, and then fall about laughing at their ‘mock heroics’.⁹⁰ Creoles began to ‘play at duelling, which caused them great entertainment’.⁹¹ Another volunteer described how one Irish soldier mocked his officers’ constant challenges by staging duels with weapons loaded with corks.⁹²

Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker have stressed how the Atlantic Ocean was the setting for the negotiation and challenging of social hierarchies in this period. The crews and passengers of a ship were microcosms of society in a confined space, and this often caused rebellions and disorder in a way that would not have happened back on land.⁹³ Benjamin M’Mahon commented on the amount of duelling that took place on ships in the Atlantic. He despaired at the ‘frequency of petty quarrels amongst the officers, which invariably led to a duel’, claiming to have witnessed fifteen duels in the two months duration of his passage.⁹⁴ M’Mahon ridiculed this duelling culture, explicitly contrasted it with the harmony he perceived amongst the men, and linked it to the prevalence of

⁸⁸ Adam, *Journal of Voyages*, p.11; Chesterton, *Peace, War and Adventure*, p.107.

⁸⁹ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.31.

⁹⁰ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.113.

⁹¹ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.131.

⁹² For example [Anon], *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the ship 'Two Friends'*, p.36.

⁹³ Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, pp.145-67.

⁹⁴ M’Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.11.

gambling.⁹⁵ As shown in Figure 3.1, duelling continued on shore as well and was characteristic of the mercenaries as a group rather than their land or sea-based activities.

Like Adam and M'Mahon, most authors sought to emphasise the 'triviality' of the affairs when recalling these duels for the benefit of their readership, stressing that although such behaviour may have been widespread, it was by no means acceptable for civilised and rational people. Radical and evangelical sections of society had no sympathy with duelling, seeing it as outdated a custom as cruel sports and slavery and arguing that it was a practice that could 'only help out of the world those who are too silly to do it any good by remaining'.⁹⁶

Volunteer officers came from a culture in which honour and reputation were often defended by duelling, and even before they left the Old World, the volunteer expeditions attracted challenges and duels.⁹⁷ The issue was often accusations of dishonour and duplicity. Duels could reflect many types of dispute over precedence and status, such as the early 1820 duel near Belfast between officers of the British and Colombian armies.⁹⁸ Disputes rooted in national identity do not appear to have caused duels. This may have been because of the relative harmony induced by the 'military melting pot', to be examined in Chapter 4. Kiernan argued that the Irish, and particularly the Protestant Anglo-Irish, deserved their stage reputation as trigger-happy duellists, and this conclusion

⁹⁵ Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.72 claimed that he set strict betting limits for all gambling, so as to avoid quarrelling. For an interesting digression on the link between gambling and duelling in the American South, see Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*, pp.136-44. It seems unlikely that there were no conflicts between private soldiers, as suggested by M'Mahon. Nevertheless, they elude the historical record. In *The Savannas of Varinas* (pp.235-6) Vowell described knife-fights between Creole guerrilla leaders, as a means of asserting relations of rank and subordination. For other discussions of 'popular duelling', see the articles by Spierenburg, Boschi and Greenburg in *Men, Honor and Violence*, pp.103-98. In his sole reference to the continent, Kiernan in *The Duel in European History* (p.300) claimed that South Americans duelled with blow-pipes loaded with poison. This was a wilfully erroneous reading of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, 86 (February 1826) pp.299-314, which itself was speculating mischievously that these hunting weapons 'will become the weapons of gentlemen in the new republics of South America'. The travel book that both were commenting upon, Charles Waterton, *Wanderings in South America*, (London, 1826) did not mention duelling at all.

⁹⁶ *Black Dwarf*, 18th April 1821. See Alan Smith, *The Established Church and Popular Religion, 1750-1850*, (London, 1971), p.52.

⁹⁷ There are also many duelling anecdotes in Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, Vol.2, especially pp.392-9, pp.448-50, pp.469-70.

⁹⁸ *Belfast Chronicle*, reproduced in *Carrick's Morning Post*, 11th February 1820.

is lent some support by the number of Irishmen featured in Figure 3.1.⁹⁹ It is certainly possible that Irish officers duelled more frequently than their English or Scottish counterparts, as claimed by the most recent historian of the duel in Ireland.¹⁰⁰ But perhaps their duels were recorded with more detail than others precisely because of the stereotype of the ‘naturally brave’ Irishman, with his ‘impulsive courage and self-sacrifice’ as portrayed on the contemporary stage.¹⁰¹

Regardless of national or religious background, the military forces in this period witnessed ‘heightened sensitivity over character and reputation’.¹⁰² This was extenuated for the mercenaries who were external actors in an army where patriotism or nationalism was not a motivating factor for many of the rank-and-file. Vowell explained the constant duelling as one of ‘many melo-dramas’, a natural outcome of disadvantageous circumstance: ‘Suffice it to say, that the usual average number of quarrels took place, as might have been expected among a party consisting chiefly of inexperienced, hot-headed youths who now, for the first time, wrote themselves men’.¹⁰³ Vowell recognised that duelling was a natural way for youths to attempt to prove themselves as men in a new and difficult environment, but lamented the cost in loss of life.

Although Hispanic American commentators did not report volunteers’ duelling, there were rumours that circulated throughout the Caribbean which demonstrate the extent to which these activities did permeate the environment. For example, in late 1818 news spread that Luis Brion had been killed in a duel with an English officer. ‘Alexandro Rulo’, a thirty-two year-old illiterate English sailor, told Loyalist interrogators that he had been told the story at a port in Martinique by a ‘Spanish Creole from Campeche’. He claimed that Brion had ‘been involved in a dispute with an English *Coronel* whose name

⁹⁹ Kiernan, *The Duel in European History*, pp.210-2.

¹⁰⁰ Kelly, ‘*That Damn’d Thing Called Honour*’, pp.223-5.

¹⁰¹ Christopher J. Wheatley, ‘“I hear the Irish are naturally brave”: dramatic portrayals of the Irish soldier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’, *Irish Sword*, 19:77 (Summer 1995), pp.187-96. One author blamed persistent duelling on the influence of French officers, despite their small numbers in the volunteer expeditions. [Sir John Besant], *Narrative of the Expedition under General MacGregor against Porto Bello: Including an account of the voyage; and of the causes which led to its final overthrow (by An Officer who miraculously escaped)*, (London and Edinburgh, 1820), p.14.

¹⁰² Brumwell, *Redcoats*, pp.88-9; Holmes, *Redcoat*, pp.284-8.

¹⁰³ Vowell, *Campaigns and Cruises*, p.3.

I don't remember. The English *Coronel* ended up challenging Brion, and they went out into the street to duel. The Englishman killed Brion with one pistol shot'.¹⁰⁴

Two years later, the same rumour circulated with regard to Mariano Montilla. An anonymous letter from La Guaira related that 'Montilla has been killed in a pistol-duel with an Englishman ... triggered by the failure to mount a successful expedition, the loss of many men and Montilla's supposed cowardice'.¹⁰⁵ The importance of these rumours is that the deaths of high-ranking Independent officials in duels with foreign officers was perceived as believable by those who started the rumours, and the news and gossip networks that passed them on across the Caribbean. In the world of rumours, duelling between foreigners and Hispanic Americans was possible, and often had tragic consequences. But this did not reflect the reality that, as shown earlier, foreigners duelled only with each other. Upon arrival in Hispanic America, officers did not consider 'the natives' as worthy duellists, as such an action would imply a certain amount of equality between the participants, and this disdain was matched by Creoles' disinterest in duelling as an activity. Despite the many complaints they had with leaders like Brion and Montilla, apparently no volunteers ever challenged either of them to a duel, and both eventually died of natural causes. When the possibility arose of a challenge being laid down to a Hispanic American officer, every effort was made to avoid it resulting in a duel.¹⁰⁶ Duelling was primarily a way of asserting honour within the closed community of volunteer officers, and thereby demonstrating that honour to those who stood outside (that is, the private soldiers and sailors, and the Creole officers).

By 1821, the amount of duelling had markedly declined, although 'backbiting and enmity were as great as ever'.¹⁰⁷ This was not only because many of the duellists were now dead

¹⁰⁴ Declaration of Alexandro Rulo, 30th October 1818, translated from the original French to Spanish in AGI Cuba, Legajo 906.

¹⁰⁵ Anonymous fragment of a letter from La Guayra, 13th October 1820, in AGNC R GYM, Vol.325, f.916.

¹⁰⁶ Verna, *Robert Sutherland: un amigo de Bolívar en Haití*, pp.60-2. Some Spanish officers also duelled. In Puerto Cabello on 23rd April 1822, Colonel Tomás García was wounded by Pascual Churruca, Marshall La Torre's aide-de-camp. See Tomás Pérez Tenreiro, 'Tomás García', *Diccionario de Historia de Venezuela*.

¹⁰⁷ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.303. Although the number of duels may have declined, some officers who remained often made every effort to imbue the men under their command to adopt a strict code of honour. Francisco Burdett O'Connor claimed that he encouraged the officials under his command

or had returned to Europe, but because those who remained recognised that there were other more effective ways of asserting one's honour in the Hispanic American context. Yet 1821 did see one major challenge, and it was a departure from the trends studied here in that an Irishman challenged a Colombian. *General* John Devereux never fought a duel, despite his great concern with honour.¹⁰⁸ His challenge to the Colombian Vice-President, *General* Antonio Nariño, signalled the way that volunteers' conceptions of honour were beginning to change as the wars progressed.¹⁰⁹ It is examined at the end of this chapter.

Honour Disputes

The British officers at Waterloo, according to John Keegan, had a stark, individual sense of honour, concerned simply with proving themselves to the men around them, demonstrating that they were not cowards and that they were fit to lead.¹¹⁰ This reputation was underlined by stories told about British involvement in the battles of Pantano de Vargas and Carabobo. Despite suffering 'horrific mortality'¹¹¹ under fire without ammunition to defend themselves, the British entered the fray 'in formation, marching in good order, launching a brilliant bayonet charge and gaining the heights' that allowed the Independents to win the battle.¹¹² In battle, the ideal was to stand firm, never to yield, and to fight on when wounded. This attitude was epitomised in a celebrated anecdote about a British officer during the battle of Pantano de Vargas:

to 'sort out their questions of honour with the sword'. Francisco Burdett O'Connor, *Independencia Americana*, p.71. O'Connor made this comment with respect to his time training soldiers in Panama in 1821, and that the first duellists he paternally reported as being encouraged by his instructions, were most likely Venezuelan, rather than European, in birth. In Colombia, some volunteers carried this perspective on the defence of honour into old age. A year before his death in 1854, Felipe Mauricio Martin continued to advise his sons and their friends to 'fulfil their duty' rather than avoid a challenge. Galán, *Biografía del Colonel de la Independencia, Felipe Mauricio Martin, escrita para el 'Papel Periódico de Bogotá*, (Bogotá, 1882), p.40.

¹⁰⁸ Alexander Alexander wondered how Devereux, for all the personal invective, scorn and criticism he received for having 'deceived' so many men, could have avoided being shot by one of them. The explanation for this must lie in his rank – there were no other foreign volunteers of the rank of General (awarded to Devereux by Bolívar in 1819) until much later in the 1820s, by which time Devereux had retired from the scene. *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.290.

¹⁰⁹ General Antonio Nariño (b.1766 Bogotá, d.1823 Leiva) returned from imprisonment in Spain in the 1810s, and was named Vice-President of Colombia. Ill-health and political battles led to his retirement.

¹¹⁰ Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, p.190.

¹¹¹ Carlos Diego Minchin to Congress, 1st February 1854, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.62, ff.504-6.

¹¹² O'Leary, *Narración de O'Leary*, Vol.2, p.82.

When bullets were raining down on us like hailstones, one of his officers commented to Mackintosh that 'it was impossible to take those heights'. To that, *Mayor* Mackintosh replied, 'Be quiet officer, and get forward – nothing is impossible for British bayonets'.¹¹³

This 'individual' element of a soldier's honour, while founded upon the collective honour enjoyed by whites, Britons and officers, was of prime importance. It was up to the individual to demonstrate his honour by being strong, brave, loyal, and unwilling to give in to even the most unfavourable odds and greatest obstacles. Away from the battlefield, however, asserting this type of honour was more problematic. Duelling was an attempt to escape from the necessary and uncomfortable recognition that in Venezuela, the final decision on their disagreements or crimes would otherwise be made by Venezuelan officers. The second half of this chapter examines to what extent mercenary officers were able to protect their perceived superiority and individual honour in these cases.¹¹⁴

The emphasis on the 'individual' aspect of honour, as opposed to the 'group' was in part based upon the fear of shame, the internal counterpoint to external honour.¹¹⁵ The adventurers' individual honour was peculiar to their particular circumstances, as discussed in Chapter 1, but it was also in harmony with ideas of liberal citizenship and the conception of the individual subject, rather than the communal or corporate subject. In this sense, the adventurers' concern with 'individual honour' conflated a liberal concept of individual rights with honour, and merged honour with contract agreements that necessitated fair payment and recognition of rank and status. It is in this sense that the subsequent section brings to the fore the honour disputes recorded by contemporaries.¹¹⁶ Military historians like Hasbrouck and Lambert ignored the honour

¹¹³ Thomas Manby, 23rd March 1835, Bogotá, AGNC, Hojas de Servicio (HDS), Vol.30, f.979. For Mackintosh's account see Mackintosh, 20th March 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.30, f.976.

¹¹⁴ For a similar discussion based on court cases, see Martin J. Wiener, 'The sad story of George Hall: Adultery, Murder and the Politics of Mercy in mid-Victorian England', *Social History*, 24:2 (May 1999) pp.174-95.

¹¹⁵ For 'individual honour', I am working from the definition presented by Lyman L. Johnson, in 'Dangerous Words, Provocative Gestures and Violent Acts', in Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera, eds., *The Faces of Honor*, p.129. 'In Buenos Aires, as elsewhere in the Spanish Empire, the successful assertion of personal honour depended upon an individual's inherited characteristics, such as European birth or descent, legitimacy, family social status, and personal attainments such as social influence, wealth, education, reputation for honesty, courage and restraint. ... Few social historians of colonial Spanish America would deny that a desire to protect individual honour defined in essential ways relations among members of the elite'.

¹¹⁶ My thanks to Reuben Zahler for his perceptive comments on this section.

trials of British and Irish volunteers in Angostura in 1818-1820, presumably because they regarded them as irrelevant to campaigning and military activity. The trials cast a light on the concerns of adventurers and the considerations of Venezuelans in Angostura, a town that witnessed the most concentrated and intense volunteer involvement in any particular Hispanic American society in the whole period under study. Like the diverse immigrants to Buenos Aires in the late eighteenth century, men in Angostura were 'divided by ethnicity, language and culture, but shared a desire to protect themselves from insult and intimidation'.¹¹⁷ The city's fluid social makeup constantly challenged ideals of masculine social hierarchy and individual honour. White male officers did well in the cases studied, although as in the colonial period, justice was not routinely awarded to those already possessing established 'purity of blood', honour and rank.¹¹⁸ Creole ideas of race, gender and class took the foreground in what were often flexible and pragmatic interpretations of justice, crime and punishment.¹¹⁹

Codes of honour defined the acceptable dealings between officers and their soldiers, between gentlemen and their subalterns, and these court sessions were a means of 'fixing' honour in public in this time of social and political change. The distribution of food and arms was often a flashpoint for disputes over honour. One British *sargento* was reprimanded for 'dishonourably' using his knife to attack an Angostura trader distributing ammunition, in response to his refusal to allow the British troops more than their fair share of a recent delivery.¹²⁰

Honour based on what Steve Stern called 'cultural displays of forcefulness' was at once a code to mark out divisions between groups, and a means of restoring any imbalance created when social boundaries had been transgressed.¹²¹ The court records relating to Angostura shed some light on where the racial, social and gendered boundaries of honour

¹¹⁷ Johnson, 'Dangerous Words, Provocative Gestures and Violent Acts', p.149.

¹¹⁸ Twinam, 'Las reformas sociales de los borbones: una interpretación revisionista', in Uribe Urán and Ortiz Mesa, eds., *Naciones, gentes y territorios*, pp.73-102.

¹¹⁹ See for example, Pitt-Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', p.38.

¹²⁰ Testimony of Colonel José Uscroz, General Commander of Guayana, 27th January 1819, in AGNV GDG, Vol.7, f.1. See also another case described in Colonel John Blosset to Bolívar, 13th January 1820, Angostura, AL, Vol.14, Roll 45, f.62.

¹²¹ Stern, *Secret History of Gender*, p.161.

lay for the volunteers and for Creoles. Creole Independent officers judged all but one of these cases and the trials were paid for by the new Venezuelan political authorities. The court was thus a 'contact zone' in which adventurers' understandings of honour were publicly negotiated with Creoles.¹²² These Creoles were at the same time defining the limits of their own decision to fight against Spanish authority in the name of a new 'national' honour. Citizenship of the new republic was an honourable characteristic, but it had to be earned. As Uribe Urán has shown, republican honour was still founded on the old values of lineage, blood and purity, but this had been re-defined by the decision to rebel against Spain. Subjection to an absolute monarch was now felt by some to be demeaning, dishonourable, and an offence against masculinity. The conduct of foreign volunteers – and the ability of the republican leaders to assert themselves as the judges of honourable behaviour – was therefore integral to the new legitimacy of the republican government based in Angostura, and a touchstone of nascent national self-definition.

Stern has stressed the importance of 'sexual possessiveness' in determining rankings of masculinities in colonial Mexico, but his point is not necessarily applicable to the adventurers.¹²³ The isolated nature of their service, transient and often thousands of miles from their families, meant that in very few cases was volunteers' honour explicitly linked to the behaviour of 'their' women. In one exceptional instance, the merchant James Hamilton encouraged Ana Rooke (wife of *Coronel* James Rooke) to leave Venezuela for Barbados, when it was discovered that she had been seeing another officer while Rooke was away recruiting indigenous troops from the Caroní missions. She asked Hamilton 'that, as you know the motives ... you will I trust, never allow any comments to be made, in your presence, detrimental either to my dearest Rooke's character, or my own'.¹²⁴

Coronel Rooke's honour was to be preserved by maintaining a discreet silence about his wife's infidelities. But the debates over honour in the other surviving documentation

¹²² Use of the phrase in this sense comes from Charles F. Walker, 'Crime in the Time of the Great Fear: Indians and the State in the Peruvian Southern Andes, 1780-1820', in Salvatore, Carlos Aguirre, and Joseph, eds., *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society since late colonial times*, (Durham, N.C., 2001), p.35.

¹²³ Stern, *The Secret History of Gender*, pp.161-8.

¹²⁴ Ana Rooke to James Hamilton, 26th October 1818, Barbados, AL, Roll 45, Vol.14, f.9.

made little or no reference to relations with wives, girlfriends, mistresses, lovers or prostitutes. In one case involving an alleged attempted rape of a Venezuelan woman by a Scottish officer, the crime was seen as less important than the alleged blow that he landed on the man trying to defend her, for which the officer was reprimanded. Indeed, perhaps because 'sexual possessiveness' was a less accessible characteristic for the mercenaries, other honourable qualities received more emphasis. Most honour disputes revolved around property, or physical 'insults' to the male body.¹²⁵

a) *One Rule for Officers*

Campaigning and drilling away from urban centres necessarily meant that the separation between officers and soldiers could no longer be as rigidly enforced as during time spent barracked in towns. Private soldiers therefore had occasional opportunity to dispute the respect owed to them, or the rights they felt they had earned. In October 1820 *Capitán* Rupert Hand was tried by a military court in Angostura for the offence of having drawn his sword and struck one of his own men with it. Hand's physical assault was in response to the verbal and physical abuse he had received from the British soldier Private Lons.¹²⁶ Hand's reaction led the entire battalion to rebel and take up arms against him, chasing Hand down the street with rifles and bayonets, shouting 'Kill him! Kill him!'¹²⁷ Hand's life was saved when *General* Mariño came into the street to discover the cause of the commotion. Mariño restored order with the help of one hundred local troops and allowed Hand to hide in his house while the soldiers were dispersed.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ For an example of the British merchants in Angostura reacting to the 'insulting' confiscation of one of their members' property, see their collective 'Memorial to the Honourable Members of the Council of Government of the Republic of Venezuela', 14th January 1819, Angostura. AL, Vol.14, Roll 45, f.17.

¹²⁶ Testimony of Santiago España, 1st October 1820, Nueva Guayana, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, ff.167-184.

Many of the principal documents relating to a later stage of Hand's career were reproduced in M.S. Sánchez, 'O'Leary y su misión a Antioquia: Documentos', *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, 17:196 (November 1928), pp.253-63. Imprisoned for his part in the death of José María Córdoba, Hand escaped his captors, and Robert Ker Porter recorded dining with him in Caracas in 1833, 1836 and 1839. Ker Porter later observed that 'it would not surprise me if everything they say about this man were actually true'. *Diario de Sir Robert Ker Porter*, p.626, p.628, p.756, p.855. A summary of Hand's career appears in José Rafael Fortique, *Dos legionarios irlandeses en el ejército de Bolívar*, (Maracaibo, 2001), pp.13-36.

¹²⁷ Testimony of Fernando Mendoza, 15th September 1820, Soledad, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 76, f.131.

¹²⁸ Testimony of Santiago Mariño, 26th September 1820, Angostura, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 76, f.143. Further information was provided by a Loyalist *hacendado*, imprisoned in Angostura at the time, who reported that the rebellion took place just three days after the foreign troops arrived in the region, and that the troops were drunk. 'Copia de la declaración tomada a Don Feliciano Pérez benido de Guayana',

Hand's trial, then, came in the wake of the rebellious and insubordinate behaviour of the troops at his command. Private Lons could not be tried because he died as a result of his injuries. The soldiers who rose up in outrage at the actions of their officer were also punished severely. Various witnesses, including several of the soldiers themselves, testified that 'the men had risen up as one, there was no leader'.¹²⁹ In a collective petition to the court, the men admitted that 'their actions were mistaken, but were triggered by the sight of their *compañero* being injured'.¹³⁰ Perhaps their unity of purpose was intended to protect any ringleader of a rebellion that a captured prisoner told Loyalists had been planned in advance with the goal of gaining control of the town and demanding pay and rations.¹³¹ The court (which was composed of four Creole and three British officers) ordered a collective exemplary punishment, and one in ten of those involved were executed.¹³²

Once the men had been dealt with, the authorities turned their attention to *Capitán* Hand's actions. Those who testified to the military court were careful not to express any explicit approval of the men's insubordination, perhaps unsurprisingly given that over a dozen of their colleagues had already lost their lives in consequence of the dispute. In his evidence, *Cabo* Thomas Connell of the Irish Legion explained that he had seen Hand 'pushing Lons to make him go faster. Both were insulting each other with words, and after one push Lons lifted up his fist against Hand and went to punch him, but Hand lifted up his sword and struck Lons on the head. When Lons tried to defend himself he received

19th February 1819, La Bannosa, AGI Cuba, Legajo 898A, 'Asuntos pertenecientes a la comandancia de los llanos'.

¹²⁹ For example the testimony of Private John Jones, 23rd September 1820, Ciudad de Guayana, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 76, f.146.

¹³⁰ Collective representation of 'All the English Troops', 25th September 1820, Ciudad de Guayana, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 76, f.143.

¹³¹ 'Declaración de Jayme Powling', 12th April 1819, Puerto Cabello, AGI Estado, Legajo 911A, 'Declaraciones de pasados o aprehendidos'. Powling's account conforms to those cited previously, with the exception that he was confused about the consequences, stating that both Lons and Hand (neither of whom he named) died of their injuries.

¹³² Of around two hundred soldiers, forty-seven were listed as being in hospital or absent on missions. Therefore, around 150 were involved in the rebellion, and either fifteen or sixteen were shot. The list of those not involved is in AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 76, ff.160-1; there is no list of those involved, or of those killed.

the second wound at the same time'. Connell was ordered to carry Lons to hospital 'even though he appeared to be dead'.¹³³

What Connell was describing went beyond the corporal punishment, or flogging, that angered private soldiers in the British Army and their increasingly vocal supporters.¹³⁴ Commentators contrasted the British officers' love of flogging their subordinates with Creoles preference for the 'exemplary punishment' of execution. Creoles were reputed to only strike 'dogs and slaves'.¹³⁵ Whilst private soldiers complained that flogging was degrading, officers held it to be an integral part of the discipline needed to maintain order in the ranks.¹³⁶ *Teniente coronel* Robert Young once administered 'three dozen lashes' to one of his drunken soldiers.¹³⁷

When Hand struck Lons, the arbitrary nature of the violence enraged the British soldiers to rebellion. The subtext to the incident was the ongoing tensions between officer and soldier. Private James Haworth recalled hearing Lons and Hand exchange words while he was on guard duty: 'I couldn't make out the exact words, but the sentinel on duty nearby told me that Lons said to Hand that "he had been born just the same as him", upon which Hand ordered the troops to arrest Lons'.¹³⁸ After Hand had struck him three times, Lons threw his blood-soaked cap at him, a symbolic gesture which encouraged his colleagues in the ranks to abuse and ridicule their commanding officer.¹³⁹ John Taylor, a British merchant resident in the town, confirmed that Lons had claimed to be 'just as much of a

¹³³ Testimony of Thomas Connell, 6th October 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.175.

¹³⁴ For the outrage of soldiers at arbitrary corporal punishment see *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.98.

¹³⁵ Joseph, *Warner Arundell*, p.259. Almost every time the word 'punishment' (*castigo*) appeared in Thibaud's *Repúblicas en armas* it was to refer to an 'exemplary' punishment, that is, execution.

¹³⁶ See J.R. Dinwiddy, 'The Early Nineteenth Century Campaign against Flogging in the Army', in J.R. Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain, 1780-1850*, (London, 1992), pp.125-48. See also *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.86: 'When we run [i.e. desert] there is a chance to escape being flogged, and if we are caught, we will only get that flogging we are certain by staying'.

¹³⁷ 'Diary of the Voyage of Robert James Young', p.4.

¹³⁸ '¿no era también nacido como él?' Testimony of Private James Haworth, 6th October 1820, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.177.

¹³⁹ Testimony of Private James Haworth, 6th October 1820, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.177.

man' as Hand. According to Taylor, Lons had called Hand a 'rogue, a wanker and a thief'.¹⁴⁰

Capitán Hand's version of events was slightly different.¹⁴¹ He began by emphasising that he was an officer, taking his oath 'with his hand on the handle of his sword', rather than on the Bible upon which the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers had taken their oaths. When asked if he knew why he was in prison, Hand replied that it was 'because I fulfilled my duty to punish a soldier under my orders with my sword, because he had publicly insulted me with gross and outrageous expressions, and even reached the extreme audacity of punching me'.¹⁴² When asked why he did not follow due procedure, 'as you well know that the sword of an officer is not the punishment of a soldier', Hand replied that despite having ordered Lons' arrest, the soldier had not stopped insulting him, 'which went on until he hit me as I already said; and when this happened I felt obliged to protect my person, and to vindicate the insults made on my character, by using my sword'.¹⁴³

The final verdict on the case was given by *Sargento Mayor* Santiago de España, temporary commander of Angostura. He recognised the 'serious accusation', but affirmed that Hand had 'fulfilled the most sacred duty of an official', using his sword only 'as he saw necessary' which was 'fully within his rights if the soldier was obstinately refusing to go'. Lons' own physical and verbal attacks meant that 'the *capitán* had the right to vindicate his insulted character by using his sword'.¹⁴⁴ Despite the fact that in the short-term his treatment of Lons had caused rebellion amongst his men, the Creole officials absolved Hand of any wrongdoing, commended him for fulfilling his duty, and even stated that in the long-run, the firm example (that of striking a soldier with his sword)

¹⁴⁰ These insults appear in the Spanish translation of John Taylor and Rupert Hand's (English) testimonies, 15th September 1820, Soledad: '*pícaro, ladomismo, y ladrón*'. AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 76, f.136, f.147.

¹⁴¹ Hand's interrogation had to be delayed so that the official interpreter, Marcelino Coello, could perform his duties at the day's distribution of rations – an interesting pointer that for all its importance, settling honour scores carried less immediate value than keeping stomachs full.

¹⁴² Testimony of Rupert Hand, 6th October 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.179.

¹⁴³ Testimony of Rupert Hand, 6th October 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.179.

¹⁴⁴ Declaration of Santiago de España, 17th October 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.183.

was to the benefit of the army and its discipline.¹⁴⁵ The insubordination of a subaltern (Lons) was seen as having been justly punished, and *Capitán* Hand's honour upheld. In this way, the Creole officials acknowledged that physical force could and should be used to maintain military hierarchies, and the social order that this represented in an increasingly militarised environment.¹⁴⁶ Whereas the officer was given the benefit of the doubt, private soldiers received vastly different treatment from the republican dispensers of justice. Having arbitrarily and randomly punished the soldiers for rebellion, and having now publicly affirmed Hand's honour and approved his conduct, the Creole military officers (like *General* Mariño in the midst of the disturbances) also confirmed their own position as the arbiters of disputes in Venezuela.

b) *The Symbolism of the Sword*

Public honour disputes also took place between officers of different rank, revolving around the degree of 'respect' due to an individual. In July 1820, *Teniente* FitzThomas of the British Legion was accused by *Coronel* William Lyster of the Irish Legion of 'unofficerlike conduct, and [of] using threatening and disrespectful language to a Superior Officer'.¹⁴⁷ Lyster had attempted to arrest FitzThomas one evening, when the latter refused to carry out an order to accompany some newly-arrived British soldiers to the Angostura Hospital, saying that the Hospital would not accept new arrivals at such a late hour. FitzThomas refused to give up his sword to Lyster's messenger, 'or even to the Vice-President of Venezuela', which Lyster interpreted as highly disrespectful language.¹⁴⁸ Dealing with what was superficially a squabble between officers sensitive to incursions on their authority, the case documentation reveals the many layered conflicts that lay beneath the dispute.

Testifying to the Court, *Sargento Mayor* Thomas Manby accepted that the words FitzThomas was accused of uttering 'were not in themselves insulting, but the tone of

¹⁴⁵ Diego Bautista Urbaneja to Comandante General, 18th October 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.184.

¹⁴⁶ The Creole fear of possible rebellions amongst the British troops is made clear in 'Declaración de Cristóbal Ricaus', 11th April 1819, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A.

¹⁴⁷ Testimony of William Lyster, 20th July 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, ff.207-22.

¹⁴⁸ Testimony of William Lyster, 20th July 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, ff.207-22.

voice in which they were delivered certainly was', and Manby saw this as a distinct lack of the respect due to a superior officer.¹⁴⁹ Other witnesses reported that FitzThomas had stressed that he was 'a decent man' and that he felt insulted 'as a gentleman'.¹⁵⁰ *Teniente* FitzThomas himself recognised that *Coronel* Lyster was his 'superior officer', but objected to Lyster addressing him 'in a sharp, loud voice inappropriate for discussing issues of service with a gentleman'.¹⁵¹ Considering all the evidence, the presiding officer at the trial, *Teniente Coronel* José Martínez, concluded succinctly that the charges did not seem to merit any more than the time FitzThomas had already spent under arrest. He was therefore released and allowed to return to the service.¹⁵²

In addition to the problems of a newly-arrived officer taking over authority from one who had been serving for some time, this case reflected some tension between the officers of the British and Irish Legions. FitzThomas wished to be recognised as part of a community of officers, an admission that Lyster was reluctant to make. The role of the sword then, was symbolic, and FitzThomas' alleged refusal to relinquish his weapon was the trigger Lyster required to accuse him of dishonourable actions. Such distinctions did not concern the Creole officers, who dismissed the case. The hierarchies between officers were not of such concern to them as the absolute division required between officer and soldier.

c) *'All the English are Thieving Rogues'*

On occasions honour was disputed across the boundary between the military and civilian spheres. In December 1818 *Sargento* José Herrera was charged with having used a knife to attack the North American merchant Samuel Forsyth at his home. Herrera was a Venezuelan seaman, temporarily resident in Angostura, and this case was much more than just an example of petty crime. A fellow non-commissioned officer, *Sargento* Doroteo Vélez, testified that he had seen Herrera go to Forsyth's house with a knife under his sleeve in order to assassinate Forsyth, who had refused the previous week to lend

¹⁴⁹ Testimony of Thomas Manby, 27th July 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.214.

¹⁵⁰ Testimony of Arthur Jones, 27th July 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.216.

¹⁵¹ Testimony of FitzThomas, 29th July 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, ff.218-9.

¹⁵² Declaration of José Martínez, 29th July 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.220.

Herrera a small sum of money. According to Vélez, Herrera had told Forsyth that ‘all the English are thieving rogues who steal from the Republic: they all have bread to eat while we starve’, and that when Forsyth told him to leave, Herrera responded that ‘he was an official of the Republic’ and that he could not be thrown out of a house.¹⁵³ So Forsyth pushed him, which was the reason Herrera went to get the knife. Herrera himself claimed that he had not requested a loan, but that he was in fact asking Forsyth to pay him for a mule he had provided when Forsyth had been robbed of his own a few weeks previously.¹⁵⁴ As other witnesses would later confirm, Herrera did not manage to wound Mr Forsyth, as the merchant’s friends attacked him with sticks and then threw him out of a window.

The sentence reflected the flexibility of proceedings in this period. Herrera was found guilty of attacking Forsyth, but was held to have ‘already been sufficiently punished by the very hand of those offended who wounded him and left him useless for armed service ... [it was decided to] absolve him of the imputation and return him to his employment’.¹⁵⁵ This secured Forsyth’s honour, as he was not charged with abusing Herrera, who was declared guilty of the original offence. Yet Herrera was also allowed to leave his prison. The vigilante beating he received was legitimated, the Court felt that he had been sufficiently punished, and nothing more was to be said of the matter.¹⁵⁶

But *Teniente* Asunción Ferrera, representing Herrera, responded to the Court’s verdict with a different interpretation. He asserted that as Forsyth was not a military official, justice had been served by Herrera’s release. In fact, it was ‘indecorous to those who wear the military uniform that a private individual can have broken the sacred respect for those, like Herrera, who have been adorned with military honours’.¹⁵⁷ In the view of Ferrera, a mid-ranking Creole officer, Herrera’s military profession provided him with more residual honour than any civilian, despite his low social status when compared to

¹⁵³ Testimony of Doroteo Vélez, 14th December 1818, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.3, f.126.

¹⁵⁴ Testimony of José Herrera, 14th December 1818, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.3, f.135.

¹⁵⁵ AGNV GDG, Vol.3, f.152.

¹⁵⁶ When the presiding officer went to inform Herrera of the decision, he forced him down onto his knees to receive the verdict – making it clear who was the figure of authority. Declaration of Juan José Conde, 19th December 1818, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.3, f.153.

¹⁵⁷ Declaration of Asunción Ferrera, 2nd January 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.3, f.156

the wealthy businessman Forsyth. At the scene of the crime Herrera was reckoned to have used abusive language towards Forsyth and to foreigners generally, but in the dispute over honour this was not even considered. Despite the severity of the verbal insult, it was the public attack on Forsyth's body which was dishonourable, and which therefore merited the punishment of Herrera, his social inferior. Whilst Herrera's actions may have been motivated by economic concerns at the effect that new civilian immigrants to Venezuela were having on his own quality of life, the court did not take this into account. By striking a man perceived by the Creole officers as his social superior, Herrera was acting dishonourably, whether his resentment was valid or not.

d) *Striking Women and Blacks*

These public honour disputes were ostensibly conflicts between men over the respect they were due, but race and gender suffused each and every one. This was made clear in the case of *Teniente Coronel* Peter Grant, who was tried for wounding the Venezuelan sailor Seferino Sarmiento in his own Angostura house on the night of 12th August 1820.¹⁵⁸ As in the Hand-Lons dispute, a superior officer struck a lower-ranked man, but here neither were on duty, and the victim was Venezuelan.

Several witnesses alleged that during the attack, Grant had publicly spoken of his antipathy towards blacks and local women. The victim gave his statement at the Military Hospital, where he was recovering from his injuries. Sarmiento obviously hoped that by taking the case to the authorities, his loss of honour could be publicly redressed. He claimed to have been 'wounded by an English officer ... in this town's Alameda, in the last house at the end of the town, by the ditch'. The English officer was carrying his sword 'unsheathed, hidden beneath his cape':

It was a little past midnight, and the English official had no reason to attack him, beyond that he [the English officer] had come into the entrance to the house where I live with a girl and her sister. The sister, María Andrea la Gardera, was sleeping at the time in an adjacent room to us. The English officer had gone to her, and attempted to rape her but she screamed and I came through to investigate the noise. I asked the Englishman if he had hit the woman as she described to me, and he replied that, yes he had, and what

¹⁵⁸ Peter Alexander Grant (b.1794 Scotland, d.1833 Caracas) had been working on an estate in Demerara before he joined the Independents. He was in Bogotá in the mid-1820s, from where he returned to Caracas. He was buried by Sir Robert Ker Porter in Caracas. Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.81, p.257.

would I do about it? When I replied that I wanted nothing from him, he struck me with his sword and left immediately. When he heard me closing the door behind him he turned on his heels and returned, accompanied by another, and they banged their swords on the door, shouting that if I as much as put my head out the door, they would chop it off.¹⁵⁹

Upon leaving Seferino's house, Grant had stormed down the street, pausing only to give a slap in the face to Domingo Mancino, a bemused sail-maker resting outside the arsenal.

'When I asked him why he had hit me', Mancino told the enquiry, 'he replied that he thought that I was a woman and it was nothing; he sheathed his sword and marched away'.¹⁶⁰ Mancino said that he heard that Grant had 'tried to rape Sarmiento's woman'.¹⁶¹ Mancino made it clear that Grant had sought to take out the frustration at his unsuccessful assault of by hitting any woman, and was not interested in fighting another man. The woman who Grant was accused of trying to rape, twenty year-old Maria Andrea de la Gardera, affirmed that around midnight, Grant had demanded to be allowed into her hammock, and had struck her when she refused. When her brother-in-law ['*cuñado* '] Sarmiento came out and asked Grant if he had hit her, 'Grant struck and wounded him with his sword, exclaiming in English 'Biafe' when he hit him'.¹⁶² Another witness, a thirty-six year old illiterate black sailor, gave Grant's actions a distinctly racialised flavour, claiming that he had heard Grant saying that 'he was going to kill all the blacks that he could find in the house'.¹⁶³

Unsurprisingly, when Peter Grant was invited to give his own statement, he accused the other witnesses of lying.¹⁶⁴ When asked if he had gone into the house and hit Sarmiento, he denied everything. His version of events was that

¹⁵⁹ Testimony of Seferino Sarmiento, 13th August 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.140.

¹⁶⁰ Testimony of Domingo Mancino, 13th August 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.142.

¹⁶¹ Testimony of Domingo Mancino, 13th August 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.142.

¹⁶² Testimony of María Andrea de la Gardera, 13th August 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.144.

'Biafe' was spelt like this in the original Spanish version of Maria Andrea's statement, and as 'Biof' in Grant's statement. I suspect that it was 'Be Off!', admittedly rather a tame oath for an alleged raging, racist, rapist to shout as he attempted to commit his crimes.

¹⁶³ Testimony of Tomás José, 13th August 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.143.

¹⁶⁴ Grant was interviewed mainly in Spanish, but with the government's official interpreter Marcelino Coello promising to 'faithfully translate those parts that the officer could not clearly explain himself'. Official translators like Coello and Ramón Chompre occupied a mediating position between the volunteers and the Independent officials.

I was on the edge of the ditch by the Alameda [Angostura's riverside boulevard], with a girl of my acquaintance, when a *sambo* came up asking me what I was doing there, to which I answered him 'Biof', and then I repeated it in Spanish for him, saying, 'Get Away With You', and then the *sambo* said to me 'What are you doing here, you fucking Englishman?' ['*inglés de carajo*'], to which I replied, 'I do not wish to molest you my friend', to which he responded 'Go away Sir and I will refrain from killing you'. When he said this, two other coloured men appeared with poles and other weapons, and joining the first they tried to offend me. One of them said, 'Let's kill this fucking Englishman' and another said 'Leave him to me and I will beat him to death'. Despite these threats, I replied 'Please go away, as I am not scared of you'. When I said this, one of them charged at me with his dagger, and I responded by striking him with my sword. When they saw this, all three of them ran away, and I chased after them and caught one of them who fell. I left him and chased the other two, who I did not catch because they disappeared into the houses there. So I turned round and went back to my house. I was accompanied by some English acquaintances.¹⁶⁵

In denying the accusations, Grant conjured up the standard demons of aggressive coloured people who held, he claimed, deep-seated resentment of him and his nation (although Grant was a Scot, he was still known as *inglés*). He denied any attack on women, or uttering any abuse at blacks. Grant claimed that he only ever replied politely when abused, defending his honour by asserting that he was not afraid. He said that he and his female friend had been minding their own business until confronted by the '*sambo*', when he was forced (like *Capitán* Hand when insulted by Private Lons) to respond in self-defence.

The Chairman of the Court declared that his job was impossible. There were no impartial witnesses, and the accused denied everything. He concluded that 'although there is a strong suspicion of Grant's guilt, and that his denial is simply malicious, he cannot be punished by more than eight days arrest. Upon the completion of this time he should leave for the Army or Division where he claims to be aide-de-camp to *General* Torres'.¹⁶⁶ Whilst this may appear to be another pragmatic device for leaving both sides satisfied, in this case Grant was given an extremely generous benefit of the doubt. The Englishman who had accompanied him during the attack was not called to give evidence, and neither was Grant's female friend, both of whom could have provided alibis. Neither were the '*sambos*' who had allegedly attacked Grant, been tracked down – the court acknowledged that these people did not exist outside of Grant's imagination. The Court

¹⁶⁵ Testimony of Peter Grant, 13th August 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, ff.143-4.

¹⁶⁶ Declaration of Diego Bautista Urbaneja, 21st August 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.146. *General* Pedro León Torres (b.1788 Carora, Venezuela, d.1822 Yacuanquer, Colombia) was an Independent military leader in the llanos and Venezuelan coast, until his death from wounds received at the battle of Bomboná.

aimed instead to get Grant out of the town as soon as possible, rather than to formally assert the honour of Seferino or the female victim.

Were Grant's testimony to be taken as trustworthy, it would indicate a high degree of mistrust and aggression towards the volunteers on the part of the coloured population in Angostura. Indeed, Grant's statement evoked stories told about the death of *Coronel MacDonald* two years previously. It involved a quarrel about a woman and jealousy on the part of the local population, which ended with unjustified aggression against an innocent Scottish officer. In Grant's version, by his own upstanding courtesy and bravery, he was able to chase off the aggressors and defend his honour in court, but the testimony of the other witnesses provides a very different interpretation. Here, Grant was the aggressive foreigner, seeking physical gratification with local women with or without their consent, entering private homes without permission, expressing anger and resentment at coloured men, using his sword to strike an unarmed inferior, and lashing out in anger at figures he believed to be women. Such actions, entirely dishonourable according to the unwritten codes of conduct acknowledged by other volunteer officers, were punished by a short stay in prison. It is worth noting that Grant's word, seriously doubted by the Court in this case, had been taken as trustworthy just a month earlier in the case of *Teniente FitzThomas*, where Grant was one of the honourable witnesses called upon to opine on the character of the accused's tone of voice. Not only was the justice system flexible and adaptable according to circumstance, it was also able to reassess characters and the honour of witnesses within a period of months. More importantly, Grant chose to strike and dishonour common sailors and their women, '*sambos*' and other subalterns. So while his perceived 'malicious' lying in court dishonoured him in Creole eyes, his physical actions did not dishonour any of the Creole officers, or threaten social hierarchies, and he was therefore allowed to pass without further punishment.

e) *Words of Honour*

Honour disputes could not and did not exist in a social vacuum. The mercenaries were in the service of the Republican government, and their individual honour was necessarily affected by the bonds linking them to the state and army. In August 1818, the junior

officer John Brown was arrested and charged with breaking orders for having allowed *Coronel* Henry Wilson to receive visitors while under house arrest, when Brown was acting as Officer of the Guard. (Wilson himself had been charged with insubordination and conspiring to overthrow Bolívar, and would shortly be expelled from the Republic).¹⁶⁷ Brown's defence was that he had never acted dishonourably, even though he admitted allowing Wilson to receive visitors.

Brown was nineteen years old, Protestant and literate. Swearing by his 'word of honour', Brown defended himself by stating that those men he allowed to enter Wilson's place of arrest were officers ranked higher than him, and that he had trusted their good faith.¹⁶⁸ Brown named an English officer, Thomas Simpson, to defend him. Simpson argued that Brown was continuing the precedent of previous guards, as the 'literal interpretation of the law had already been neglected by the Government for more than a month'. Central to his argument was Brown's recent arrival in Venezuela, and the fact that he was 'still awaiting the promotion to *teniente* he had recently been promised'. Also, Brown's daily rations were arriving late. Simpson therefore asked, 'what bonds join him to a literal execution of the Government's instructions, when he has not yet sworn fidelity or obedience to it, when he has not as yet received any employment from it, except the bonds of honour, which I do not see to have been broken by allowing *Coronel* Wilson the same freedoms that he enjoyed under previous guards ...?'¹⁶⁹

Simpson's argument cut to the heart of the honour disputes aired in the cases studied here. The adventurers believed that honourable behaviour depended on certain conditions being met. Brown's honour had remained individual, because his service had not been purchased through pay or sustenance, and had not been formalised through an oath of allegiance. It was therefore unblemished.¹⁷⁰ Other sources confirmed that officers and

¹⁶⁷ Carlos Arbeláez Urdaneta, 'Dos Wilson en la guerra de independencia', *Boletín de la academia nacional de la historia*, 94 (April-June 1944), pp.237-42; Matilde Moliner de Arévalo, 'Ingleses en los Ejércitos de Bolívar: El coronel Enrique Wilson', *Revista de indias*, 51 (1953), pp.89-111.

¹⁶⁸ Testimony of John Brown, 4th August 1818, AGNV GDG, Vol.4, f.475.

¹⁶⁹ Declaration of Thomas Simpson, 11th August 1818, AGNV GDG, Vol.4, f.481.

¹⁷⁰ This argument was still being used in 1826 by *Cabo* Jacob Teeson, on the basis that he had not been fully informed as to the military regulations in the Colombian service. Testimony of Felipe Fernando in defence of Jacob Teeson, 16th September 1826, Bogotá, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 96, f.815.

soldiers alike were loath to swear any formal allegiance to the Republic of Venezuela.¹⁷¹ In passing judgement, the members of the War Council recognised that although Brown was guilty of ‘not fulfilling orders’, ‘as the crime committed has not produced any great evil ... Brown should be given an arbitrary punishment of the amount of time he has already been imprisoned ... and therefore released’.¹⁷² They accepted Simpson’s argument, based on the recognition that ‘Brown has not sworn either loyalty or obedience to the Government’ and that ‘he says that what he was offered in London has not been fulfilled’.¹⁷³

Wilson’s own proclamation from his prison cast an interesting light on Brown’s trial. Addressing his ‘Countrymen and Comrades’ he hoped to ‘be justified in England’.¹⁷⁴ Attempting to explain what he saw as the chain of ignorance, coincidence and incompetence that led to his arrest, Wilson refused to contemplate that he had acted at all dishonourably. He concluded by stressing that before arriving in Venezuela, he had been ‘tempted with offers of wealth, of rank and even territory, but feeling myself bound in honour to *General* Bolívar, I rejected all’.¹⁷⁵ While Brown had emphasised the lack of honour ties between him (a lowly ranked officer) and a country he had only recently become acquainted with, *Coronel* Wilson preferred to point to the ‘honour bonds’ which tied him in loyalty to Bolívar, in marked contrast to the treachery he was accused of. Was honour here simply a desperate last resort? In fact, his statement demonstrated the extent to which some British officers perceived their own honour to be fixed by their own standards, and unaffected by any encounter with non-European peoples. Just like Peter Grant, Wilson felt it was the Venezuelans who had acted dishonourably, not him. As a British subject, an officer and a gentleman, he felt that his honour was something that lower-ranked peoples should acknowledge, rather than judge. As these trial records show, however, Venezuelan courts repeatedly felt authorised to judge on whether the actions of foreigners had been honourable or not.

¹⁷¹ Chesterton, *A Narrative of Proceedings in Venezuela*, p.26.

¹⁷² Declaration of the War Council, 15th October 1818, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.4, f.484.

¹⁷³ Testimony of José Olivares, 15th October 1818, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.4, f.484.

¹⁷⁴ Wilson to the British Military and Civil Resident in Angostura, 27th June 1818, Angostura, copy in FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-825, f.00179.

¹⁷⁵ Wilson to the British Military and Civil Resident in Angostura.

f) *Ungentlemanly Conduct*

Only one case survives in the archives where foreign volunteers set up their own Court of Enquiry to judge the actions of one of their own, and it revolved around an alleged incident of ‘ungentlemanly conduct’. It demonstrates the extent to which the volunteer officers shared Creoles’ concerns about maintaining a sharp dividing line between officers and their subalterns. In Angostura in June 1819, *Capitán* Gustavus Butler Hippisley was accused of ‘conduct highly unbecoming an officer and a gentleman in striking and otherwise obstructing Sergeant William Delaney’, and ‘unofficerlike conduct in associating and drinking at the same table with two non-commissioned officers and two Creole shopkeepers being inconsistent in every respect with the character of an officer or gentleman’.¹⁷⁶

The man struck by Hippisley, *Sargento* William Delany, told the court than he had been attending the wake of the late *Teniente* Hodges when he heard a drunken Hippisley order his servant to sling his hammock for him to sleep in, an act that he felt was disrespectful to the dead officer.¹⁷⁷ *Capitán* George Evans testified that he had seen Delany attempt to tear the hammock from Hippisley’s hands, at which the latter struck Delany down, leaving him senseless and with two cuts on his face. When asked if he heard Delany use abusive language, Evans replied that ‘Delany was also drunk, and said he would see him [Hippisley] damned before he would allow him to string his hammock so near the dead body, and that if he got into it he would cut it down’.¹⁷⁸ When asked if Delany had fallen from the effect of the blow, or intoxication, Evans replied ‘Both’.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Declaration of Court of Enquiry, June 1819 [no date], Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.88. All the documents referring to this Court of Enquiry were only written in English. Gustavus Butler Hippisley (dates unknown) was the son of Gustavus Mathias Hippisley. After leaving Venezuela in 1820 he wrote several articles and poems including whimsical book of poems, *Hours of Idleness* (undated, co-published with his wife) and, in 1842, the epic *Siege of Barcelona*, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

¹⁷⁷ Some months previously Hodges had written to Simón Bolívar requesting permission to travel to the British colonies to restore his health. AL, Vol.14, Roll 45, f.39. His death of fever was mentioned in Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.614.

¹⁷⁸ Testimony of George Evans, June 1819 [no date], Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.90.

¹⁷⁹ Testimony of George Evans, June 1819 [no date], Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.90.

Sargento Delany acknowledged that he, *Capitán* Hippisley and *Sargento Mayor* Harrison had spent the evening drinking with ‘two Creole shopkeepers’, and that they had all shook hands upon leaving.¹⁸⁰ Through associating with non-commissioned officers and Creole civilians, the presiding officers judged Hippisley to have been ‘laying himself open to the insults of those inferior to him in life’.¹⁸¹ No formal verdict survives, but Hippisley shortly returned to Britain, and this verdict may have hastened his departure from the Independent service. By ‘laying himself open’ to the insults of the lower classes, Hippisley’s behaviour cast doubt on his masculinity and brought shame on the officers and gentlemen of the British Legion.

The context for the events is worth further note. Officers had spent the afternoon drinking (presumably rum or wine) before attending the wake of a fellow officer who had died of fever. So commonplace were such events that Hippisley thought nothing of slinging his hammock over the corpse to sleep off his drinking. The distinction that the two men were ‘Creole shopkeepers’ emphasised that they were non-British civilians, and therefore could not aspire to any equality with a British officer. (This was a neat counterpoint to the argument of *Sargento* Herrera’s representative in the dispute with Samuel Forsyth, which held that Herrera should not have to bow to the demands of a civilian like Forsyth, even though he was one of the most influential merchants in the town at the time). The case does not shed much light on what was peculiarly British about this type of ungentlemanly behaviour, and why the case had to be dealt with by a Court of Enquiry that excluded Creoles. Perhaps it was felt that the charge of ‘ungentlemanly conduct’ was so serious that it could only be assessed by a closed group of peers of the accused, rather than representatives of Venezuelan society.

g) *Demonstrating Honour*

The records of the military courts reveal the richly nuanced world of honour within which the adventurers met the microcosm of Venezuelan society barracked in Angostura. The

¹⁸⁰ Testimony of William Delany, June 1819 [no date], Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.93.

¹⁸¹ Declaration of William Mahony, June 1819 [no date], Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.96. Note that for *sargentos* and *sargentos-mayor* like Delany and Harrison there was no prohibition against such association.

cultural encounters across national, regional and local boundaries in this circumscribed location meant that Stern's 'cultural displays of forcefulness' were complicated.¹⁸² Race, gender and class all competed with (and often took second place to) individual conceptions of inherent and exercised honour. The inventory of the possessions of an English *Capitán* Poole, who died at Upata in Guayana in November 1819, reveal that he was buried wearing his sword, recalling the visual nature of these demonstrations of honour.¹⁸³ The cases discussed above provide an insight into the volunteers' world of honour, indicating how drunkenness, encounters with strangers outside the 'community of honour', the death of comrades and monetary relations all impacted on volunteers, and occasionally caused them to overstep the codes of honour which they felt entitled them to privilege and respect in Angostura. Women and people of colour were sometimes the victims of these displays of honour, but in those cases recorded in the archives, volunteers often disputed amongst themselves. The Creole authorities in Angostura generally gave the benefit of the doubt to officers and, as the case of Private Lons showed, they were unsympathetic to the claims to equality of subaltern troops, whom they punished severely with few qualms.

In 1821, *Mayor* Joseph Darlington Farrar wrote to Bolívar, attempting to regain honour after an unspecified transgression had led to him being temporarily excluded from the service. In the face of a calumny on his character, Farrar promised future loyalty, and pointed to his past history of good service.¹⁸⁴ Farrar claimed to have served in the Iberian Peninsula and in two engagements in Venezuela. He argued that someone of unfit character simply would not have been able to take part in such sterling military activity. He hoped that his past bravery and his promises of future service would persuade Bolívar to recognise his honour and re-admit him to the service. In addition to the way Farrar looked towards Bolívar's person as the fountain of justice in Colombia, seeking a personal opinion rather than the judgement of a court, Farrar's note prefigured the way British and Irish soldiers would claim rewards from the Colombian state in the post-war

¹⁸² Stern, *Secret History of Gender*, p.161.

¹⁸³ 'Inventario a abaluo de los bienes que quedaron por fallecimiento del Capitan Inglés', November 1819, AGNV GDG, Vol.9, ff.143-4.

¹⁸⁴ J.D. Farrar to 'Most Excellent Sir' [Bolívar], in English, no date [1821], AGNC R GYM, Vol.325, f.204.

years. For Farrar, honour was no longer something to be demonstrated publicly, but to be granted, in private, by the head of state. He felt that the actions, accusations and insults of others should be secondary to his military service in the republican cause. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, duelling and public disputes of honour were less useful when volunteers began to negotiate their honour with the state in the emerging post-colonial world.

Gambling

When they weren't explicitly disputing their ranking in hierarchies of masculinities, officers could enjoy themselves alongside colleagues of different origins at the social functions and activities that accompanied the fringes of warfare in this period. These occasions took the forms of balls and parties, hunting trips, gambling and drinking sessions, and even picnics. Balls were organised by governmental authorities in honour of important anniversaries, or sometimes by foreign merchants resident in Venezuela who sought to gain influence.¹⁸⁵

One example was a picnic held in November 1819, in which the British and Irish officers under *Coronel* Blosset were invited to spend a day with twelve local ladies, and some members of Mariño's staff, in an orange grove some distance away from their quarters near Maturín.¹⁸⁶ The author who described the occasion, William Jackson Adam, spent a thoroughly enjoyable day with other foreign and Creole officers in the rare company of high-status ladies. The owner of the plantation, a pardo, was seeking enhanced prestige by organising the event, although Adam did not mention the host at all during his description of the day's events. Whatever the motivations of the pardo host, such social occasions showed that Creole and British officers felt that they could gain something from a closer relationship with each other. Rafael Urdaneta wrote in 1819 of his intention to 'cultivate the honour of the officer-class of the division' that he commanded, which contained foreigners, Venezuelans and New Granadans alike. He saw the officer-class as

¹⁸⁵ Chesterton, *Peace, War and Adventure*, Vol.2, p.129. Also on the balls hosted by Hamilton, see *Correo del Orinoco*, 21st July 1821, and Adam, *Journal of Voyages to Marguaritta, Trinidad and Maturín*, p.135.

¹⁸⁶ Adam, *Journal of Voyages to Marguaritta, Trinidad and Maturín*, p.69, p.80.

an extended family.¹⁸⁷ Drinking and eating in separate areas from the soldiers was one way of cementing this group loyalty, which was then enforced by the honour codes discussed in this chapter. Masonic groups were another way of creating exclusivity and establishing difference, although for the majority of adventurers these groups existed on the fringes of their social activities.¹⁸⁸

Importantly, such social occasions also sometimes took place across political divides. The meeting between Bolívar and Morillo at the Santa Ana armistice was one celebrated example, involving ‘hugs, greetings, conversations, dinners, toasts, promises of friendship’.¹⁸⁹ Another was the banquet given by British officers in Grenada to receive a group of Spanish officers (who provided the wine).¹⁹⁰ The regular hunting trips described in British and Irish memoirs were different, as hunting was an activity that the British officers enjoyed on their own, as an expression of their masculine honour. They hunted without their Creole colleagues, accompanied only by local guides and assistants.¹⁹¹

An important component of the volunteer officers’ honour-asserting lifestyle in the first years of their involvement in the Wars of Independence was gambling. It was ‘another kind of adventure’, a recreation more compatible with their transitory lifestyles than any formal business investment.¹⁹² The late 1810s and early 1820s were a time of ‘gambling propensity’ in London.¹⁹³ In this sense the ‘adventure’ of travel to Hispanic America was just another gamble taken by those hoping to capitalise on their own daring risk-taking: wagering their own lives against the inhospitable climate, savage Indians, the Loyalist

¹⁸⁷ Urdaneta to English, 1st May 1819, Norte [Margarita], English Papers, HA157/6/74.

¹⁸⁸ Julio Hoenigsberg, *Influencia revolucionaria de la masonería en Europa y América. Esbozos históricos*, (Bogotá, 1944), pp.151-78.

¹⁸⁹ Polanco Alcántara, *Simón Bolívar*, p.417.

¹⁹⁰ Rafael Sevilla, *Memorias de un oficial del ejército español; campañas contra Bolívar y los separatistas*, (Madrid, 1916), p.195. For similar occurrences between British and French officers in the Peninsular War, see Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p.206.

¹⁹¹ Whilst the extra meat or fish was welcomed, hunting was very much a recreational activity, rather than a necessity. See John M. Mackenzie, ‘The imperial pioneer and hunter and the British masculine stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times’, in J.A. Mangin and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Masculinity: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, (Manchester, 1987), pp.176-99, and also Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*, pp.115-31.

¹⁹² Green, *The Adventurous Male*, p.65; see also Joseph, Warner Arundell, p.253.

¹⁹³ Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, pp.293-4; Griffith Dawson, *The First Latin American Debt Crisis*, p.40.

army, and the often treacherous sea voyage, all in the hope of returning with honour and improved status. A novel featuring mercenaries as its main characters had a penniless gambler leave his native land forever after a failed suicide attempt – casting the volunteer expeditions as one final throw of the dice.¹⁹⁴

Gambling reflected the extent to which they were in constant close proximity to death, and living for short-term pleasures. It turned out to be a type of adventure that the Independents were indulging in even before the volunteers arrived. Some of the adventurers found this distinctly disconcerting as it suggested worrying intimations of equality. Volunteers were not the first travellers to bemoan the fact that in South America, even the priests gambled.¹⁹⁵

Adam described high-stake Angostura gambling meetings with ‘upwards of fifty native officers’ concentrated together.¹⁹⁶ One volunteer’s major criticism of Urdaneta was that he preferred to idle rather than fight, ‘passing his time at ease in his hammock, and gambling with his staff’.¹⁹⁷ In 1824 Robert Sutherland, a British consular official sending his first impressions to Foreign Secretary Canning, passed on a story he had heard from a retired volunteer. Apparently Urdaneta had once received \$500 from Bolívar ‘to provide shoes for a British corps that had long marched barefooted, and he lost the sum at a gambling table; this corps continued for weeks afterwards unprovided’.¹⁹⁸ This story, inserted into a generally favourable portrait of one of Bolívar’s most loyal officers, emphasised the virtue and endurance of the British troops, and contrasted their marching without boots, uncomplaining, with the frivolous Creole frittering away their money.

¹⁹⁴ [Anon], *Soldiers of Venezuela*, pp.55-7.

¹⁹⁵ Lynch, *Fray Juan de Santa Gerudis and the Marvels of New Granada*, (London, 1999), p.14; Robert Semple, *Sketch of the Present State of Caracas; including a journey from Caracas through to la Victoria and Valencia to Puerto Cabello*, (London, 1812), p.171.

¹⁹⁶ Adam, *Journal of Voyages to Margaritta, Trinidad and Maturín*, p.110.

¹⁹⁷ Chesterton, *A Narrative of Proceedings in Venezuela and South America*, p.41, [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years during the War of Extermination*, pp.89-90.

¹⁹⁸ Robert Sutherland to Canning, 5th July 1824, Maracaibo, PRO FO 18/8, f.103. Vowell criticised Manuel Valdés for a similar addiction in *Campaigns and Cruises*, p.211.

An anonymous letter to a Dublin newspaper sought to paint a negative picture of the Independents by emphasising the amount of gambling. 'Society in this country is in a most degraded state ... There appears to be no distinction of rank: a general is often seen gambling at the same table with one of his common soldiers, on terms of perfect equality. Many negroes hold commissions in the army'.¹⁹⁹ According to this writer, the equality of the gaming table was decidedly dangerous, and directly related to the spectre of black men holding positions of responsibility in the armed forces. In his description of an Independent guerrilla force at Ortiz on the river Apure, Vowell described a routine of 'constant gambling and drinking *aguardiente*'.²⁰⁰ It was not gambling itself that the British commentators were criticising when they saw Creoles playing – it was the equality it embodied between different social groups who ought to be at opposite ends of the social and racial hierarchy.²⁰¹ On occasions, the volunteers translated these fears onto the battlefield, where some of them felt undermined by their positions as subordinates to Creoles, where 'their honour and interest [were] compromised upon all and every occasion, and [they were] treated more in the character of children than soldiers'.²⁰²

An analysis of these texts reveals that, in contrast to the rest of society, most of the volunteers gambled within quite closely defined groups, meaning that the money or credit risked at least stayed within the friendship group, and was still available for communal recreation. The British gambled amongst themselves, and the 'native officers' and their subalterns gambled separately. One apparent example of this was a horse race organised in Angostura in April 1820.²⁰³ National honour was explicitly being disputed as well as competition between two military corps. One jockey, *Mayor* Thomas Manby 'of the Albion battalion', rode a horse named 'Bargas', commemorating the British Legion's finest hour in the campaigning to date (the battle of Pantano de Vargas in 1819). The

¹⁹⁹ *Carrick's Morning Post*, 17th December 1819.

²⁰⁰ Vowell, *Campaigns and Cruises*, p.101.

²⁰¹ See also C.S. Cochrane, *Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia*, p.220; [Anon] *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main*, p.116; and Alfred Tischendorff and E. Taylor Parks, eds., *The Diary and Journal of Richard Clough Anderson Jr., 1814-1826*, (Durham, N.C., 1964), p.148, p.224, p.230, p.251, p.265; Hamilton, *Travels Through the Interior Provinces of Colombia*, Vol.2, p.18, p.61; [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, p.242.

²⁰² Lowe, 'A Brief Sketch of Operations', English Papers, HA157/6/28, f.7.

²⁰³ 'Desafio de caballos' in Museo Bolivariano, Caracas, reproduced in Pedro Grases, ed., *Impresos de Angostura*, (Caracas, 1969), p.91.

other, *General* Power ‘of the Irish Legion’, rode a horse named after the still apparently mythical leader of that Legion, ‘Devereux’.²⁰⁴ *Teniente Coronel* Egan described the events in a letter home, glad that in fact all classes had attended and enjoyed the event. Egan had acted as the steward and judge on the ‘grand race’, and estimated that around four to five hundred dollars had been bet on the outcome. He observed that ‘all the Native Officers and Respectable Inhabitants were there. There was another race immediately after – my groom rode for one of the Native Colonels, and won’.²⁰⁵ So although the main feature of the afternoon was the competition between the Irish Legion and Albion Battalion, the local population and military officers were not excluded from the occasion entirely, and they even staged a second race.

Horse racing was just a short step away from the processions that often marked celebrations of important occasions.²⁰⁶ It was also a rare opportunity for foreign volunteers to show off some horsemanship in front of their llanero colleagues, who had previously laughed at their inability to ford rivers or manage the other obstacles of the environment.²⁰⁷ Given the betting that Egan described surrounding the aforementioned horse-racing, it does not seem that ‘inter-group’ gambling was specifically proscribed by any of the Creole leaders. Where officers like *Capitán* Hippiisley were reprimanded for sitting and drinking with Creole shopkeepers, non-commissioned officers and private soldiers were under no such restrictions. In some circumstances, officers would also gamble regardless of national and racial distinctions. Louis Perú de la Croix (a French volunteer officer) described the nightly gaming and card playing between Bolívar, Daniel O’Leary, himself and the other assistants at Bucaramanga in 1828.²⁰⁸ Bolívar’s heterogeneous close private circle had probably also gamed throughout the previous years of campaigning. In 1816 the members of the Los Cayos expedition, who came from extremely varied national, regional, social and ethnic origins, had enjoyed plenty of rum,

²⁰⁴ Devereux, expected for over a year, would not arrive on the mainland until August 1820.

²⁰⁵ Egan to Anon, 20th May 1820, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th July 1820.

²⁰⁶ See for example Groot, *Historia de la Gran Colombia*, p.75, p.126. Slatta claimed that formal horse-racing also took place in 1820 in the River Plate region, in Slatta, *Cowboys of the Americas*, pp.147-8. Chapter 6 examines gambling on horses in the post-war period.

²⁰⁷ As in Cochrane, *Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia*, p.473.

²⁰⁸ Luis Perú de la Croix, *Diario de Bucaramanga; o Vida pública y privada del Libertador, Simón Bolívar*, (Paris, 1912), p.182.

women and gaming before setting off.²⁰⁹ But perhaps the most revealing story in which foreigner and Colombian gambled together was recalled by Francisco Burdett O'Connor. In Huamachuco in Peru in March 1824

... my countryman *Coronel* Arthur Sandes came to visit me. While we were chatting, *General* Sucre entered my room, and told *Coronel* Sandes that an officer was about to march for Quito, and that he was finishing a letter to a friend of his there. 'Sandes', he said, 'I know that in Quito you were engaged to be married to the Marques of Solano's daughter. But I always wished to marry that girl, and so I propose to you now, if you will allow me, that we trust our destinies to Lady Luck. Let us throw a coin in the air, to see who will win the hand of the little Marchioness. If you lose, I will include the order in my current letter, so as to marry her myself'.
'Agreed', replied Sandes. 'Because, who knows if we will ever return to Quito, or if we are soon to die in battle'. So they named me as witness to their bet, and I threw the coin in the air. *General* Sucre was the winner. And so it came to pass, that four years later he did return to Quito, where he married Solano's daughter.²¹⁰

Chapter 6 examines in some detail the marriage strategies of volunteers and Creole elites in the post-war period, but O'Connor's anecdote illustrates how, at least during war-time, such strategies were often rendered meaningless by the realities of campaigning. The story demonstrates the cheery fashion in which Sandes gave way to a superior Creole officer's point of view and the toss of a coin, seemingly indifferent to any personal preference that the woman at stake might have had. It shows that officers, both Creoles and volunteers, would gamble with whatever prize they felt they could afford to lose. Initially at least, for some of the volunteers, this would include their lives, as shown in their duelling. Gambling was an integral part of the adventurers' lives on campaign, and one activity in which they did form relations of equality with Hispanic Americans. This all indicates parallels with British activity in India, where although race was fundamental to all colonial encounters, important bonds were formed by common perceptions of shared status among the upper classes of both local and incoming actors.²¹¹ The transition from colonial to republican systems, however, and to consequences of military mobilisation for identity formation, complicated matters still further.

²⁰⁹ Verna, *Petión and Bolívar*, p.203.

²¹⁰ O'Connor, *Independencia americana*, p.105. Arthur Sandes died a bachelor in Cuenca in 1834.

²¹¹ This is the argument of David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, (London, 2001).

Conclusions

Despite the way that it neatly dovetailed with the 'warrior's honour', chivalric individual honour clashed with new republican ideas of virtue, and post-war processes of institutionalisation. Creole attempts at nation-building were set against the adventurers' (and some Creoles') concerns with personal individual honour. Duelling and chivalric parades therefore suffered the same fate as other supposedly outdated practices. The courts and Congress became established as the new *campo de honor* (field of honour) in the post-war period.

In Rosario de Cúcuta in mid-1821, the deputies elected to the Colombian Congress met to decide upon a Constitution for the new state. Those hoping to influence proceedings in their favour made their way to the town, and among them was Mary English. Her husband, *General* English, had died at Margarita in 1819. At a private interview, she requested special consideration from Vice-President Antonio Nariño, who replied that the Government was in no position to grant her any favours. When informed of this interchange, *General* John Devereux interpreted it as a slight on Mary English's honour, and he was subsequently arrested for having challenged Nariño to a duel. Mary English's biographer accepted that Nariño's position was justifiable because of the weak finances of the new republic, and inferred that Mary English had allowed the two officers to proceed in their quarrel in the hope that it would protect her reputation and ultimately benefit her financially.²¹²

In this interpretation, Nariño and Devereux were honour-bound fools manipulated by a savvy woman, and for this reason perhaps, most male commentators have discussed the episode in other terms. This was the only recorded challenge by a member of the volunteer expeditions made over the honour of a woman. When she was not being completely ignored in the surviving documentation, Mary English was portrayed as an

²¹² 'In a hostile society she used what means she could to protect herself and her daughter, and sticking firmly to her story seemed to be the only means'. Scott, *Mary English*, p.90. Mary English's daughter, Eliza, was born of a previous marriage, and was cared for in London by Charles Herring and his family.

innocent party and bystander in the dispute.²¹³ Bolívar described Devereux's challenge as 'madness ... a real disgrace, a stupidity that compromises the Government and its functionaries, and the Congress which is supporting him. The case should have remained personal'.²¹⁴ Much as he lamented the widow's circumstances, a woman's honour should never have been allowed to compromise the honour of Colombia by destabilising its institutions. Historians following Bolívar's interpretation have seen the interview between Nariño and English as an 'unexplained enigma'.²¹⁵

The dispute was about much more than a woman's honour. It is clear from his private correspondence that Antonio Nariño did not deem either Mary English or Devereux as worthy of particular respect. He described English as 'a woman who says she is *General English's* widow', living a life of luxury in Cúcuta. Devereux had committed an 'idiocy', and Nariño complained that the 'foreigners here are driving me mad'.²¹⁶ Devereux was 'an absentee officer, with no army, no current command' whose demands were 'a formal insult to our government'.²¹⁷ Not only was Devereux foreign, he was effectively a civilian, despite his military rank, and therefore in no position to be treating the Vice-President of Colombia (who had led military campaigns and then spent time in Spanish jails for his *patria*) as an equal.

²¹³ As in Bolívar to Mary English, 8th October 1821, from a copy made by Mary English dated 14th December 1843, English Papers, HA157/6/98.

²¹⁴ Bolívar to Santander, 10th July 1821, Valencia, in *Cartas Santander - Bolívar 1820-1822*, Vol.3, (Bogotá, 1988), p.119. Thomas Manby agreed in a letter to Baron Von Eben, 10th December 1821, Cali, translated into Spanish (without English original) in *Memorias de O'Leary*, Vol.12, pp.350-1.

²¹⁵ See for example Groot, *Historia de la Gran Colombia*, p.131; Moreno, *Santander*, p.264; Plazas Olarte, *Historia Extensa de Colombia*, Vol.3, *La Independencia, 1819-1828*, p.198. Garrido, *Antonio Nariño*, (Bogotá, 1999) mentions the incident only in passing, to demonstrate the conflict and tension between centralism and federalism. Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, pp.378-408, dedicated thirty pages to the reproduction of documents detailing the 'Caso D'Evereux', but did not stop to analyse them. By this time in his narrative, he had already concluded that Devereux was a foolish, vain man who never took any active part in military campaigning. Principal documents from the case are reproduced in Manuel Villaveces, 'El Proceso D'Evereux', *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, 19:217 (February 1932), pp.119-43; Carlos Restrepo Canal, 'Mensaje inédito de Nariño sobre el caso del General D'Evereux', *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, 46:531 (January-March 1959), pp.77-86. Villaveces went so far (p.85) as to claim that the dispute was all about military honour, and that the slur Nariño was accused of making on Mary English was of reminding her of her late husband's lack of military courage, and specifically his retreat at Cumaná in early 1819.

²¹⁶ Nariño to Bolívar, 28th June 1821, Rosario, in *Archivo Nariño*, Vol.6, 1816-1823, (Bogotá, 1990), p.169.

²¹⁷ Nariño to Congress, 12th July 1821, Rosario, in *Archivo Nariño*, Vol.6, 1816-1823, pp.187-90.

Devereux, however, was adventuring outside of the British empire, and did not see himself as a representative of either Ireland or Britain. His honour was individual and related only tangentially to his army or current command. In fact, at least initially, Devereux saw himself as a noble knight intervening to defend the slighted honour of an abused maiden. Devereux blamed Nariño's 'arbitrary conduct' and interpreted the situation as one of 'life and honour'.²¹⁸ In the opinion of one friend, Devereux had 'nobly stepped forward to protect a widowed, helpless woman from the infamous mitts of a vile wretch'.²¹⁹ Richard Jaffray told Devereux that his 'chivalry' meant that 'you have indeed proved yourself worthy of your spurs and of your country'. In the challenge delivered to Nariño, Devereux wrote that 'it was with surprise mixed with indignation that I have learnt of your treatment of the late *General* English's widow'. Inspired by his 'disgust at your conduct towards this Lady, who is my Compatriot', Devereux requested 'the response that justice requires and honour demands'.²²⁰

Nariño rejected those demands because his understanding of justice and honour were completely at odds with those of Devereux. Nariño felt that his personal honour was bound up with the dignity of his office, and that he must 'continue with this case until the government's honour is completely satisfied, so that these adventurers will stop coming here and treating us like they treat their subjects in the East Indies'.²²¹ Nariño wanted Colombians and Britons to be equals, highlighting the treatment he himself would receive if positions were substituted:

Let us just suppose that I *did* insult the English woman, that I kicked her even, or I had beaten her to death. What right does an official like D'Evereux have to judge our government? If one of us had presumed the same, not even to the English Government itself but just to the Governor of Jamaica – just how long do you think they would have let us live?²²²

²¹⁸ 'Declaración de Juan Devereux', 4th June 1821, Rosario, reproduced in Villavoces, 'El proceso D'Evereux', p.130.

²¹⁹ Jaffray to Devereux, 19th November 1821, London, English Papers, HA157/6/27.

²²⁰ Devereux to Nariño, Cúcuta, 30th May 1821, in Spanish copy of English original, in English Papers, HA157/6/97.

²²¹ Nariño to Bolívar, 31st May 1821, Rosario, in *Archivo Nariño*, Vol.6, 1816-1823, pp.131-3.

²²² Nariño to Bolívar, 31st May 1821, Rosario, in *Archivo Nariño*, Vol.6, 1816-1823, pp.131-3. This theme continued to occupy Nariño's allies, as shown in Urbaneja to Nariño, no date [probably July 1821], in *Archivo Nariño*, Vol.6, 1816-1823, pp.193-4.

Conversely then, both Nariño and Devereux were exercised by notions of equality. Nariño wanted Britons to be treated in Colombia as Colombians would be in Britain. Devereux hoped to assure his own individual honour by challenging Nariño as an equal, but Nariño wished to avoid a duel so as not to cause a negative impression to be carried back to Europe, and thus endanger ‘the *patria* we have made so many sacrifices for’.²²³ The Minister of Justice and the Interior, Diego Bautista Urbaneja, agreed with Nariño, writing that Colombia’s honour must not be undermined by the lack of respect shown to the government by foreigners. Devereux was investigated for ‘insolence, insulting language, and showing disrespect to the Government’.²²⁴ He warned that the actions of the foreigners were ‘making a laughing stock of the Republic’.²²⁵

For both Nariño and Urbaneja, the honour of Colombia and its government could only be safeguarded by acting on the same stage, and in the same manner, as other nations. Both implied that they did not wish Colombia to act in the same way as Britain, arguing that Britain’s use of its authority was often harsh and unjust. Both held Colombia’s honour and its claims to equality with other nations on the global stage to be more important than the honour of an individual foreign woman. For them, this challenge was about equality between Colombians and foreigners: they demanded equal respect, by being treated as part of a shared honourable community from which they felt the foreigners were excluding them.

The same argument was used against Nariño by his political rivals. As José Manuel Restrepo noted in his diary, the prime accusation levelled against Nariño by Congress was that he ‘had not given Devereux (a foreign *General* who had performed important services for Colombia) a decent accommodation during his imprisonment, and had

²²³ Nariño to Congress, 26th June 1821, Rosario, in *Archivo Nariño*, Vol.6, 1816-1823, pp.165-8.

²²⁴ Urbaneja to Soubllette, 8th June 1821, Rosario, in José Felix Blanco and Ramón Azpúrua, eds., *Documentos para la vida pública del Libertador*, Vol.7, (Caracas, 1875-7), f.611. Diego Bautista Urbaneja (b.1782 Barcelona, Venezuela, d.1856 Caracas), although he reached the rank of *coronel*, was a lawyer and civilian administrator who occupied most of the principal positions in Colombian and later Venezuelan government. In 1826 he was Grand Master of the Masonic Lodge in Bogotá.

²²⁵ Urbaneja to Soubllette, 8th June 1821, Rosario, in Blanco and Azpúrua, eds., *Documentos para la vida pública del Libertador*, Vol.7, f.611.

instead detained him in a kitchen'.²²⁶ Indeed, Devereux himself described his place of detainment as 'worse than a dungeon', and a supportive congressman called it 'an indecent room, unsuitable for the character of a *General*'.²²⁷ On another occasion Nariño was described as having 'buried Devereux alive in a room that was usually a rubbish heap'.²²⁸

Whilst the extended conflict between Nariño and Devereux became the tool for working out differences of authority between military and civilian leaders, and between the Executive and Legislative powers, as argued by Restrepo and subsequent commentators, it was also a conflict of contrasting concepts of honour.²²⁹ Devereux felt (at least initially) that he was acting in a chivalrous fashion to protect the honour of a defenceless woman. Nariño wanted to defend the dignity of his office and his person from the scurrilous insults of a newly-arrived foreigner who had not earned his respect in campaign nor battle. A duel was avoided because Nariño was able to secure his own honour by the physical imprisonment of his challenger, and eventually by sending him for judicial trial in Caracas. Devereux backtracked considerably. He repeatedly stressed that he had never proposed a duel, nor intended to offend the honour of the Vice-President or the Republic. He blamed *Coronel* Lowe's 'essential misunderstanding of the concepts when he translated from English to Spanish'.²³⁰ Lowe was subsequently forced into exile, protesting that 'the rudiments of liberty and justice are eternal and immutable, and should apply at all the extremities of the globe'.²³¹ Honour appears to have been satisfied, eventually. Devereux was listed as serving under Nariño in Bogotá in December 1822.²³² When Devereux was sent to Caracas in order for Bolívar to decide his fate, he informed

²²⁶ Restrepo, *Diario politico*, p.115, entry for 9th June 1821.

²²⁷ Devereux to Congress, no date, possibly 4th June 1821, AGNC, Miscelánea General, Vol.166, f.929; Francisco Soto to Urbaneja, 11th June 1821, Rosario, AGNC, Miscelánea General, Vol.166, f.930.

²²⁸ Azuero to Santander, 20th June 1821, Rosario, copy in FJB, Archivo Santander, Vol.6, pp.258-60.

²²⁹ Restrepo, *Diario politico*, p.125, entry for 14th October 1821.

²³⁰ This interpretation was finally accepted by the Supreme Court ruling that acquitted Devereux in Caracas, 16th November 1821, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 78, f.34.

²³¹ Lowe to Colombian Congress, 2nd June 1821, Cúcuta, AGNC R, Miscelánea General, Vol.166, ff.877-94. George Augustus Lowe had served under General English in the British Legion, and joined up with MacGregor's expedition on Riohacha. He unsuccessfully proposed marriage to Mary English. After his expulsion from Cúcuta he re-joined MacGregor and collaborated in his Poyais enterprise.

²³² AGNC R GYM, Vol.779, f.846.

Daniel O'Connell that the Supreme Court had declared his 'reputation and fame to be perfectly unsullied by this affair'.²³³

After the dispute was thus concluded, talk of duelling largely disappeared, but a seed had been planted in Colombian political culture. In 1825, *General* Antonio Valero de Bernabé issued a challenge to *General* Bartolomé Salom.²³⁴ In late 1827 the Dutch consul was killed in a duel by Francisco Miranda, the English-born son of the *precursor*, who was seconded by a volunteer officer, John Johnson. Mary English said that Rafael Urdaneta had offered to hide Miranda until he was able to escape – despite the continued illegality of duelling, and the government's declaration that the parties involved should be arrested. She even wrote that 'in confidence I tell you Bolívar himself said as soon as he heard of the affair, that if Francisco had not received an apology nor fought Steurs, he would have sent him his dismissal from the army immediately'.²³⁵ A year later Santander was also 'challenged', and he wrote to Bolívar to remind him that 'if the laws are going to stay silent when faced with scandals like this, then you Sir should not be surprised if you are challenged on a day when some person feels they had just or unjust motive to feel resentment against you'.²³⁶ In subsequent years more foreigners were actually prosecuted for proffering drunken duelling challenges, and in the 1830s the duel, as Santander suspected it would be, was slowly incorporated into New Granadan political culture.²³⁷ In

²³³ Devereux to Daniel O'Connell, 24th November 1821, Caracas, NLI, Microfilm, n.2718 p.1622.

Nevertheless, another member of the Irish Legion, Edward Stopford, recognised that there had been enough evidence to prove that Devereux had indeed shown disrespect to Nariño. Edward Stopford to Thomas Foley, 19th September 1821, Caracas. AL, Vol.14, Roll 45, f.76.

²³⁴ Grases and Pérez Vila, eds., *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela* Vol.5, p.33. Antonio Valero de Bernabé (b.1790 Fajardo, Puerto Rico, d.1863 in Colombia) served in the Spanish army in New Spain until Agustín Iturbide was proclaimed emperor, when he left for Colombia. He occupied important military positions in Colombia and Venezuela until his death. Bartolomé Salom (b.1780 Puerto Cabello, d.1863 Puerto Cabello) retired from military service in the late 1820s.

²³⁵ Mary English to William Greenup, 30th October 1827, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/1/13. Extracts of Mary English's description of the events are reproduced in Scott, *Mary English*, pp.178-82.

²³⁶ Santander to Bolívar, 24th January 1828, Bogotá, in *Cartas Santander - Bolívar 1826-1830*, Vol.6, p.234. Note that the paragraph cited above was omitted from both the *Memorias de O'Leary* and the *Archivo Santander*. Possibly the editors feared that Santander's comment would be interpreted as a challenge to Bolívar?

²³⁷ For two Germans prosecuted for duelling in Medellín in 1828, see AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 44, ff.267-311.

1839 two of New Granada's principal politicians, Antonio Obando and Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, fought a duel in Bogotá.²³⁸

In 1829 Daniel O'Leary interpreted his suppression of a rebellion in Antioquía as a personal duel with its instigator, José María Córdoba. After the battle of El Santuario he wrote to Bolívar that 'the honour fell to me to defeat the ungrateful wretch who so insulted your name. ... My General, my heart tells me that I have fulfilled my duty. I could not have lived if I had not been successful. If truth be told when Córdoba appeared to be winning the battle, I sought death so as not to have to present myself to you dishonoured'.²³⁹

O'Leary's comments typify many of the themes discussed in this chapter. He had arrived in Venezuela in 1819 as a young man, but a decade later, he had overcome his fears of the unknown, taken part in battles, and developed close and long-standing bonds with his comrades-in-arms. He occasionally had to overcome the jibes of fellow officers for his youth, his military inexperience and his national origin. He now felt himself to be a man, with honour to uphold and duties to perform. Whilst such honour was demonstrated through courage in battle, it was based on his declared loyalty to a Venezuelan leader, Simón Bolívar. At El Santuario, O'Leary acted to prevent Bolívar's name from dishonour by ordering the death of a man whose subversive example he saw as threatening to undermine the stability and reputation of the Colombian republic. Where for the first volunteers, honour was an individual affair, to be publicly affirmed against a hostile environment through displays of bravery and the physical defence of the integrity of social and military hierarchies, it substantially changed in nature during the Wars of Independence. As a means towards understanding how and why this had happened,

²³⁸ Botero Herrera, *Estado, nación y provincia de Antioquía*. p.123. Antonio Obando (b.c.1798 Socorro, d.1849 Tocaima) was a *coronel* commanding Independent forces in Cauca in the early 1820s, and served in many administrative positions, including Secretary of War, under Santander. Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera (b.1798 Popayán, d.1878 Coconuco) was a junior officer during the Wars of Independence, and became President of New Granada between 1845-9, and President of the United States of Colombia between 1863-4 and 1866-7. He maintained correspondence with many of the volunteers, particularly Thomas Manby and Miller Hallowses. The principal source for Mosquera is J. León Helguera, 'The first Mosquera administration in New Granada, 1845-1849', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of North Carolina, 1958.

²³⁹ O'Leary to Bolívar, 17th October 1829, Marinilla, in FJB, AOL, Sección Navarro, f.14.

Chapter 4 considers the changes in collective identities that spread across the relationships formed by adventurers and Colombians during the Wars of Independence.

Chapter 4: Collective Identities

No one saw him disembark in the unanimous night, no one saw the bamboo canoe sinking into the sacred mud, but within a few days no one was unaware that the silent man was from the South and that his *patria* was one of the infinite villages upstream on the violent mountainside, where the Zend tongue is not contaminated by Greek and where leprosy is infrequent.

JORGE LUIS BORGES (1945)¹

Collective identities were defined, re-imagined and re-invented in the early nineteenth century in northern Hispanic America. Colonies became republics and ideas of national and regional identity evolved within the various political and legal boundaries of the Spanish empire.² Whilst these nations and *pueblos* had existed for centuries, as Brian Hamnett has noted, the significance of the late colonial period from the 1770s to the 1820s 'lay in the growing (and sometimes sudden) politicisation of these identities'.³ It was the extended period of warfare against Spain that triggered the new 'self-definition of nation' on the part of the Creole elites who directed the conflict.⁴ In the Viceroyalty of New Granada, the Captaincy-General of Venezuela, and the Presidency of Quito, the Loyalist re-conquest after 1815 put an end to the first period of warfare with its mobilisation based on towns and cities and the colonial militia system.⁵ From 1816, with his expedition from Aux Cayes in Haiti, Simón Bolívar began the process of constructing a larger ideological basis for his campaigning, drawing on notions of an American nation. The new political entities that eventually replaced the rule of the Spanish crown were the result of outright military conflict on a continental scale, the experience of which began to brand new notions of collective identity onto the consciousness of the warring parties.⁶

¹ Jorge Luis Borges, 'Las ruinas circulares', *Ficciones*, (Madrid, 1993, first published 1945), p.61.

² A useful synthesis of these themes for Latin America is Hans-Joachim König, 'Nacionalismo y nación en la historia de Iberoamérica', in König, Tristan Platt and Colin Lewis, eds., *Estado-nación, comunidades indígenas, industria: Series cuadernos de historia latinoamericana*, viii, (AHILA, 2000), pp.22-3.

³ Brian Hamnett, 'Process and Pattern: A Re-examination of the Ibero-American Independence Movements', *JLAS*, 29:2 (May 1997), p.286.

⁴ Hamnett, 'Process and Pattern', p.303.

⁵ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, pp.152-212.

⁶ König, 'Nacionalismo y nación en la historia de Iberoamérica', pp.17-46. In 'De lo uno a lo múltiple: Dimensiones y lógicas de la independencia', in McFarlane and Posada-Carbó, eds., *Independence and Revolution in Spanish America*, pp.43-68, Guerra questioned whether Independence could be interpreted either as a series of national movements (as nations were not fully formed) or as anti-colonial (as the elites

In the face of mass desertion, deaths through disease and wounds received in battle, the remaining soldiers developed close bonds of loyalty and identity based on the obstacles they had overcome. In this way, 'Colombian-ness' developed primarily as an identity held by veteran soldiers who had taken part in patriotic endeavours.⁷ It was thus open to foreigners regardless of their ethnic or national origin.

After 1816, Bolívar appealed for foreign support, just as he renewed his efforts to bring in slaves and indigenous peoples for his cause. By doing so, he was recognising the failure of the first Venezuelan Republic's attempt to fight with an army of 'citizen soldiers', which had proved inflexible and singularly unsuited to fighting over an extended territory.⁸ The arrival of British and Irish soldiers and sailors to Colombia actually made questions of collective identity more pressing because, by their explicit and acknowledged 'foreign-ness', they served as a marker for what was now, in the transition from colony to republic, 'emotionally plausible and politically viable'.⁹

Simón Bolívar's figure casts its shadow over the auxiliary troops as it does over the Wars of Independence. Several volunteers stayed with him through to his death in 1830, and in many cases the volunteers' bond with Colombia was channelled exclusively through their relationship with Bolívar. As O'Leary wrote to Bolívar in 1829, 'your reputation seems so inextricably linked to the integrity of Colombia, that by attacking one, the other is mortally wounded'.¹⁰ In addition to their Colombian identity and Bolivarian loyalty, the volunteers were also conscious of their British or Irish identities while in Hispanic America. Indeed, just like Hispanic Americans such as Andrés Bello who travelled to

who achieved Independence were in fact colonisers of the indigenous population, and had not been colonised themselves).

⁷ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, p.517.

⁸ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, p.44.

⁹ For the concept of the nation as 'emotionally plausible and politically viable', see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp.51-2. For the respective historiographies on national identity formation in this period, see Foster, 'Remembering 1798', in Foster, *Telling Tales and Making It Up in Ireland*, (London, 2001), pp.212-30; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People*; Dunkerley, ed., *Studies in the Formation of the Nation-State in Latin America*.

¹⁰ O'Leary to Bolívar, 29th December 1829, Bogotá, FJB, AOL, Sección Manuel Antonio Matos, M21-A02-E1-C524.

Europe in the same period, these identities were strengthened in the emotional ‘vacuum’ of their faraway adventures.¹¹

As Borges indicated, local and regional identities were much more important for men in this period than any national loyalty: the *patria chica* of town, province, regiment or political grouping all held strong attractions. Both adventurers and their Hispanic American colleagues had multiple collective identities which were mapped in national terms (explored in this chapter), and in racial terms (Chapter 5). None of these identities was fixed or inevitable, and they were all negotiable and interlinked.¹² Talk of ‘nations’ in this period was not linked to any ‘proto-nationalism’, but rather to a vaguely defined and relatively apolitical body of people.¹³ Hispanic America is included only rarely in theoretical works on the birth of modern ‘nations’,¹⁴ but ideas about the ‘invented tradition’ and the ‘imagined community’ have been usefully applied to the study of the region in the nineteenth century. Both Hobsbawm and Anderson stressed the role of elites in conceptualising their ‘nations’, the first in a purposeful invention of traditions and symbols, the second as a more passive result of the creation of ‘print communities’ and the ‘pilgrimages’ of colonial officials.¹⁵ Endemic late colonial rebellions were also important in signalling new Creole national identities and in demonstrating how regional,

¹¹ Racine, ‘Nature and Mother’, p.6. Andrés Bello (b.1781 Caracas, d.1865 Santiago de Chile) began his career as the secretary of the Venezuelan delegation to London in 1810, alongside Luis López Méndez and Simón Bolívar.

¹² As Peter Wade has written, in Latin America the essential *ethnic* question is ‘Where are you from?’ Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, (London, 1997), p.18.

¹³ For an attempt to provide a pathway through the semantic minefield that is the history of the term ‘nation’, see John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol.1, (London, 2000), pp.xxvi-xxxviii.

¹⁴ In his most recent work, Smith allowed the region just one vague paragraph in an attempt to justify his neglect: ‘While it is arguable how far these [Latin American] revolts possessed a specifically nationalist dimension at the time, they undoubtedly acquired an increasingly fervent nationalism from the 1820s on, demonstrating once again the logic of national-democratic development and the power and utility of the nationalist blueprint’. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, (London, 2001), p.117.

¹⁵ Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, 1983); Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. Anderson’s work has been developed by Claudio Lomnitz, ‘Nationalism as a Practical System: Benedict Anderson’s Theory of Nationalism from the Vantage Point of Spanish America’, in Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves, *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory through the Lens of Latin America*, (Princeton, N.J., 2001), pp.329-49.

as opposed to proto-national, identities were being worked out in opposition to the policies of the Spanish Crown.¹⁶

Some historians have traced the birth of modern nations back to the political 'rupture' that occurred in the Spanish empire between 1808 and 1810.¹⁷ Others stress the continuity of colonial boundaries (of *audiencias*, Viceroyalties and Captaincy-Generals) and mentalities: that the growth of national consciousness was 'slow, its expression weak and its diffusion imperfect'.¹⁸ For Colombia a consensus has arisen which sees a nation debilitated by regional fragmentation, a nation that was born 'in spite of itself'.¹⁹ Because of mountains and slow river travel, neither a 'national economy' nor a national identity could develop in this period.²⁰ In comparison, Venezuela emerged as a more 'integrated' nation, based on its export economy orientated towards the Caribbean colonies. However, it is still arguable whether the llanos or Orinoco were part of a 'national market' or simply areas from which export goods were removed, seeing little if any benefit in return.²¹

Collective identities were subject to the unpredictable flux of war. The rupture in the colonial relationship with Spain and the spread of Enlightenment ideas of liberalism, virtue and republicanism, encouraged new ways of thinking about collective identities

¹⁶ Phelan, *The People and the King*; McFarlane, 'Civil Disorders and Popular Protests in late Colonial New Granada', *HAHR*, 64:1 (1984) pp.17-54.

¹⁷ Charles Minguet, 'El concepto de nación, pueblo, estado, patria en las generaciones de la independencia', in Jean-Rene Aymes, ed., *Récherches sur le Monde Hispanique au dix-neuvième siècle*, (Lille, 1973), pp.57-73.

¹⁸ Lynch, *Caudillos in Spanish America 1800-1850*, (Oxford, 1992), p.132. This position is outlined at length in David Brading, 'Nationalism and State-Building in Latin American History' in Posada-Carbó, ed., *Wars, Parties and Nationalism: Essays in the Political and Social Order of Nineteenth Century Latin America*, (London, 1998), pp.89-107.

¹⁹ Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia: A nation in spite of itself*, (Berkeley, Calif., 1993). See also McFarlane, *Colombia before Independence*, p.346; Safford and Palacios, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*, pp.102-10; Ots Capdequi, 'The Impact of the Wars of Independence', pp.111-98.

²⁰ These arguments are also used by historians of the Ecuadorian nation, as in Chiriboga, 'Las fuerzas del poder durante el proceso de la independencia y la Gran Colombia', pp.267-306.

²¹ Pino Iturriza, *Las ideas de los primeros venezolanos*, (Caracas, 1993); Lombardi, 'La invención de Venezuela en el marco mundial: el siglo de transición 1750-1850', *Boletín de la academia nacional de la historia*, 83:332 (2000), pp.8-31. On Venezuela's economy in this period, see Izard, 'Política y economía en Venezuela 1810-1976: Período de la independencia y la Gran Colombia 1810-30', in Izard, ed., *Política y economía en Venezuela 1810-1976*, (Caracas, 1976), pp.1-30; and McKinley, *Pre-Revolutionary Caracas*, pp.35-73.

which were increasingly based upon understandings of the franchise and a more secular state. As Simon Collier showed for the Independence of Chile, varied processes moulded the development of collective identities. This resulted from fractures in traditional political relations caused by the upheaval of military conflict and encounters between previously unconnected groups of people.²² 'National' identities formed only a small part of such changes.

Research into the development of a British national identity is useful when considering the national sentiments of the adventurers as they encountered this situation in Hispanic America. Colley argued that war against France in the eighteenth century provided the circumstances for the 'forging of the British nation'. France was a Catholic, foreign 'Other' against which Britain, its component parts brought together by the experience of war, could constitute and conceptualise itself.²³ Colley argued that only by understanding the processes and realities of this warfare could British national identity be comprehended. Thibaud revealed how the processes of the Wars of Independence in Colombia similarly influenced the evolution of new collective identities in the period up to 1821.²⁴ He explored how military leaders understood what it meant to be in opposition to Spanish rule, and henceforth how they came to define 'Colombia' according to the territories won on the battlefield.²⁵ Thus during the long years of war the allegiances and

²² Simon Collier, *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808-1833*, (Cambridge, 1967).

²³ Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, (New Haven, Conn., 1992). This is essentially the same argument adopted by Timothy Anna in *Forging Mexico, 1821-1835*, (Lincoln, Neb., 1998). Colley's thesis has since been criticised for confusing a 'patriot rhetoric of Britishness, forged or deployed in wartime, with a pervasive or persistence sense of Britishness as a primary or normative identity'. Laurence Brockliss, David Eastwood and Michael John, 'Conclusion', in Brockliss and Eastwood, eds., *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles c.1750-c.1850*, p.185. Developing Colley's thesis from a different direction, Stephen Conway, 'War and National Identity in the mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles', *English Historical Review*, 116:468, (September 2001), pp.863-93, has stressed that Britishness was not restricted to the British Isles. It was a wide-ranging identity which could be applied to, and adopted by, residents of transatlantic outposts of the empire.

²⁴ Thibaud built upon the work of Hermes Tovar, who stressed the importance of Pablo Morillo's 'military occupation' of the region in turning the population against the Spanish. But Tovar did not argue that this caused any stimulation of national identities, but rather that people became more anti-Loyalist, rather than 'more' Venezuelan, New Granadan or Colombian. Hermes Tovar Pinzón, 'Guerras de opinión y represión en Colombia durante la independencia 1810-1820', *Anuario colombiano de historia social y de la cultura*, 11 (1983) pp.187-232. A comparison could be made with Bolivia in the 1820s, as in Inge Buisson, 'El ejército libertador y la formación del estado boliviano, 1825-1828', in Buisson et al, eds., *Problemas de la formación*, pp.499-512.

²⁵ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, p.212, p.286, p.479.

identities of people in Colombia – national and otherwise – were in flux, continuously being defined and re-defined, ‘sometimes advancing, sometimes regressing, but never static’.²⁶

Throughout the eighteenth century the British Army was a ‘military melting pot’ that provided opportunities for soldiers to meet others from elsewhere in Britain and Ireland, and to re-define themselves against each other and against the enemy, producing a new and peculiar sense of ‘Britishness’.²⁷ Thibaud proposed that these processes also took place in Bolívar’s army, producing a new sense of ‘Colombian-ness’ throughout its ranks. Florencia Mallon argued that there is evidence for similar relations in 1880s Peru, where subaltern groups were actively involved in shaping definitions of national consciousness in Hispanic America.²⁸ However, Thibaud (in concordance with Eric Van Young’s work in *The Other Rebellion*) asserted that in the 1810s and 1820s lower-class groups were fighting for individual or local reasons, largely ephemeral to questions of national identity.

Bolívar’s conception of ‘Colombian-ness’ was deliberately wide and embracing, proclaiming in 1821 that ‘for us, everyone is Colombian, and even our invaders, if they wish, can be Colombians’.²⁹ He proposed a military melting pot out of which everyone would emerge as Colombians. ‘Everyone’ included the mercenaries serving in the

²⁶ John Elliott, ‘Introduction’, in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800*, (Princeton, N.J., 1987), p.13.

²⁷ Peter Way, ‘The cutting edge of culture: British soldiers encounter Native Americans in the French and Indian War’, in Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern, eds., *Empire and Others: British encounters with indigenous peoples, 1600-1850*, (London, 1999), pp.15-9; Conway, ‘War and National Identity in the mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles’, pp.863-93.

²⁸ Mallon, *The Defence of Community*, pp.81-8; articles by both Mallon and Bonilla in Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World in the Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries*, (London, 1987).

²⁹ Bolívar, in *Correo del Orinoco*, 19th May 1821. For Bolívar’s use of the Colombian state and national identity as a means of maintaining the war effort, see Brading, ‘Classical Republicanism and Creole Patriotism: Simon Bolívar (1783-1830) and the Spanish American Revolution’, in *Prophecy and Myth in Mexican History*, (Cambridge, 1984), p.50; Carrera Damas, ‘Simón Bolívar, el culto heroica y la nación’, *HAHR*, 63:1 (1983), p.117; Jorge Núñez S., ‘El Ecuador en Colombia’, in Ayala, *Nueva historia del Ecuador*, p.215. The most recent biography of Bolívar also sees his creation of Colombia in this light, although within the context of his ‘great political genius’; Polanco Alcántara, *Simón Bolívar*, pp.355-68. For an interpretation that saw Colombia as the means that enabled Bolívar’s desire for increased personal power, see Salvador de Madariaga, *Bolívar*, (London, 1952), p.594.

Colombian army, but their ‘Colombian-ness’ had to be complementary to the collective identities they brought with them across the Atlantic.

National Origins

The first section of this chapter provides statistical data as to the national and regional origins of the adventurers, in order to inform the subsequent discussion of these identities. The surviving documentation gives a national origin to 1,322 of the 3,013 named volunteers, either through the volunteer’s own testimony or that of an officer or colleague.³⁰

Figure 4.1: National Origin of Named Volunteers

National Identity	Number of Named Volunteers	Overall % of Named Volunteers
Irish	644	48.71
English	269	20.35
French	86	6.51
German/Hanoverian	81	6.13
Scottish	54	4.08
Spanish	41	3.10
North American	36	2.72
Italian	22	1.66
British colonies	18	1.36
Dutch	13	0.98
Welsh	9	0.68
Others	49	3.71
Total in this sample	1,322	100

From 3,013 volunteers, a provisional national origin was discovered for 1,322. Of the rest, 1,319 could only be tentatively labelled as ‘British or Irish’ (for example, when a Spanish language source called them *inglés*), and 372 defied any labelling at all. By using

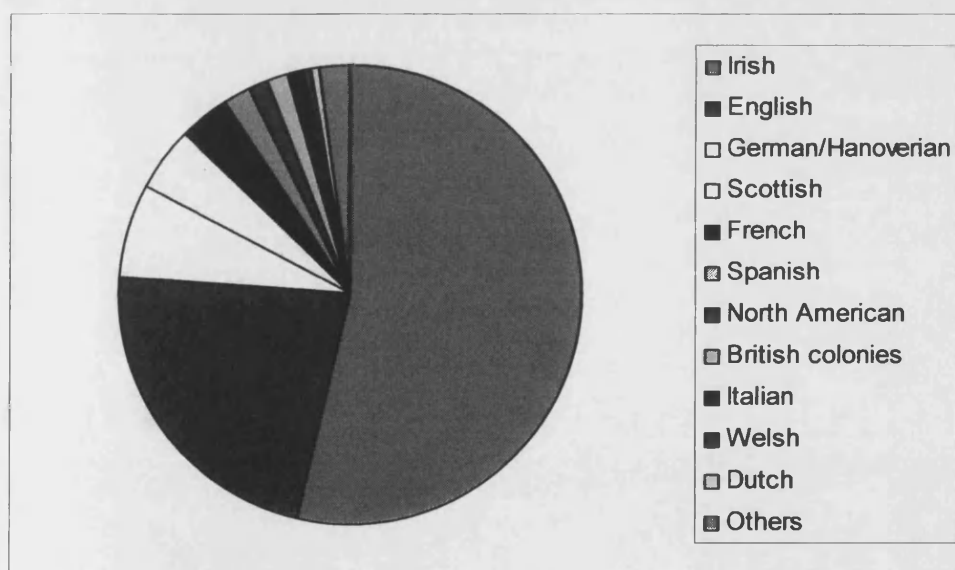
³⁰ The subsequent statistics are extracted from the database, compiled from primary and secondary sources listed in the bibliography. The forty-nine volunteers listed as ‘Others’ came from Poland, Haiti, ‘Africa’, Switzerland, Malta, Cuba, Brazil, Puerto Rico, Sweden, Portugal, Russia, Denmark and Norway. The number of ‘Spanish’ included in Figure 4.3 is something of a red-herring, and consists of men born in the Iberian Peninsula who joined the volunteer expeditions in London or the Caribbean and generally served in the Navy (rather than those who fought elsewhere in the Independent armies, an almost impossible distinction to make). As recent scholarship has made clear, the Wars of Independence were often as much about who was a Spaniard and who was not, and what such identities meant to different groups in Europe and the Americas. For these debates see McFarlane, ‘Identity, Enlightenment and Political Dissent’, pp.309-37.

the percentages gained from this analysis, an order of magnitude for the national origins of the 6,808 volunteers can be extrapolated:

Figure 4.2: National Origin of All Volunteers – Projected from Figure 4.1

National Origin	Number of Volunteers	Overall %
Irish	3,650	53.61
English	1,525	22.39
German/Hanoverian	459	6.74
Scottish	306	4.50
French	249	3.66
Spanish	119	1.74
North American	104	1.53
British colonies	102	1.50
Italian	64	0.94
Welsh	51	0.75
Dutch	38	0.55
Others	142	2.08
Total	6,808	100

Figure 4.3: Calculated National Background of All Volunteers on Database



There are various provisos to these figures. Firstly, the sources available tend to lean towards the British and Irish Legions at the expense of the legions raised by Gregor MacGregor. Taken in conjunction with the contemporary unwillingness of the Scottish or Welsh to define themselves as such (preferring to see themselves as British, English, or

North Britons), the involvement of such groups in the legions is probably underestimated by these figures.³¹ Secondly, the subsequent division of the unnamed volunteers has been slightly weighted towards Britain and Ireland. This reflects the likelihood that the men who remained anonymous were lower-ranked soldiers in the expeditions, the type of person most likely to have escaped documentation. Finally, the figure for the British colonies includes men who listed their place of birth either in Asia ('Calcutta', 'Bengal' and 'Asia') or in the British West Indian colonies ('Bermuda', 'Jamaica' and 'West Indies'). The presence of these men, albeit in a small minority, reveals that the volunteer expeditions were a very imperial site, where Asian and American networks met an intersection of British and Irish societies.³² Indeed, were Hanover, Ireland, Scotland and Wales included in this figure, a picture would emerge of volunteer expeditions overwhelmingly constituted from regions outside of Britain's historic core, England.

386 named volunteers provided details as to their county of origin, in addition to being 'English', 'Irish', 'Scottish', or another national origin. In the following section, these volunteers are used as a random sample with which to analyse collective identities within the expeditions. Figures 4.4 and 4.5 summarise this data.

³¹ See the essays collected in Brockliss and Eastwood, eds., *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles c. 1750-c. 1850*.

³² Soldiers giving their places of birth in Asia appear in the 'Descriptive Roll, Achaguas, 22nd December 1820', AHG G, Actas 1-6.

Map 7: The Present-day United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland



Figure 4.4: National Background of Random Selection of Volunteers

Country	Number of Volunteers
England	143
Ireland	225
Scotland	12
Wales	6
Total	386

Figure 4.5: National Background of Random Selection of Volunteers: %

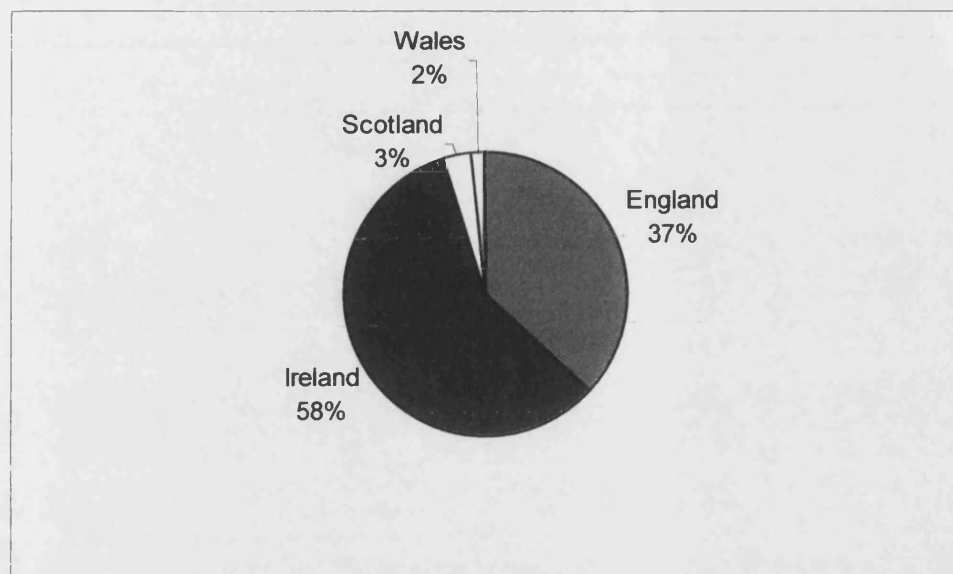
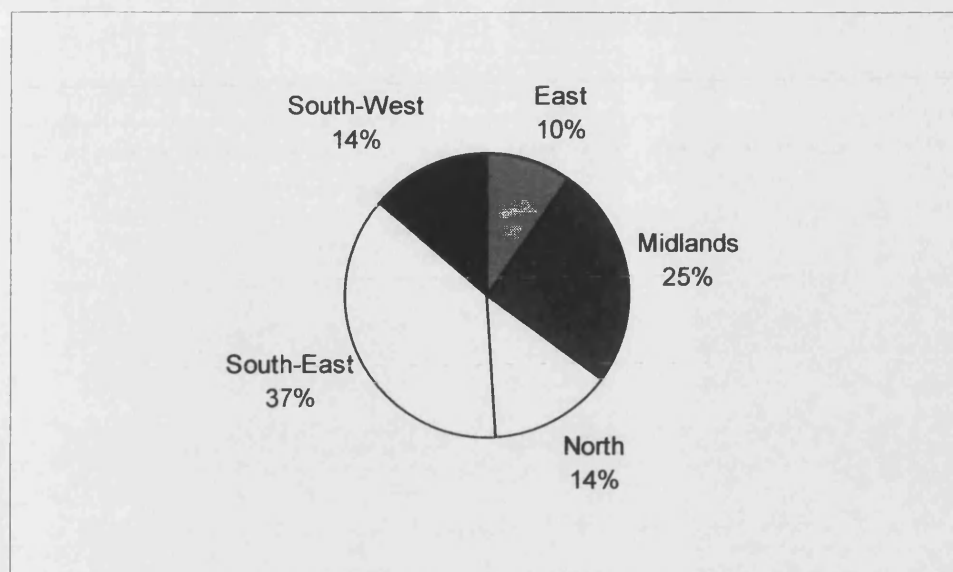


Figure 4.6: Background of Named Volunteers by County and Region: England

Region	County	No. Vols
East	Cambridgeshire	2
East	Norfolk	8
East	Suffolk	4
Midlands	Bedfordshire	1
Midlands	Berkshire	4
Midlands	Buckinghamshire	1
Midlands	Gloucestershire	4
Midlands	Hertfordshire	5
Midlands	Leicestershire	1
Midlands	Lincolnshire	4
Midlands	Northamptonshire	1
Midlands	Nottinghamshire	1
Midlands	Oxfordshire	2
Midlands	Shropshire	2
Midlands	Staffordshire	6
Midlands	Warwickshire	4
North	Cheshire	3
North	Cumberland	1
North	Durham	1
North	Lancashire	8
North	Northumberland	2
North	Yorkshire	5
South-East	Essex	9
South-East	Kent	11
South-East	London	8
South-East	Middlesex	19
South-East	Surrey	4
South-East	Sussex	2
South-West	Devon	5
South-West	Dorset	2
South-West	Hampshire	5
South-West	Isle of Wight	1
South-West	Somerset	4
South-West	Wiltshire	3
	Total England	143

Figure 4.7: Background of Volunteers from English Regions



These figures show that there was a wide cross-section of English society, with almost every county represented. The bias to the south is explained by the area's greater population, and the fact that most of the ships sailed from that area.

Figure 4.8: Background of Named Volunteers by County and Region: Ireland

Region	County	Number of Volunteers
Connaught	Galway	5
Connaught	Mayo	6
Connaught	Roscommon	1
Connaught	Sligo	7
Leinster	Carlow	1
Leinster	Dublin	51
Leinster	Kildare	4
Leinster	Kilkenny	2
Leinster	Leinster	2
Leinster	Longford	1
Leinster	Louth	5
Leinster	Meath	7
Leinster	Queens	1
Leinster	Westmeath	3
Leinster	Wexford	11
Leinster	Wicklow	3
Munster	Clare	3
Munster	Cork	32
Munster	Kerry	8
Munster	Limerick	8
Munster	Tipperary	9
Munster	Waterford	1
Ulster	Antrim	15
Ulster	Armagh	9
Ulster	Cavan	7
Ulster	Derry	3
Ulster	Donegal	2
Ulster	Down	12
Ulster	Fermanagh	1
Ulster	Monaghan	1
Ulster	Moyle	1
Ulster	Tyrone	3
	Total Ireland	225

Map 8: Regions of Ireland

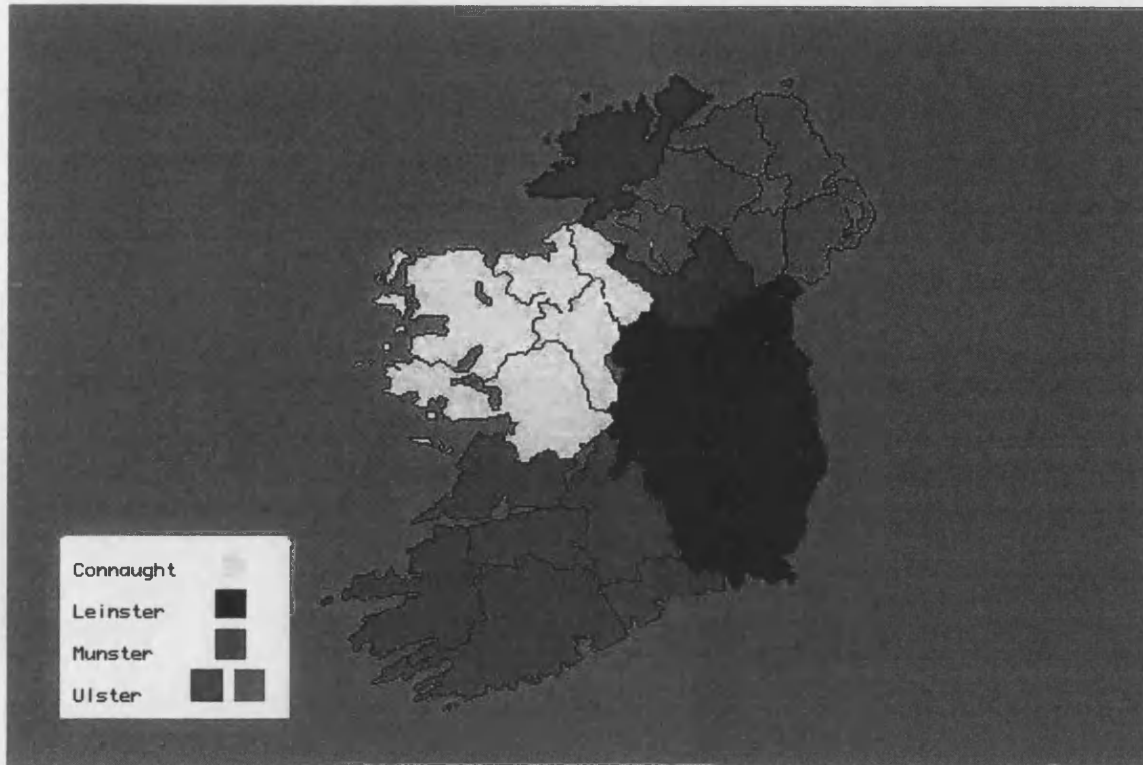
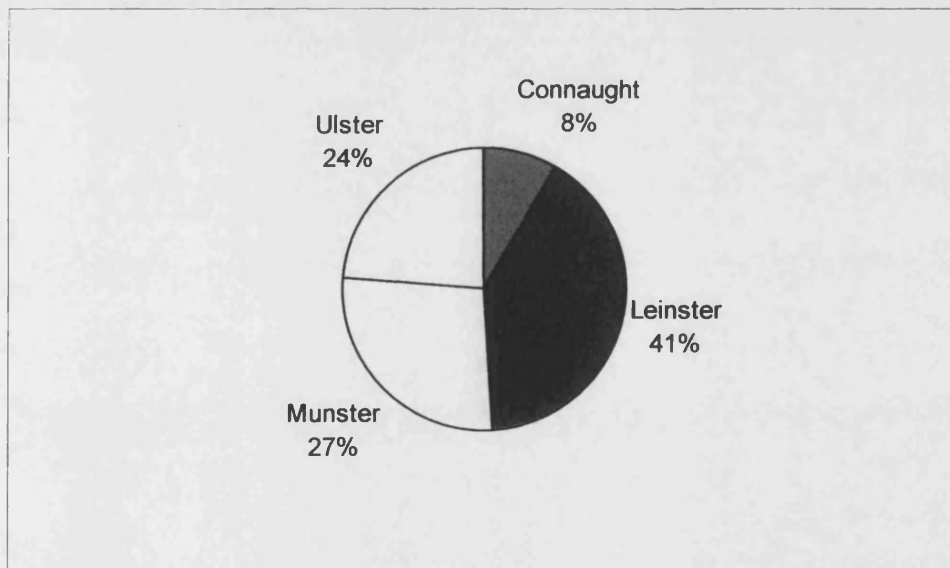


Figure 4.9: Background of Volunteers from Irish Regions



As in the case of England, the background of the Irish volunteers was weighted towards the principal city from whence the expeditions sailed. This aside, the four regions

generally shared the composition. North and South, East and West were represented, supporting the claim of one of the Legion's promoters, Charles Phillips, that this was a project which would unite Irishmen, 'where neither sect nor party are opposed; where every man in the country may clasp his brother by the hand'.³³

Figure 4.10: Background of Named Volunteers by County: Scotland

County	Number of Volunteers
Aberdeenshire	1
Forfar	1
Lanark	3
Midlothian	4
Perthshire	1
Renfrewshire	1
Stirlingshire	1
Total Scotland	12

Figure 4.11: Background of Named Volunteers by County: Wales

County	Number of Volunteers
Carmarthenshire	2
Denbighshire	2
Monmouth	1
Pembrokeshire	1
Total Wales	6

Most of this information has been compiled from forms completed in Achaguas, but very few of those enlisted in Gregor MacGregor's legions reached this town, so this sample of Scottish volunteers is probably unrepresentative. However, it does show that they came from all over Scotland. Similarly in Wales, volunteers came from across the country, although always from counties with a coastline.

Both in England and Ireland there was a tendency towards the recruitment of men living in or near the principal ports – London and Dublin. There was also a broad spread of men from across the regions. They came from predominantly rural areas as well as urban

³³ Charles Phillips, quoted in *Fairburn's edition of the speech of Chas. Phillips, Esq.*, p.4.

centres, and can be seen as a diverse and scattered selection of British and Irish men. The local distribution of volunteers can be assessed by taking the example of the most represented counties, and the places named by volunteers as their places of birth.

Figure 4.12: Home Town of Volunteers from Co. Cork

Town	Number of Volunteers
Cork	18
Ballygarvan	1
Bandon	4
Clonakilty	1
Gouganbarra	1
Kanturk	1
Macroom	1
Mallow	1
Not Clear	3
Youghal	1
Total	32

Figure 4.13: Home Town of Volunteers from Kent

Town	Number of Volunteers
Bonnington	1
Canterbury	4
Deal	1
Gravesend	1
Sevenoaks	1
Tunbridge	1
Wingham	1
Woolwich	1
Total	11

Figure 4.14: Home Town of Volunteers from Co. Down

Town	Number of Volunteers
Ardglass	1
Banbridge	2
Downpatrick	1
Down	2
Hilltown	1
Holywood	1
Loughinisland	1
Newry	1
Portaferry	1
Rathfriland	1
Total	12

In conclusion: the volunteer expeditions were recruited from a diverse cross-section of British and Irish societies. In Ireland, areas associated with both Catholics and Protestants were strongly represented, from which it can be inferred that Protestant men associated with the Ascendancy in both North and South were involved, as well as the poor Catholic labourer commonly associated with military service. In England, volunteers came from the industrialising North as well as the rural East and South-West. Scotland and Wales were also represented in proportion with their levels of population. The geographical distribution of the volunteers' origins in part explains why the expeditions adopted 'national' collective identities in order to unite their members in a sense of common endeavour. Ireland's over-representation is consistent with the high percentage of Irishmen serving in the British army in this period, but this is still the most noteworthy finding: the majority of adventurers came from Ireland.³⁴ The next section deals with each of the Legions in turn.

The British Legion

In addition to consisting of men from across Britain and Ireland, many of the officers of the British Legion were Anglo-Irishmen, including the leader (the euphemistically-named James Towers English). Perhaps this encouraged his dedication to emphasising the

³⁴ P. Karsten, 'Irish Soldiers in the British Army 1792-1922: Suborned or Subordinate?', *Journal of Social History*, 17 (1983-4) pp.36-54; David Fitzpatrick, "'A Peculiar Tramping People': The Irish in Britain 1801-1870', in W.E. Vaughn, ed., *A New History of Ireland*, Vol.1, *Ireland Under the Union 1801-1870*, (Oxford, 1989), p.614.

‘British’ nature of the expedition at key moments, such as when they embarked upon campaign. Addressing himself to the ‘Soldiers of the British Legion’, English proclaimed:

The long expected Moment has arrived. You are about to Embark, to fight in support of that glorious cause for which you have engaged yourselves; Remember you are Britons, Remember the Eyes of your Country are fixed upon you, and wish for your Success. That Success is certain, if you cheerfully obey the Commands of your superiors, only observe strict discipline and unanimity and your national valor [sic] will overcome every obstacle. You are already Hail’d by those brave and suffering People the Liberators of their long oppressed Country. They are prepared to open their arms to receive you: all that Tyranny and Oppression have left them (Their Country), the Richest and most fertile in the world, they offer to share with you.³⁵

To conclude his speech, English recognised the heterogeneous nature of his British Legion, men whom he felt to be united by shared bonds of national honour, avarice and alcohol:

I trust you will ere long return to your Native Countrys [sic] covered with Honour and abounding in Riches. I have with difficulty been able to procur [sic] for you, a small sum as a gratuity to drink success to the British Legion during their operations on the Main.³⁶

When in Venezuela, English continued to stress the British nature of his enterprise, which he saw as continuing the struggle against despotism that they had fought in Spain (regardless of the fact that neither he nor very many of his men had actually been in Spain, as shown in Chapter 1).³⁷ English saw his troops’ British identity as key to their role in the ongoing conflict between liberty and despotism, just as Francisco de Miranda had tried to argue a decade previously.³⁸ The Independent *General Arismendi* echoed this, declaring that ‘born freemen, you detested tyranny and tyrants alike’.³⁹ In this way, the continual preoccupations of officers for their honour were reconciled with their need to feel patriotically British while serving in the forces of another state. Fighting against

³⁵ James Towers English, ‘Speech to the Soldiers of the British Legion on the eve of embarkation’, English Papers, HA157/6/33.

³⁶ James Towers English, ‘Speech to the Soldiers of the British Legion’.

³⁷ James Towers English, ‘The Reply of the British Officers and Soldiers of the Independent Army of Venezuela to General Morillo’, in English Papers, HA157/6/34; also in *The Times*, 24th April 1819; *Correo del Orinoco*, 27th November, 1819.

³⁸ Francisco de Miranda (b.1750 Caracas, d.1816 Cadíz, Spain) was the principal instigator of schemes for the Independence of Venezuela until his capture by Loyalists in 1812. He died in jail. For Miranda’s comment, see William Burke, *Additional Reasons for our immediately emancipating Spanish America*, (London, 1808), p.37.

³⁹ Arismendi, ‘Proclamation to the British Legion’, reproduced in *Colombia: Being a Geographical, Statistical, Agricultural, Commercial and Political Account of that Country*, Vol.2, pp.436-8.

tyranny was therefore deemed to be honourable, no matter where in the world.⁴⁰ In the words of Mary English, presenting the British Legion with its colours at a ceremony at Pampatar, 'you are employed in a glorious cause, the cause congenial to the hearts of Britons, the support of Liberty and Independence against Tyranny and Oppression'.⁴¹

General English was keen to stress that his men would rival any unit from the British Army. In a diary extract published in Dublin, English wrote that he had embarked for Barcelona (on the Venezuelan coast) with 'one thousand British troops attached to me with feelings of ardour and respect that might have raised the envy of any General in the British service'.⁴² At the head of such men, English hoped that he could 'die an honourable death with the hope of victory, [rather] than run an ignominious certainty of destruction by starvation and disease'.⁴³

The other principal organiser of the British Legion, *Coronel* George Elsom, defined Britishness in terms of the manly feats of his men in Venezuela. He emphasised their great physical achievements, marvelling that

mountains have been marched over, of which the summits joined the clouds; rivers and torrents have been crossed; savannahs and forests have been penetrated which before had been considered impenetrable by man; in truth they have accomplished a task so truly gigantic, as to astonish every native who is acquainted with the country they have succeeded in traversing ... [it] will be a tale of glory for every person who has had the honour of being concerned in it.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Edward Costello wrote expansively on this theme, having served in the British Legion during the Carlist Wars in Spain in the 1830s. Costello, *The Adventures of a Soldier; Or, Memoirs of Edward Costello, formerly a non-commissioned officer in the Rifle Brigade, and late captain in the British Legion, comprising narratives of the campaigns in the Peninsular under the Duke of Wellington, and the recent civil wars in Spain*, (London, 1841), p.320: 'I am aware that some military men fancy a man cannot fight unless he has his country's cause at heart, that is their ideas being the only thing capable of arousing his martial ardour; but I beg most humbly to differ from those gentlemen, and to tell them, that when a British subject is put into uniform and placed in the ranks, with a firelock in his hands, before an enemy, he requires no stimulant nor patriotic impulse to urge him in attacking those opposed to him; neither can I see why a British subject should be ridiculed or prevented from 'earning an honest livelihood'; nor why, if he prefers being knocked on the head in serving a Foreign Power, he should be termed a mercenary and a murderer, as has been the case with the Legion'.

⁴¹ Mary English's speech was reported in an anonymous letter [probably from her correspondent Richard Jaffray], *London Weekly Dispatch*, 4th July 1819, reproduced in Scott, *Mary English*, p.69.

⁴² 'Copy of a Journal of General English from his arrival in the Island of Margarita to his return from the expedition to Barcelona and Cumaná', in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 12th May 1820.

⁴³ 'Copy of a Journal of General English' *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 17th May 1820.

⁴⁴ Letter from Elsom, undated and unaddressed, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 2nd November 1819. One of the other *coroneles*, Gustavus Hippisley, repeatedly referred to himself and his men as British in his *Narrative of the Expedition*, for example p.226; his son, Gustavus Butler Hippisley, in both his *The Siege of*

With the arrival of the first contingents of the Irish Legion to Venezuela in early 1820, there was increasing differentiation between British and Irish, as indicated by the horseracing competitions held in Angostura. An influential commentator compared English's 'well-disciplined and seasoned troops, inured to fatigue and danger of every description' with Devereux's 'confused, heterogeneous mass, varying from the peasant fresh from the plough share, to the artisan, whose close, sedentary occupation rendered him sickly, and altogether unfit for the active duty of a soldier'.⁴⁵ A detailed examination of the Irish Legion is therefore necessary to ascertain whether this was fact or prejudice, and to examine the ways that the British and Irish Legions came to define themselves, not only with respect to Hispanic Americans or the Spanish, but also with respect to each other.

The Irish Legion

The Irish Legion was recruited in Dublin, Cork and Belfast between 1819 and early 1820 and, although many were involved, it is most associated with one man: John Devereux. In contrast to the British Legion, whose 'national identity' was found in the rhetoric of its leaders and the relative silence of its component parts, there is a wealth of material proudly proclaiming the Irishness of the Irish Legion.

Firstly, there is the figure of Devereux himself. Contemporaries claimed that he was exiled from Ireland after the 1798 rebellion, although surviving archival documents in Ireland indicate that if he was involved, he was probably either a young sympathiser of negligible importance, or escaped detection entirely.⁴⁶ A speech, at a farewell dinner

Barcelona, a Poem in Three Cantos, (London, 1842), and *Hours of Idleness* (London, undated) later mused on noble, heroic Britishness. The latter is a self-indulgent book of sub-Keatsian poetry on national stereotypes 'the tight-fisted Thistle', the 'drunken Shamrock', and the 'sweet and blushing rose'.

⁴⁵ [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, p.174.

⁴⁶ He is not mentioned in any history of the United Irishmen, the most prominent of which is Thomas Pakenham, *The Year of Liberty: The Story of the Great Irish Rebellion of 1798*, (London, 1997 edn., 1st edn. 1969). For an example of talk of Devereux's United Irish heritage, see John Hambleton, *Diario del Viaje por el Orinoco*, p.63. Dr Samuel Forsyth had told Hambleton that Devereux was 'well-known in the United States' for his part in the events of 1798. His relation, John Corish Devereux, was already in the US by 1798, in correspondence with another family member from Wexford, Walter Corish Devereux. See Kerby Miller, Arnold Schrier, Bruce D. Boiling and David N. Doyle, eds., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815*, (Oxford, 2003),

organised by Devereux in 1819, by the ‘celebrated orator’ Charles Phillips, played on the theme of the Irish Legion being the production of ‘the electric communication’ of Irishmen united.⁴⁷ Phillips contrasted British neutrality in the Spanish American conflict, with Ireland ‘giving an armed legion of her chosen youth’ in response to ‘Montezuma’s spirit ... call[ing] you for vengeance’. Inspired by ‘the graves of your brave countrymen, trampled by tyranny, ... [who] died for freedom and are clamorous of Revenge’, Phillips exhorted Irishmen to ‘Go! Plant the banner of green on the summit of the Andes. If you should triumph, the consummation will be liberty; and in such a contest should you even perish, it will be as martyrs perish – in the blaze of your own glory. Yes, you shall sink, like the Sun of the Peruvians, who you seek to liberate, amid the worship of a people, and the tears of a world; and you will rise reanimate, refulgent, and immortal’.⁴⁸

Devereux acted in full accordance with Phillips’ call. His green flag had an Irish harp emblazoned upon it, as did the ceremonial stamp he carried with him.⁴⁹ He ordered a sword to be forged, and later presented it to Simón Bolívar, decorated with harps and imitation Celtic script.⁵⁰ Devereux’s Legion thus had a starkly different identity to its British counterpart. Daniel O’Connell was a sympathetic supporter of the expedition and he told Devereux that he hoped the Legion would ‘give glory to Ireland’.⁵¹ As such, the Irish Legion drew on the eighteenth-century growth in Irish Catholic consciousness identified by Thomas Bartlett but, because it was an expedition designed to operate outside of the confines of British imperialism, it could also openly include men of all religious and political affiliations. Indeed, several of the officers were Protestants, for example William Lyster and William Aylmer.⁵² Whilst the Irish Legion was not wholly Catholic, neither can it be conclusively linked to the radical politics of the 1798 rebellion

pp.39–44. The ‘Memorial of John Devereux’, dated Wexford, 1802, may well be John Devereux the adventurer. NAI, Rebellion Papers, 620/61/82.

⁴⁷ Fairburn’s edition of the speech of Chas. Phillips, p.4.

⁴⁸ Fairburn’s edition of the speech of Chas. Phillips, p.6.

⁴⁹ The flag was planted on the fort of Riohacha in 1820. O’Connor, *Independencia Americana*, p.28.

⁵⁰ In 2001, this sword was being kept underneath the Director’s desk in the Museo Bolivariano in Caracas.

⁵¹ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.208, p.231; *Correo del Orinoco*, 2nd October 1819.

⁵² Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.35, p.421; Richard John Aylmer, ‘The Imperial Service of William Aylmer 1800–1814’, *Irish Sword*, 20:81 (Summer 1997), pp.208–16.

of the United Irishmen. Attempts to cross-reference the names of volunteers with those of United Irishmen prisoners do not convince.⁵³

Military service played an important role in strengthening and diffusing Irish national and regional identities, and experience gained in the British or Spanish empires could make them feel more (or less) Irish, depending on the circumstances of their service.⁵⁴ The heir to various political and military traditions, the Irish Legion should be seen in this light, providing an opportunity and outlet for individuals to seek adventure abroad, largely regardless of creed or political ideology.

Yet behind its leaders' rhetoric and symbolism, was there anything peculiarly Irish about the Irish Legion? Certainly, in terms of its composition, it does appear that it was almost entirely formed from men born on the island of Ireland – in stark contrast to the British Legion, which incorporated men born in England, Ireland, Scotland and continental Europe. Nevertheless, the Union between Britain and Ireland was still at an early stage. Identities were not fixed. Irish Catholics were generally loyal to the Crown and Irish and British identities were complementary rather than antagonistic. Even Canning's secretary at the Foreign Office had to be reminded from time to time. In the first draft of his letter accompanying the first British commissioners to Colombia in 1823 (over twenty years after the Union), he began: 'His Majesty the King of Great Britain having determined to

⁵³ Beyond Devereux and Thomas Jackson, several members of the Irish Legion were connected to the United Irishmen through personal or family linkages, for example, O'Connor, Lawless, McNally, and Aylmer. Aylmer, 'The Imperial Service of William Aylmer 1800-1814', pp.208-16. From references in his *Autobiographical Segment*, John MacGregor Papers, NAS, GD 50/184/104, it seems likely that Gregor MacGregor was also involved with exiles in Scotland in the early 1800s. However, such evidence is generally circumstantial. The collection of 'Prisoners' Petitions and Cases 1791-1826, Official Papers, Registered Papers', held in the NAI, contains 386 named United Irishmen. 33 have the same first name and surname as a volunteer who travelled to Venezuela, but due to similar reservations about this method expressed earlier, it would be extremely hazardous to argue that any more than 1-2% of United Irishmen did drift from imprisonment, to the British Army (or a life of crime or other employment) and then into the volunteer expeditions.

⁵⁴ See for example, Karsten, 'Irish Soldiers in the British Army 1792-1922', pp.31-64; Terence Denman, 'Ethnic Soldiers Pure and Simple? The Irish in the late Victorian British Army', *War in History*, 3:3 (1996), pp.253-73; Jeffrey, 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire', in Jeffrey, ed., *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, (Cambridge, 1996), pp.94-118; Ian McBride, *Scripture Politics: Ulster Presbyterians and Irish Radicalism in the late Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1998), pp.214-30; Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland and the Empire', in Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol.3, (Oxford, 1999), pp.494-521.

take measures' A second draft amended this to 'His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having determined to take measures ...'⁵⁵

Gregor MacGregor's Legions

In contrast to the strong Irish identity of the Irish Legion, there was very little Scottishness about the legions raised by Gregor MacGregor. Recent work on military recruiting in Scotland has stressed factors other than Scottish identity in persuading men to sign up for military service in the early nineteenth century.⁵⁶ Seeing Scotland as essentially content with its status within the union with England in this period, with many Scots regarding themselves as 'North Britons', historians have explained recruitment into the British Army in terms of socio-economic factors and local or regimental loyalties.⁵⁷ Indeed MacGregor's expeditions were often perceived as being made up of 'nation-less' men.⁵⁸ This was perhaps because they operated almost entirely in the Caribbean Sea and coastline, rather than in the Colombian interior, and thereby recruited reinforcements from the mobile community of Caribbean soldiers and sailors during visits to Jamaica, Haiti and other islands. It was also because MacGregor himself made no attempt to apportion a collective identity to his men, situating their actions instead within the transatlantic struggle for liberty and Independence, regardless of national origin.⁵⁹

A look at the members of MacGregor's expedition who were executed by Loyalists at Riohacha in 1819 reflects its overall composition. Out of fifty-six people named, the grim list revealed a predominantly Catholic expedition with just two Protestants. Two were said to come from Germany, and two from England. Twenty-seven came from Ireland, and twenty from Scotland. Like the British Legion, MacGregor's legions were not

⁵⁵ Canning to the Secretary of the Government of Colombia, undated, October 1823, PRO FO 80/1 f.1.

⁵⁶ Janet Fyfe, 'Scottish Volunteers with Garibaldi', *Scottish Historical Review*, 57 (1978), pp.168-96; Andrew McKillop, 'Military Recruiting in the Scottish Highlands, 1739-1815: The Political, Social and Economic Context', Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Glasgow, 1995. See also Matthew Brown, 'Scots in South America', in Iain McPhail and Karly Kehoe, ed., *A Panorama of Scottish History: Contemporary Perspectives*, (Glasgow, 2004).

⁵⁷ For more detail on MacGregor, see Matthew Brown, 'Inca, Sailor, Soldier, King'.

⁵⁸ See for example the Proclamation of Luis Aury, undated, reproduced in *Correo del Orinoco*, 7th February 1819, and editorial comments in *Correo del Orinoco*, 27th March 1819, and Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*, p.145.

⁵⁹ For more detail on this mobile 'nation-less' group, see my unpublished paper 'Atlantic Networks of Mercenaries and the Arms Trade'.

‘nationally homogenous’ – they contained members from all parts of the new Union. Yet MacGregor did not apply the term British to his legions, perhaps because of their distinct Catholicism. In contrast to the Protestant Anglo-Irishman James Towers English, MacGregor was Catholic himself, proud of his uncle who had been involved in the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, and married to a Catholic Venezuelan, a cousin of Simón Bolívar.⁶⁰

It may be understandable that MacGregor did not consciously describe his expeditions as British. It is less so as to why he avoided any mention of Scotland. In fact during the wars very few of the volunteers in Gran Colombia were positively identified in any text as Scottish.⁶¹ Lower-class volunteers like Alexander Alexander even sought to downplay their Scottish birth. Alexander ridiculed the stereotypes of colonial Scots, ‘the [s]tingy Kotchman’ described to him by slaves in the West Indian islands. Another Scottish volunteer, who reported MacGregor’s capture of Amelia Island in 1820, was even more explicit, writing that ‘to the dishonour of our national character, abroad our countrymen have none of that sympathy so distinguishable in the people of other nations; we are in fact denationalised’.⁶²

Men like Alexander made no effort to challenge the social convention that allowed them to pass as *inglés*, on some occasions in order to avoid prevalent stereotypes about Scots. Some referred to themselves as ‘North Britons’, as was the case for John Thompson of Glasgow, Walter Hardy of Leith, and Andrew Johnson of Edinburgh.⁶³ Pride in one’s Scottish identity in Hispanic America in this period was an elite characteristic. Certainly MacGregor did not feel that Scottish national identity was sufficiently established for him to be able to recruit volunteers by playing on it, as John Devereux did in Ireland. Instead,

⁶⁰ Gregor MacGregor, *Autobiographical Segment*, John MacGregor Papers, NAS, GD 50/184/104, p.1.

⁶¹ For a list of their names, see Matthew Brown, ‘Scots in South America’. MacGregor himself was consistently described as Scottish by Colombians, Arends, *Sir Gregor MacGregor*, pp.26-9, p.40. Friede, ed., *Diario del Viaje*, p.61; *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, pp.285-7, Vol.2, p.112, p.244.

⁶² [Anon], *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the ship ‘Two Friends’*, p.51.

⁶³ ‘Descriptive Roll of the B.L, Achaguas 20th December 1820’, AHG G, Actas 1-6. On the prevalence of ideas of ‘North Britishness’, see Colin Kidd, ‘Sentiment, race and revival: Scottish identities in the aftermath of Enlightenment’, in Brockliss and Eastwood, eds., *A Union of Multiple Identities*, pp.117-23.

in his recruitment, Gregor MacGregor offered land and freedom, selling potential soldiers and colonists the vision of a better life in the New World.⁶⁴

There is one surviving document, however, that does cast doubt on this interpretation. According to a petition of some of the officers who were captured by Loyalists after MacGregor's defeat at Riohacha, they were motivated to a degree by specifically Scottish factors. When interviewed by their captors, they claimed that when MacGregor recruited them he made repeated reference to the Darién enterprise of the late seventeenth century, claiming that 'one of his ancestors was the chief of the said company', who had 'married the daughter of the then Inca of the said Isthmus, at whose marriage the aforesaid territory was ceded to the ancestor of MacGregor, by the said Inca, and that upon this ground he founds his claim to the title and the territory of the Inca of the Isthmus of Darien'.⁶⁵ They claimed that MacGregor's aim was the 're-establishment of the Scotch Darien Company', and that he intended to commence work on the construction of a canal at Panama, which 'induced many of them to risk their lives and properties in an affaire [sic] in which Honour and fortune seemed to go hand in hand, [to] colonise the bay of Caledonia'.⁶⁶

MacGregor did not recruit men by appealing to their Scottish identity, as Devereux did for the Irish; but like Devereux, MacGregor recruited families of colonists as much as soldiers. At least twenty named women accompanied MacGregor's expeditions. In 1820 he turned his attention to the apparently more straightforward plans for the colonisation of the Mosquito Coast. Like Devereux's men, MacGregor's put great importance on the fulfilment of what they had been offered – pay, land and food. Whilst all the Legions attracted potential emigrants encouraged by such 'New World' propaganda, MacGregor's case was unique in that he did not attach this to rhetoric of any national or regional

⁶⁴ See G. A. Low, *The Belise Merchants Unmasked: A Review of their late proceedings against Poyais; from information and authentic documents gained on the spot, during a visit to those parts in the months of August and September 1822*, (London, 1822), p.2; MacGregor, 'Autobiographical Segment', p.18.

⁶⁵ 'Petition of Officials held Prisoner', to Governor Solís, October 1819, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745. Original in English, reproduced with some transcription errors in Friede, 'La expedición de Mac-Gregor', p.74.

⁶⁶ 'Petition of Officials held Prisoner'. This sad letter ended with a request to be allowed to join the Loyalist army, whose soldiers took charge of the execution of all of the fourteen signatories just days later.

identity, as the British and Irish Legions did.⁶⁷ His expeditions therefore occupied an ambiguous place with regard to the way that Hispanic Americans viewed foreign intervention in their Wars of Independence.

The Hanoverian Legion

The Hanoverian Legion was integrated and incorporated within the British Legion, exemplifying the way that contrasting cultural and, in this case, linguistic identities could be complementary within a wider context. While George IV, the elector of Hanover, was still on the British throne, Hanoverian soldiers had served in distinct regiments of the British Army in the American Wars of Independence and the Napoleonic wars.⁶⁸ When demobilised, they faced similar dilemmas to other veteran troops in London and Dublin, and many enlisted in the Hanoverian Legion to fight in Hispanic America. However, among their numbers they counted men describing themselves as Poles, Englishmen, Irishmen and Prussians. The most famous of their number, *General* Juan (Johannes) Uslar, settled in Venezuela and his descendents became an important part of the country's intellectual community.⁶⁹

During the Wars of Independence, the Hanoverian Legion gained the reputation of being the best-behaved, most disciplined group of foreign soldiers. Their loyalty was contrasted

⁶⁷ For this reason, sectors of the Irish press were able to contrast MacGregor unfavourably with Devereux and especially Bolívar, whom they saw as 'no adventurer – he is a native of the Country, a man of vast fortune, of expanded mind, of high honour, of noble disposition, of great public and private virtue'. *Freeman's Journal*, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 6th July 1819.

⁶⁸ Holmes, *Redcoat*, p.59; Brumwell, *Redcoats*, p.97.

⁶⁹ Johannes Uslar-Gleichen (b.1779 Lockum, Hanover, d.1866 Valencia) was sometimes referred to as Baron von Uessler, more commonly as Juan Uslar. He was a Protestant who later converted to Catholicism. He served in the British Army, including at the battle of Talavera, the assault on Badajoz, and the battle of Waterloo. In 1823 he married María de los Dolores Hernández. After the Wars of Independence he settled on his plantation 'Alto Uslar' outside Valencia, and in subsequent decades was repeatedly called to occupy military positions. Vicente de Amezaga, 'Juan Uslar', *Boletín histórico*, 11 (May 1966) pp.117-45. See also Juan Uslar Pietri, *Historia de la rebelión popular de 1814, contribución de la historia de Venezuela*, (Caracas, 1962), p.200. The standard text on the German volunteers is Gunter Kahle, *Bolívar y los alemanes*, (Bonn, 1980). See also Karl Richard, *Cartas de la Gran Colombia dirigidas a sus amigos por un oficial de Hanover, escritos en el año 1820*, (Bogotá, 1983). On the volunteers from other European countries, see María Wielopolska, 'Polacos de la Independencia de Venezuela', *Revista de la Sociedad Bolivariana de Venezuela*, 331:103 (October 1974), pp.69-74; Elías Ortiz, *Franceses en la independencia de la Gran Colombia*, (Bogotá, 1949); Russell H. Bartley, *Imperial Russia and the Struggle for Latin American Independence 1808-1828*, (Austin, Texas, 1978); and references throughout Filippi, ed., *Bolívar y Europa*.

with the ‘extraordinary indiscipline’ of the British Legion troops at Barcelona in 1819, and with the rebellion of the Irish Legion at Riohacha in 1820.⁷⁰ Frustrated by lack of pay, and drunk on plundered rum, British officers and soldiers alike had ransacked shops and houses in Barcelona, ignoring orders to remain in their barracks outside the town.⁷¹ The high levels of drunkenness caused one volunteer officer to note that the next morning, both officers and men struggled to remember where they had buried their loot.⁷² Another summed up the events with pithy brevity: ‘Barcelona had fallen, and after being plundered of everything, was evacuated, not being found tenable, and being very sticky’.⁷³ During these events, the Hanoverians were reputed to have remained aloof from the rioting, standing firm in their barracks while chaos reigned around them, and eventually being instrumental in restoring order.⁷⁴ In addition to this loyalty, the Hanoverians have been remembered because of the influential descendents they left in Venezuela, many of whom were high-ranking officers like Uslar.⁷⁵ In contrast, the Welsh volunteers, who similarly fitted into the British Legion, left very little record of their contribution. The Welsh only rarely asserted any difference of identity from the British, were relatively few in number, and were predominantly private soldiers or non-commissioned officers.⁷⁶

Complementary Identities

In Margarita in late 1819, Morgan O’Connell described a banquet organised for the officers of the Irish Legion on their arrival. He managed to recall some of the toasts at the end of the evening:

⁷⁰ Mosquera, *Memoria sobre la vida de Simón Bolívar*, p.276. See also *Correo del Orinoco*, 24th April 1819, 5th August 1820.

⁷¹ Urdaneta, *Memorias del general Rafael Urdaneta*, p.230.

⁷² [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, p.77.

⁷³ Young, ‘Diary of Robert James Young’, p.53.

⁷⁴ Urdaneta, *Memorias del general Rafael Urdaneta*, p.230.

⁷⁵ See also José Angel Rodríguez, ‘Viajeros alemanes a Venezuela en el siglo XIX’, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, 2001, pp.234–41.

⁷⁶ The very few references to Welsh soldiers came only from documents where soldiers had to name their place of birth, for example the ‘Descriptive Roll of the B.L 20th December 1820, Achaguas’, AHG G, Actas 1-6. This listed Gabriel Burgess from Wrexham, William Davis from Pembroke, David Jones and William Anthony from Carmarthenshire, James Martin from Monmouth, John Williams from Wrexham. In addition, two naval volunteers listed their national origin as *Galés* (Welsh) while serving on ‘La Venezuela’ in 1824. For Raymond and Roland Morris, see AGNC R GYM, Vol.363, ff.850-936. For the relation of Wales to England in this period, see Prys Morgan, ‘Early Victorian Wales and its crisis of identity’, in Brockliss and Eastwood, eds., *A Union of Multiple Identities*, pp.95-100.

To The President (3 times),
To Brion, D'Evereux, and the foreign volunteers,
To Arismendi,
To long-lasting friendship between Ireland, England and Colombia,
To Daniel O'Connell.⁷⁷

The variety of the toasts show that the Irish Legion here, in a Hispanic American context, was not conceived of, or presented as, an anti-British enterprise. The celebration of St. Patrick's Day, 1820, also shows that the Irish Legion was not such a 'nationalistic' Irish exercise as portrayed in some of the rhetoric of recruitment. The Irish Legion's band in Riohacha played not just 'St. Patrick's Day', but also 'Rule Britannia' and 'God Save the King'.⁷⁸ O'Leary described the British and Irish Legions as 'twin sisters ... which provided worthy servants for America and for freedom'.⁷⁹

Even as late as 1840 many Catholics in Ireland were content to see themselves as West Britons.⁸⁰ There was no predetermined or inevitable split between Britishness and Irishness, and the volunteer expeditions provide an excellent and unique example of the way that the two collective identities co-existed. Nevertheless, the British and Irish Legions were often compared and contrasted as a means to asserting one or other identity.⁸¹ This first happened in the wake of the rebellion of the Irish Legion at Riohacha in May 1820, when several hundred Irishmen refused to continue in the Independent service, and were transported to Jamaica. When news of the indiscipline and mutiny of Irish troops at Riohacha was made known to the British Legion, the officers and men fired off a joint letter to Santander. They expressed the indignation they felt 'on hearing news of the black proceedings of the Irish Legion'. They felt that 'abandoning the cause of Independence' was 'an embarrassing flaw for a European soldier'. They disassociated themselves from 'these mutineers' who had committed a 'sin' which meant they would

⁷⁷ Morgan O'Connell to Daniel O'Connell, reproduced in *Carrick's Morning Post*, 23rd August 1820 and 27th August, 1820.

⁷⁸ Letter from Robert Parsons dated 15th March, 1820, Riohacha, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 6th July, 1820.

⁷⁹ O'Leary, *Correspondencia de extranjeros notables con el Libertador*, Vol.1, (Caracas, 1920), p.1.

⁸⁰ Connolly, 'Varieties of Britishness: Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the Hanoverian state', in Grant and Stringer, eds., *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, (London, 1995), pp.193-208.

⁸¹ C.S. Cochrane saw the British and Irish as 'two distinct legions' which joined together at Carabobo in glorious unity. Cochrane, *Journal*, pp.463-5.

‘carry with them the double ignominy of having disgusted their Compatriots as well as those they were supposed to be fighting for’.⁸²

The contrast was made clearly between honourable *ingleses* and disloyal Irishmen.⁸³

Alexander described the Irish as ‘entirely void of principle, [who] gloried in their wickedness’.⁸⁴ When travelling in the Caribbean in the latter part of 1821, Alexander noted that the inhabitants of the islands were reluctant to deal with him or even talk to him, until they were sure that he had not formed part of the cowardly, mutinous and despicable Irish Legion. Clearly, this reputation had preceded them.⁸⁵

Constructing a collective identity

One way of elaborating these ideas of Irish identity to complement notions of Britishness was through constructions of masculinity. The central plank of Irish masculinity was held to be courage, which William Aylmer described as ‘but the common virtue of every Irishman’.⁸⁶ Those volunteers who returned home without seeing active military combat were portrayed by their detractors as lacking this Irish manly endurance. They were described as

those feather-bed soldiers, who sought to arrive at the summit of honour and fortune, without any of the difficulties which necessarily accompany such a warfare, [and] finding the path difficult and arduous, returned, amid hardship and beggary, to their native soil, without being able duly to appreciate those exertions, or compass those rewards which were in store for the persevering. [They had deserted] the cause of liberty [because of] difficulties and dangers of which they had not sufficient courage to withstand.⁸⁷

An editorial in the *Dublin Evening Post* called this ‘honour and manly perseverance in the Cause of Patriotism and suffering humanity’. It reflected on ‘that great virtue of a Soldier, patience’, and criticised those volunteers who had ‘forgotten the honourable principle which they would have the world believe first moved them in the Cause’. The

⁸² John Mackintosh to Santander, 26th December 1820, Popayán, reproduced in Spanish in *Correo del Orinoco*, 31st March, 1821.

⁸³ Throughout the Irish press there was also concern that the Irish Legion should not be seen as inferior to the volunteers coming from Scotland. See for example *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal*, 14th May 1819.

⁸⁴ *The Life of Alexander Alexander* Vol.2, p.126.

⁸⁵ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.257.

⁸⁶ William Aylmer’s speech at Morrison’s Hotel, 29th May 1819, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 1st June 1819. Aylmer re-iterated this point of view in a letter to Frank Burdett O’Connor, dated 6th May 1819, a copy of which was kindly given to me by James Dunkerley.

⁸⁷ Adam, *Journal of Voyages to Marguaritta, Trinidad and Maturin*, p.v.

returnees suffered from ‘a total absence of that high sense of honour and manly fortitude, so necessary to the respectability and glory of a Soldier’.⁸⁸

This manliness was publicly debated in the press – as such it was a characteristic defined in the eyes of other men, and of women. It was thus logical that the wives of principal officers were employed to present the expeditions’ colours.⁸⁹ The honour and respect won in Hispanic America was therefore to be judged by a soldier’s reception by women back home. One man recurrently dreamed of being ‘comfortably at home, with the girls questioning me about what I had seen, and how glad they were at my sudden return’.⁹⁰

By displaying courage and manliness for the approval of women at home, volunteers were also emphasising a hierarchy of masculinities. The Irish Legion was sent on its way to liberate ‘the innocent children of the Sun’. But this was not simply a matter of Irishmen emancipating innocent child-like Colombians. ‘An armed legion of [Ireland’s] chosen youth’ left Ireland, to be converted into men like their fathers by their South American adventures.⁹¹ At the start of 1820, a Public Inquiry was set up in Dublin to investigate accusations of ‘unmanly and dishonourable’ behaviour against John Devereux and his associates.⁹² Many of those who contributed to the Inquiry were the volunteers’ fathers. Devereux’s supporters in turn accused those men who returned to Ireland from Margarita as too fond of ‘good living, with no stomach for the fight’ – too much domesticity, and not enough adventure.⁹³ The various accounts of the progress of the Inquiry illustrate the concerns of the literate sections of Dublin society with relation to the Irish Legion.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ *Dublin Evening Post*, 2nd November 1819

⁸⁹ For Mrs Putland’s speech on this occasion see Phillips, *Fairburn’s edition of the speech of Chas. Phillips*, p.3. For Mary O’Connell presenting William Aylmer’s men with their standard, see *Dublin Evening Post*, 19th July 1819.

⁹⁰ Robert Parsons to Tom Parsons, 15th March 1820, Riohacha, reproduced in *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal*, 19th June 1820.

⁹¹ Phillips, *Fairburn’s edition of the speech of Chas. Phillips*, p.4.

⁹² *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th January 1820.

⁹³ See for example Charles French to Mr Carpenter, 29th August 1820, Barranquilla, reproduced in *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal*, 7th December 1820.

⁹⁴ For a full discussion of these debates, see my unpublished article, ‘The Irish Rebellion at Riohacha’.

Daniel O'Connell, one of Devereux's key supporters, was at pains to state that 'our gallant countrymen', who had already returned from Margarita, should still be seen as brave and honourable men. He noted that 'there were dangers [even] a brave man would wish to escape from – famine and pestilence, together with a destructive climate, were enemies from which the stoutest need not be ashamed to effect their escape'.⁹⁵ Public meetings were forums upon which the honour of those who had returned from Margarita could be re-established. When O'Connell read out a letter from a volunteer still in Venezuela, 'cries of "'Tis a lie – they are not Cowards!" echoed from every part of the Room'.⁹⁶ One father of a returned volunteer claimed that his son had 'left Margarita nearly as naked as the day he entered the world – he was stripped almost to the skin – he carried his wardrobe on his back, consisting of a check shirt and a pair of trousers'. This was another example of South America being portrayed as a 'landscape of adventure', full of fever, disease, hunger and 'rascals', and this made their return home excusable, and therefore more honourable.⁹⁷ Another youth, 'against all the habits of his life, was obliged to work his way as a common sailor home, for eleven weeks, before the mast'.⁹⁸ This demonstrated how these discussions of Irishness and masculinity were always constructed around class. Those 'common' soldiers and sailors who returned did not merit the attention of the Dublin elites, and their 'honour' was not questioned.

The original honour of the cause was not in doubt, indeed it only contrasted even more vividly with John Devereux allegedly having 'deceived' and 'duped' Irish youths into 'the desire to pluck honour even at the cannon's mouth, in distant and transatlantic warfare'.⁹⁹ *Coronel* Sampson described it as 'a glorious crusade in the cause of liberty, with the liveliest hopes', which Devereux had 'prostituted ... bartering for lucre the noble spirit of the Irish youth ... trafficking in the blood of his fellow countrymen'.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ *Dublin Evening Post*, 3rd February 1820.

⁹⁶ *Dublin Evening Post*, 3rd February 1820.

⁹⁷ Leonard MacNally died not long after his son's return, aged sixty-eight. *Carrick's* attributed his death to the heartbreak caused by the 'detection and unravelling of a complicated system of fraud and villainy, to which many of our brave young countrymen have prematurely fallen victims, and from which his own son escaped but with life'. *Carrick's Morning Post*, 16th and 17th February 1820.

⁹⁸ From a speech by Charles Phillips, reported in *Carrick's Morning Post*, 8th February 1820.

⁹⁹ *Carrick's Morning Post*, 3rd February 1820; 14th January 1820.

¹⁰⁰ *Dublin Evening Post*, 3rd February 1820.

Devereux's supporters argued that he was 'too manly, too honourable, to trifle with the feelings of his countrymen'.¹⁰¹ There were two elements to this; Devereux's private manly character, and his public reputation. His detractors questioned both.

In September 1822 Arthur Sandes wrote to Daniel O'Connell, informing him of the death of his nephew Maurice O'Connell, and bringing these concerns together. In the absence of a glorious patriotic death (after over two year's service and constant campaigning, O'Connell died of fever) Sandes emphasised that O'Connell had been 'brave, generous, sincere, and possessing qualities which raise the esteem and talents which arrest the attention of mankind'. His character was thus 'truly Irish, uniting in it all those virtues for which the sons of our country are so justly celebrated, being always worthy of his ancient and honourable name and of that love of liberty which had engaged him in the defence of an oppressed people'.¹⁰²

The rebellion of the Irish Legion at Riohacha provided an opportunity for gloating and introspection, and as the news trickled into Dublin, interpretations of the events were constantly and readily revised, revealing the fears and prejudices of those who had stayed at home. The discontent of officers was blamed for inspiring the insubordination of soldiers.¹⁰³ The *Post* blamed Admiral Brion for the 'reverse of the most cruel and disastrous nature' which had befallen the Irish Legion, which had been 'disarmed, betrayed and plundered'. Eventually, the accepted interpretation was Francisco Burdett O'Connor's, whose letters were reproduced in both the *Dublin Evening Post* and *Carrick's Morning Post*. His version was accepted because he was an honourable Irish officer who had remained loyal to the cause of liberty, but who did not flinch from

¹⁰¹ Matthew Macnamara to Mr Gibbons, undated, reproduced in *Carrick's Morning Post*, 10th January 1820.

¹⁰² Sandes to Daniel O'Connell, 10th September 1822, Quito, O'Connell Papers, UCD, P12/3/110. Only the first paragraph of this letter is reproduced in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.2, 1815-1823, p.410. Daniel O'Connell's biographer followed Sandes' analysis in his treatment of the period, Oliver Macdonagh, *The Hereditary Bondsman: Daniel O'Connell 1775-1829*, (London, 1988), p.169.

¹⁰³ *Dublin Evening Post*, 27th July 1820. The private letter from Kingston, also reproduced by the *Post*, denounced the 'piratical coward, Admiral Brion, formerly a Dutch Curacao Jew, and by trade, a haberdasher of that settlement'. This was the first time that Brion being Jewish had been deemed relevant by the Irish papers, or that his civilian background was thought worthy of thought. All the criticisms which Bolívar and Montilla later laid at the door of the Irish Legion (lack of military experience, their foreignness, and their cowardice) were instinctively laid at the door of Admiral Luis Brion.

detailing the ‘atrociously criminal frauds committed on our unsuspecting and confiding countrymen’.¹⁰⁴ O’Connor held that the rebellion had been started by the Irish officers, and followed by the private soldiers. He described the soldiers crying that ‘they wished to be sent to Jamaica and go into the British service, where they would be paid’.¹⁰⁵ By inferring that the Jamaica traders may have influenced the rebellion at Riohacha, O’Connor also provided some relief for the *Dublin Evening Post*. It was able to find succour in the common Irish soldier’s loyalty and bravery, whose only wish was an opportunity to serve nobly in return for an honest remuneration.¹⁰⁶ The last discussion of Riohacha in the Irish press came at the end of the year, when *Carrick’s Morning Post* published a letter from *Teniente* Nicholas White.¹⁰⁷ White emphasised that the context for the rebellion was the troops’ constant fear of being attacked by an unseen enemy while they were out marching near Riohacha – the fear of an unknown landscape, discussed in Chapter 3. The attempt to forge an Irish identity through adventure in South America had been thwarted by the difficulties of the Goajira peninsula.

In its recruitment and symbolism, the Irish Legion was self-consciously Irish, evoking traditions of empathy with the oppressed and a love of freedom. It had military aims, but was also conceived by many as a way of emigrating and starting a new life abroad. As shown above, in their operations in Hispanic America, Irishmen developed strong links and affiliations with the British. There were rivalries but common endeavour showed that co-existence was possible. However, when the Irish Legion mutinied at Riohacha in 1820, the officers and soldiers of the British Legion (whether they were born in Great Britain or Ireland) affirmed their own allegiances and loyalty as being in opposition to

¹⁰⁴ *Carrick’s Morning Post*, 22nd August 1820; *Dublin Evening Post*, 19th August 1820. ‘Upon asking one of my regiment, what had put the idea of a British island into their heads, he told me, that he, with some others, heard some people belonging to some of the ships in the harbour say, that every man would be well received at Jamaica, as both the land and sea forces were greatly reduced there by sickness’.

¹⁰⁵ *Carrick’s Morning Post*, 22nd August 1820.

¹⁰⁶ *Carrick’s Morning Post*, 22nd August 1820. Note that Groot counted fifty-two signatures on the same letter, which does not appear to have survived. See Groot, *Historia de la Gran Colombia*, p.69. For the British Army’s West Indies garrison in this period, see Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar and Seapower* and Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies*.

¹⁰⁷ *Carrick’s Morning Post*, 4th December 1820.

those supposedly shown by the Irish Legion.¹⁰⁸ The Irishmen who did not simply leave had to struggle to re-affirm their own identities now that to be Irish had become synonymous with mutiny and indiscipline. Collective identities therefore were further grounded in conduct and ideology, rather than origin or ethnicity.

John Johnston, of the Albion battalion, attempted to combine his Irishness with his service in the British Legion. As part of his submission to the Colombian government in 1823, he wrote that 'being from a country like Ireland, that has always been struggling to be free, I acquired at birth the most liberal sentiments that could possibly fill a man's heart ... so that when I was in France in 1817 and I heard favourable talk of a Heroic Bolivar and his glorious struggle ... against the tyranny and despotism of Spain ... at that moment my heart inflamed with the ardent desire to join such a noble cause'.¹⁰⁹ A letter from the Field Officers of the Irish Legion who remained in Colombia made plain their concern of having an opportunity to display their courageous and disinterested manliness in public. They described themselves as 'having left our native country merely from a conviction of the justice of [the] cause'.¹¹⁰ These Irishmen and Britons who remained in the Independent service at Achaguas in late 1820 recognised that loyal service, a fine uniform and talk of innate British or Irish bravery was no longer enough to merit respect from the Independent leaders. Instead, they began to transfer some of their loyalties to the 'banners of Columbia', for which they would be prepared to sacrifice their lives.¹¹¹

Hispanic American Perceptions

As indicated by this close reading of the rhetoric and composition of the volunteer expeditions, the adventurers' collective identities were flexible, negotiable and rooted in the historical circumstances of their departure from home. Despite this, it is often assumed that all the soldiers from the British Isles were seen by Hispanic Americans as

¹⁰⁸ Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland and the Empire', p.504; Jeffreys, 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire', p.94

¹⁰⁹ John Johnson to Secretary of War and Marine, Bogotá, 11th November 1822, in AGNC R GYM, Vol.35, f.884.

¹¹⁰ Field Officers of the Irish Legion to Admiral Luis Brion, 3rd November 1819, Pampatar, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 3rd November 1819.

¹¹¹ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 7th December 1820.

ingleses.¹¹² But the Spanish authorities had long noted the occasional antagonism between English and Irish troops serving in their forces in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and had sought to keep them separate.¹¹³ Especially conscious of the precarious nature of 'national' affiliation in this period, 'Colombians' became well aware of the different allegiances to the constituent regions of British rule held by the adventurers in their service.

Some Creoles did use *ingleses* as a catch-all term for foreigners. In 1818, Francisco Zea welcomed the first units of the British Legion, proclaiming 'let's show them what an army of *ingleses* and *venezolanos* can do!'¹¹⁴ He explicitly linked Englishness with military prowess, in his hope and expectation that the newcomers would improve the quality of the Independent army. Juan Germán Roscio similarly felt that the *ingleses* 'imbibed the love of liberty with their mother's milk, which gives them an incredible ardour to defend it'.¹¹⁵

Alexander Alexander commented that the inhabitants of Margarita openly discriminated between British and Irish, based on their experiences of the indiscipline of the respective legions during their time on the island. Indeed, while Alexander emphasised his own good conduct in all his encounters, he recorded that 'whenever South Americans got generally heated, or are not able to express an answer, they generally declare '*Esta no es suyo [sic] patria*' (This is not your country)'.¹¹⁶ In one instance, Alexander recorded the hostility felt towards *inglés* soldiers who enrolled in units led by Americans, hoping for soft treatment from the officers, but 'too late they found them extremely harsh and insulting, they called them English dogs, brutes, etc., and struck them with the flat sides

¹¹² For example, Lambert, 'Irish Soldiers in South America', p.23.

¹¹³ Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries*, p.126.

¹¹⁴ Zea, 'A los jefes, Oficiales, y Soldados de la brigada de artillería. Y de los 4 regimientos ingleses alistados baxo nuestras banderas, 6 de marzo, 1818', in Grases, ed., *Impresos de Angostura*, p.67.

¹¹⁵ Roscio, 28th May 1819, Margarita, reproduced in English and Spanish in *Dublin Evening Post*, 7th August 1819: '*el amor de la libertad que mamaron con la leche de sus madres les da un ardor increíble para defenderla*'. Juan Germán Roscio (b. 1763 San José de Tiznados, Venezuela, d.1821 Cúcuta) was one of the principal civilian administrators and polemicists in the Independents' service. He contributed to newspapers and political tracts, and died while Vice-President of Colombia.

¹¹⁶ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, pp.129-30, p.306.

of their swords, a common practice in this country; and there were sometimes black officers over them who treated them in the same way'.¹¹⁷

Some Creole officers sought to emphasise that although they recognised the volunteers' difference, this did not mean that they automatically deserved special attention. In the words of Rafael Urdaneta in 1819, 'the British Legion was not an auxiliary body [with its own rules] but rather a body enrolled in the service of Venezuela, which in the light of previous declarations by the English Government [sic] has nothing to do with that Nation. The British Legion therefore is, and should be considered, as a Venezuelan unit'.¹¹⁸ Three years later, Pedro Briceño Méndez criticized the Loyalist *General Morales* for differentiating between Independent 'Colombian' and Independent 'foreign' troops, arguing that there 'was no difference between them'.¹¹⁹

An analysis of the correspondence of Bolívar and Santander demonstrates that they saw all the volunteers as *ingleses* only until 1820, when they began to differentiate between the *ingleses* and *irlandeses*.¹²⁰ To be *inglés* became a positive attribute, whereas *irlandés* was now a mark of disrepute. After the Irish rebellion at Riohacha, Santander described 'the god-damned Irish, who would rob us of everything and set such a terrible example for our troops'.¹²¹ In contrast, when speaking of those units perceived as serving Colombia admirably, such as the Albion battalion (consisting of British, Irish, and Hispanic American – including indigenous – troops), Bolívar went out of his way to

¹¹⁷ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.101.

¹¹⁸ Urdaneta, 'Observaciones a la contestación que ha dado el Mayor Low en nombre del General English sobre la orden que se le comunicó para enviar los artilleros de la Legión Británica a hacer un servicio temporal, por no ser suficientes los artilleros existentes para el Servicio de las piezas destinadas a la División Expedicionaria', 20th July 1819, Norte, English Papers, HA157/6/77.

¹¹⁹ Briceño Méndez to Morales, 28th November 1822, Bogotá, reproduced in *Gaceta de Colombia*, 10th December 1822. Pedro Briceño Méndez (b.1792 Barinas, d.1835 Curacao) rose from assistant to Bolívar to be a *General* in the Independent service and occupied many positions in the Colombian government, most notably as Minister of War. He died in exile. General Francisco Tomás Morales (b.1781 Carrizal de Argéimes, Canary Isles, d.1845 Las Palmas, Canary Isles) replaced Pablo Morillo in command of the Loyalist Expeditionary army in 1820. He gave up the cause in Maracaibo in 1823 and retired to Cuba, and then to Spain.

¹²⁰ Bolívar to Santander, 14th November, 1819, Soata, *Cartas Santander - Bolívar 1813-1820*, Vol.1, p.216, was still referring to 'Devereux's 1,500 *ingleses*'. At the same time, Bolívar was also referring to MacGregor's troops as *ingleses*. See Bolívar to Juan Sámano, 9th September 1819, Santafé, *De Boyacá a Cúcuta: Memoria Administrativa 1819-1821*, (Bogotá, 1990), p.28.

¹²¹ Santander to Bolívar, 13th August, 1820, Bogotá, *Cartas Santander - Bolívar, 1820*, Vol.2, p.270.

stress their identity as *ingleses*.¹²² Similarly the memoirs of Rafael Sevilla reveal that the Spanish officers were also able to distinguish between English, Irish and Scotsman; although they often simply derided them as ‘the foreign invaders’.¹²³

One commentator described *General* Arismendi’s derogatory attitude towards the Irish, many of whom he had commanded when they first arrived in Margarita. He was said to call them ‘the brave blunderers’ and to have ‘stored up a variety of anecdotes illustrative of that jostle between conception and utterance the fruitful result of which, under the name of ‘bull’, has been recognised as characteristic of the natives of the Emerald Isle throughout the world’.¹²⁴ Such an attitude would imply that Arismendi comprehensively adopted contemporary British stereotypes of the Irish Catholic. With no extensive personal correspondence available for Arismendi (in contrast to the likes of Bolívar, Santander, and Montilla), it is hard to tell whether these views were attributed to him by an author anxious to reinforce his own ideas at home. A letter from Morgan O’Connell allows another perspective. He wrote that Arismendi had told the Irish Legion’s Father Mullan that ‘it would be a great pleasure for him to expel prejudice from these lands and to cultivate Religion’s social virtues; that he would sweep away all the different nationalities so that Englishmen, Irishmen and Americans can become one family – the Sons of Colombia’.¹²⁵ Here, shared religious affiliation – between Independents and the Catholic members of the Irish Legion – facilitated relationships.

In the pages of the *Correo del Orinoco* there was a corresponding transition from a portrayal of the Irish as brave heroes, to a depiction of them as ‘the most insubordinate in the world’.¹²⁶ In early 1823 the Caracas newspaper *El Colombiano* began to publish a series of jokes, at the expense of stereotypical Irish simplicity.¹²⁷ By making such

¹²² Bolívar to Santander, 3rd August, 1822, Guayaquil, *Cartas Santander - Bolívar 1820-1822*, Vol.3, p.246.

¹²³ Sevilla, *Memorias de un oficial del ejército español*, pp.240-1.

¹²⁴ [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, p.38.

¹²⁵ Morgan O’Connell to Daniel O’Connell, dated 14-15th June, 1820, Margarita, reproduced in *Carrick’s Morning Post*, 23rd August 1820.

¹²⁶ Compare *Correo del Orinoco*, 1st January 1820 with 5th August 1820. The *Correo del Orinoco* itself was often published in bilingual (English and Spanish) editions, and was printed by a succession of British men.

¹²⁷ ‘A young Irish soldier having obtained leave to exchange from the Regiment in which he was serving, into the 31st, was questioned respecting the cause of his anxiety to effect this. His reply was ‘that he had a

distinctions, Colombian elites were able to reflect upon their own feelings of loyalty and identity. Antonio Nariño, on his return to New Granada from a lengthy imprisonment and exile, had little sympathy for the mercenaries. In his speech at the opening of the Congress of Cúcuta in 1821, he argued that Colombia should stand on its own and ‘not owe anything to other nations’. Later, when challenged to a duel by John Devereux, not once did he use the latter’s Irish identity as a means of criticism, despite the low esteem in which the Irish were generally held at this time. He treated Devereux simply as ‘a foreigner’ who had no business meddling in Colombian affairs.¹²⁸

Those Irishmen who did not go to Jamaica after the rebellion at Riohacha were incorporated into regiments under the command of José María Córdoba, who referred to them in his personal correspondence as *los irlandeses* throughout 1820 and 1821. He did not use the term in a pejorative sense, but as a word that differentiated the troops under his command.¹²⁹ Córdoba later referred to the same men as *ingleses*, showing that, with the war against Spain won, he no longer felt the need to discriminate between the origins of their ‘foreign-born’ auxiliaries.

These changes meant that the volunteers who had previously proudly proclaimed themselves *irlandeses* now began to take refuge as *ingleses*.¹³⁰ Conscious that they were

brother in the 30th, and he wished to be near him’’, *El Colombiano*, 14th January 1823. See other jokes at Irishmen’s expense, 4th February 1824.

¹²⁸ Nariño to Bolívar, 28th June, 1821, Cúcuta, *Archivo Nariño*, Vol.6, 1816-1823, p.74, pp.131-2, p.169.

¹²⁹ General José María Córdoba (b.1800 Rionegro, d.1829 El Santuario) was a young Independent officer who distinguished himself at Ayacucho. He became disgruntled with Bolívar’s dictatorship, and led an ill-fated rebellion against it which ended with his death. Moreno, ed., *Correspondencia y documentos del general José María Córdoba*, (Bogotá, 1974), see for example Vol.1, p.270, Córdoba to Santander, 2nd October 1820, Turbaco; Córdoba to Bolívar, 30th March 1829, Pasto, Vol.4, p.82. For Camilo Torres, see his correspondence with García Rovira, quoted in Arends, *Sir Gregor MacGregor*, pp.55-61. For Soublotte’s earlier differentiation between companies of *ingleses* and *irlandeses*, see Soublotte to Juan José Conde, 20th October 1819, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.8, f.101 The memoirs of lower-status Independents are less revealing. José María Caballero made only one reference to the foreign auxiliaries (describing *el inglés* Gregor MacGregor) in *Particularidades de Santafé: un diario de José María Caballero*, p.187.

¹³⁰ According to De Courcey Ireland, ‘Thomas Charles Wright: Soldier of Bolívar, founder of the Ecuadorian Navy’, *Irish Sword*, 6:25 (Winter 1964), p.271, Wright had joined the British Legion because he was ‘under the influence of radical and republican ideas such as had influenced the French Revolution’, although there is no firm evidence for this claim. Despite his Irish birth, Wright was always *inglés* in his memoirs. Indeed, after a failed coup attempt in the 1850s, the Ecuadorian President had armed men enter Wright’s house under suspicion of conspiracy. Wright remembered that ‘although his wife, Señora Josefina

often being treated differently by many Colombians, all volunteers from around late 1820 began to hispanify their first names (from John to Juan, from William to Guillermo, from Thomas to Tomás). This can be explained as an attempt to achieve a certain degree of 'acceptance' and 'assimilation' into the Colombian military, at the same time as making communication a little easier. In the words of Trinh T. Minh-ha, 'foreignness is acceptable once I no longer draw the line between myself and the others. First assimilate, then be different within permitted boundaries'.¹³¹

The same period saw the formation of the Albion Battalion from the remnants of the British, Irish and MacGregor Legions. Formed of a wide cross-section of the volunteers, the Albion battalion of *ingleses colombianos* would seem to be the confirmation of Conway's thesis of the 'military melting pot'.¹³² When Bolívar created the Albion Battalion in 1820 he accepted this degree of foreignness within the larger Colombian identity. All of the battalion's documentation referred to the volunteers with hispanified first-names, even those listings transcribed by British officers who spoke little Spanish. Most of the private soldiers were local men from the areas that the battalion passed through. The Albion Battalion can be seen as the volunteers' own *patria-chica*, to correspond with the loyalties to Pasto, Cali, and Popayán held by local people.¹³³ Such loyalties fitted into the larger provincial, Colombian or even 'American' identities also held by Independent soldiers, and which Independent leaders like Bolívar attempted to superimpose onto pre-existing regional, local, racial and social identities.¹³⁴

Rico de Wright, held up the English flag on the steps to the house, in a gesture of international protection, nothing could be done. García Moreno ordered his assistant Martínez to 'Collect Her Majesty's British flag, and arrest this Ecuadorean General'. Wright, *Destellos de Gloria*, p.133, and also p.13, p.19, p.32, p.39, p.73. Deas and Sánchez, *Santander y los ingleses*, Vol.2, pp.362-89, contains similar anecdotes for New Granada; for instance when the under threat of war with Great Britain, the New Granadan government asked the retired volunteers still resident in Bogotá to choose between their status as British subjects, and their positions as retired army officials in New Granada. In his last years Santander looked back favourably on his relations with MacGregor and Devereux, in 'Apuntamientos para las memorias sobre Colombia y la Nueva Granada 1837', *Escritos autobiográficos 1820-1840*, (Bogotá, 1988), p.113; and 'Testamento del General Santander 1835', *Escritos autobiográficos*, p.220.

¹³¹ Trinh T. Minh-ha, 'Other than myself/ My Other Self', in George Robertson, Melinda Mash, Linda Tickner, Lisa Bird, Jon Curtis and Tim Putnam, eds., *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*, (London, 1994), p.9.

¹³² Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, pp.186-202.

¹³³ On regimental identities see Frey, *The British Soldier in America*, pp.112-32; and Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, pp.189-95.

¹³⁴ Demetrio Ramos Pérez, 'Nación, supernación y nación local en Hispanoamérica en la época bolivariana' in Buisson et al, *Problemas de la formación del estado y de la nación en Hispanoamérica*, p.175.

Independent leaders came to see some of the volunteers as ideal Colombians. Bolívar wrote of John Illingworth in 1822 that 'he knows the country very well, and he knows what its men are like. He is married to a rich woman there. He is talented and honourable. He is very *colombiano*, and it seems that he doesn't lack the British talent for leadership either. Above all, he enjoys a very high-standing among Colombians'.¹³⁵ In this way, high-status foreigners like Illingworth could be the cement that held Colombian-ness together, without any local or regional identities to pull them away from the over-arching Colombian identity that had won the War of Independence against Spain. Many Independent leaders came to see the persistence of the older identities amongst the population as a failure of their project. As Carlos Soubllette wrote in 1827, 'the name Colombian amongst us is devoid of meaning because we have remained as Venezuelan, New Granadan and Quiteñan as we were before, but perhaps with greater bitterness.'¹³⁶

In this sense, as the Colombian identity came to lose its efficacy, foreigners were gradually excluded from the formational New Granadan, Venezuelan and Ecuadorian identities that political elites would come to see as the basis for the new, post-Colombian republics. The continued existence of foreigners in civilian and military circles, from serving military personnel to retired settlers, would act as a catalyst of the local and regional patriotisms from which they were excluded. Whereas in the late 1810s and early 1820s patriotism could be demonstrated by anybody showing loyalty in the service of the Colombian army, during the 1820s ideas of birth (and of being in someway culturally located in the territory of the republic) began to regain importance as the republican ideology of citizenship was found to be wanting. So while foreigners could continue to be Colombian, they found that patriotic behaviour was increasingly denied to them. When Colombia disappeared in 1830, those who remained in the territory struggled to convince the authorities that they had long been Venezuelan, New Granadan, or Ecuadorian, as such claims rested on more localised and ethereal ideas of the *patria* from which they

¹³⁵ Bolívar to Santander, 27th October 1822, Cuenca, *Cartas Santander - Bolívar 1820-1822*, Vol.3, p.273. See also C.S. Cochrane, *Journal*, Vol.2, p.187.

¹³⁶ Soubllette, quoted in Jonathan D. Hill, 'Indigenous Peoples and the Rise of Independent Nation-States in Lowland South America', in Salomon and Schwartz, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, p.713.

were unavoidably excluded. In response (see Chapters 6 and 7) volunteers sought to ground their patriotism in their military service, honour and bravery. Indeed, this was all they were left with. One Hanoverian volunteer wrote in 1832 that ‘once I am away from the bosom of my country, Germany, I am nothing more than a Granadine Colombian [‘*colombiano granadino*’], and I will shed my blood in the defence of Independence and Liberty’. His patriotism was founded in the cause of Independence, but in the republican period this was often not enough to convince the authorities.¹³⁷

Comparing Collective Identities

In the Loyalist army, the division between Spaniards and Americans was extenuated by the ‘widely held Spanish view that Americans were bad soldiers with no understanding of military discipline’.¹³⁸ The Spanish soldiers who travelled with *General* Morillo’s expedition were ‘unable to adapt their beliefs to the new circumstances’, and took American inferiority for granted.¹³⁹ During 1819 and 1820, however, events in Gran Colombia and Spain meant that participants on both sides had changed understandings of what the *patria* was, and what the nature of its government should be. By the time of the armistice talks, even at the highest levels of the Loyalist army there was some sympathy for the Independents’ cause,¹⁴⁰ but also heightened determination in certain ‘Loyalist’ areas to maintain allegiance to their own understanding of the *patria*.¹⁴¹

This was the result of experiences in Gran Colombia as well as the political situation in Spain. Key to the Gran Colombian element was the involvement of foreigners in the Independent service, especially on the Caribbean coast. Loyalists perceived continuities between the depredations of foreign pirates between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and the Independent maritime forces of the nineteenth century.¹⁴² Viceroy Sámano and Governor Solís of Riohacha repeatedly referred to Brion and MacGregor as

¹³⁷ Tomás Reber, 20th June 1832, Mompox, AGNC HDS, Vol.38, f.166. In contrast, one adventurer captured by the Loyalists stressed that he had enlisted ‘despite not being a patriot’. ‘Declaración de Cristóbal Ricaus’, 11th April 1819, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A.

¹³⁸ Earle, *Spain and the Independence of Colombia*, p.72.

¹³⁹ Earle, *Spain and the Independence of Colombia*, pp.107-9.

¹⁴⁰ Earle, *Spain and the Independence of Colombia*, p.159.

¹⁴¹ Martínez Guarda, *La región histórica de Coro*, p.69.

¹⁴² Martínez Guarda, *La región histórica de Coro*, pp.45, 54-8.

‘pirates’.¹⁴³ As Manuel Lucena Salmoral has observed, however, the important change was that these nineteenth-century ‘pirates’ were supported by new national bodies and authorities rather than the traditional Old World powers.¹⁴⁴ Loyalist officials were aware that identities were also at stake, and recognised that the naval threat was more complicated than simple piracy. They came to refer to MacGregor and the Irish Legion as ‘the enemy’ or ‘the insurgents’, recognising the foreigners as an integral part of the conflict. The reports of their activities reduced weakly defended coastal areas to a state of permanent anxiety at the imminent arrival of vast fleets of foreign mercenaries. The Viceroy in Cartagena was informed every time a potentially threatening vessel was sighted.¹⁴⁵

For other people who lived far from the coast, the presence of the *ingleses* in the conflict had little effect on collective identities. A free mulatto and farmer from San Jayme on the llanos, Felipe Suarez served for one year with the Independents without seeing a single *inglés*.¹⁴⁶ Francisco Linares, who was born, raised and married in Villa de Ospino near Santa Lucia in the llanos, was forcibly recruited to the Independent army in early 1819, and he did not distinguish between the *ingleses* he heard were serving with Bolívar and the *forasteros* he served alongside.¹⁴⁷ The *forasteros* who came from the next town, and the *ingleses* who came from across the ocean, were equally foreign to Linares.

In coastal regions, however, identities were reformulated as a result of foreigners’ incursions. Documentation relating to the consequences of Gregor MacGregor’s conquest of Riohacha in October 1819 roundly demonstrates this. In the wake of MacGregor’s

¹⁴³ For example Sámano to Solis, 30th March 1820, Cartagena, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745. For Spanish officials elsewhere in the Caribbean using similar language to discuss MacGregor, see José Cienfuegos to Marques de Casa Trufo, 24th May 1819, Havana, AGI Estado, Legajo 12, N.13, ff.1-2; Cienfuegos to Francisco Eguia, 29th April 1819, Havana, AGI Estado, Legajo 12, N.15, f.1.

¹⁴⁴ Lucena Salmoral, *Piratas, bucaneros, filibusteros y corsarios en America: perros, mendigos y otros malditos del mar*, (Madrid, 1992), p.13. This was the reason given for not extending his study past 1722.

¹⁴⁵ For example Solis to Sámano, 20th January 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, ‘1820 Enero, Guerra’, or José Santa Cruz to Sámano, 25th July 1819, Portobello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, ‘Año de 1820, Gobernador de Portobello’.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Declaración de Felipe Suarez’, 23rd April 1819, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A, ‘Declaraciones de pasados y aprehendidos’.

¹⁴⁷ ‘Declaración de Francisco Linares’, 23rd April 1819, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A, ‘Declaraciones de pasados y aprehendidos’.

expulsion from the town, the Governor José Solís, fearful of threats to his precarious authority from those who had supported the newcomer, made every effort to forcibly stamp out dissent. He first executed the remaining foreign prisoners who had been captured when the Loyalists retook the town. Then, he launched an investigation into the allegation (attested to by over a dozen witnesses) that certain local militia officers had arranged for the Loyalist troops defending the city to be supplied with blank rounds upon the attack of the Insurgents. Although this charge remained unresolved, Solís arrested several men accused of challenging his authority or of supporting MacGregor, and subjected them to lengthy interrogation.¹⁴⁸

Fundamental to Solís' fears was the apparent ease with which Riohachero men had developed relations of familiarity and even friendship with the enemy, bonds which subverted natural loyalties to Spain and to the King. One of these men, Ramón Ruiz, was accused of telling colleagues that he had joined MacGregor because 'the general has seen me right'.¹⁴⁹ Many witnesses attested to Ruiz' 'great familiarity with the insurgents', and claimed that he had even joined them in *tertulia*.¹⁵⁰ Cabo Felipe Rosado was alleged to have flaunted his 'ostentatious friendship with MacGregor's men',¹⁵¹ and to have asked his old Loyalist colleagues, 'Why do you flee? These people treat us so well!'¹⁵²

Aniseto Rodríguez, who MacGregor charged with organising the Independents' defence of the town, was accused of trying to persuade his old colleagues that 'just as you used to

¹⁴⁸ 'Testimonio de las diligencias practicadas sobre el acontecimiento de dicha partida de cartuchos sin bala que se distribulleron el día de la entrada de los insurgentes de MacGregor en esta plaza', 23rd October 1819, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745. This Legajo contains all the documentation triggered by the crisis in Riohacha in 1819-20.

¹⁴⁹ 'Declaración de Mateo Bermúdez', 22nd January 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, 'Causa criminal seguida contra Ramón Ruiz, por delito de infidencia admitiendo el empleo de alférez de las tropas que hivan a poner sobre las armas los insurgentes en defensa de la patria'.

¹⁵⁰ For example 'Declaración del miliciano Nicolás Zeijas', 22nd January 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, 'Causa criminal seguida contra Ramón Ruiz'.

¹⁵¹ Accusation against Felipe Rosado, 26th January 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, 'Causa criminal seguida contra Felipe Rosado cabo 1º'.

¹⁵² '¿Porqué andan ustedes hullendo, cuando esta gente nos tratan tan bien?' 'Declaración de Simón Frías', 27th January 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, 'Causa criminal seguida contra Felipe Rosado cabo 1º'.

serve the King, now you can serve the *patria*'.¹⁵³ In their testimonies, several residents of Riohacha claimed that they had replied that they 'could not serve the *patria*, because [they] did not want to fight against their brothers'.¹⁵⁴ MacGregor's expedition occupied Riohacha for only six days, and resulted in the death or dispersion of the majority of his forces. The consequences for the way people in Riohacha perceived the authority of their governor, and imagined the loyalties and allegiances of their colleagues, friends and neighbours, were deep and far-reaching.

The men accused of having supported the 'invader' MacGregor in October 1819 were still living next door to those who had maintained their allegiance to the Loyalist cause in January 1820. They continued to share business interests and social interactions, but their relations were fractured by the incursion of the Independents.¹⁵⁵ Miguel Gómez, a Loyalist who led the defence forces of Goajira Indians, expressed his dismay that 'those who call themselves whites' were involved in intrigue against the Governor, and that 'the royalist is more persecuted than anyone'.¹⁵⁶ The alliance of Riohacheros with foreign rebels created a disorientated collective identity, where the Indians were more loyal to the King than the whites. Gómez lamented that the enemy should be 'the one that comes from outside', and that order had been reduced to chaos.¹⁵⁷

The involvement of foreign troops in the Independent armies further confused an already complicated situation. To conclude this chapter, an apparently unique set of documents, a run of seventy-nine forms completed for entrance to the Invalid Hospital in Caracas in the

¹⁵³ 'Declaración de Bartolo Moreno', 19th January 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, 'Causa criminal seguida contra José Aniseto Rodríguez, por delito de infidencia, y por admission del empleo de coronel y comandante de las tropas que intentaron poner sobre las armas los insurgentes'.

¹⁵⁴ 'Declaración de Mateo Bermúdez', 20th January 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, 'Causa criminal seguida contra José Aniseto Rodríguez'.

¹⁵⁵ According to the testimony of Mateo Bermúdez, the accused Aniseto Rodríguez lived in a house next to that of Mateo Llorens, one of the principal witnesses for the prosecution. 'Declaración de Mateo Bermúdez', 26th January 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, 'Causa criminal seguida contra Felipe Rosado cabo 1º. En la primera compañía del cuerpo de cazadores de esta ciudad, por haber servido al sistema insurgente admitiendo empleo de estos y ejerciendolo durante el tiempo tubieron ocupado esta ciudad'.

¹⁵⁶ 'Declaración de Miguel José Gómez', 1st March 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745. See also 'Declaración de Jacinto Amaya', 3rd March 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745, speaking of 'those who call themselves whites who were the only ones to unite with MacGregor'.

¹⁵⁷ 'Declaración de Miguel José Gómez', 1st March 1820, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745.

early 1820s, allows for a further comparison of the collective identities of British, Irish and Hispanic American soldiers.¹⁵⁸ These forms were compiled by four Venezuelan non-commissioned officers, *Sargentos* José Lorentes, José Antonio Esparragosa, Dionisio Rosales, and José María Rodríguez. All were pardos, single, in their twenties and thirties, and had been blacksmiths or carpenters before joining the army. Their job was to fill in a pre-printed form for every soldier who entered the Hospital, a pre-requisite for those who wished to receive an Invalid pension, whether or not they eventually chose to stay in the Hospital. The following analysis comes from the answers to their questions, and presumably in cases of doubt, their own assumption and categorising. There were 23 Europeans and 56 [Hispanic] Americans.

Figure 4.15: Comparative Heights of Europeans and Americans

	Europeans	Americans
Mean Height	5 feet 9 inches	5 feet 2 inches
Median Height	5 feet 8 inches	5 feet 2 inches
Mode	5 feet 6 inches	5 feet 3 inches

Figure 4.16: Comparative Hair Colour of Europeans and Americans

	Europeans	Americans
Blond	17%	0%
Black	9%	94%
<i>Castaño</i> (Brown)	70%	4%
Grey	4%	2%

Figure 4.17: Comparative Eye Colour of Europeans and Americans

	Europeans	Americans
Blue	77%	0%
<i>Pardo</i>	18%	78%
Black	5%	22%

¹⁵⁸ The forms are in the AGNC R GYM, Vol.16.

Figure 4.18: Comparative Skin Colour Categorisation of Europeans and Americans.¹⁵⁹

	Europeans	Americans
<i>Blanco</i> (White)	100%	12%
<i>Trigueño</i> (Wheat-coloured)	0%	36%
<i>Prieto</i> (Mixed)	0%	5%
<i>Negro</i> (Black)	0%	5%
<i>Pardo</i> (Black)	0%	18%
<i>Moreno</i> (Brown)	0%	18%
<i>Indio</i> (Indian)	0%	3%
<i>Azetinado</i> (Tanned)	0%	3%

Figure 4.19: Comparative Ages of Europeans and Americans

	Europeans	Americans
Mean Age	36 years	24 years
Median Age	34 years	21 years
Mode	46, 34 and 32 years	19 and 20 years

Figure 4.20: National Origins of Europeans

English origin	7
Irish origin	8
Scottish origin	1
German origin	2
British or Irish origin (unclear)	5

Figure 4.21: Ranks of Respondents.

	Europeans	Americans
Private	15	31
Bandsman	0	2
<i>Cabo</i>	2	3
<i>Sargento</i>	5	9
<i>Capitán</i>	1	2
<i>Subteniente</i>	0	3
<i>Teniente Coronel</i>	0	1

¹⁵⁹ English translations given here are superficial and cannot hope to cover the variety of racial definitions current in this period in the region. For an overview, see Verena Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society*, pp.71-108.

Figure 4.22: Geographical Origin of the Americans: '*Natural de ...*' [Literally, 'From']

From ...	Number of men responding
Caracas City	15
Bogotá	3
Cumaná, Guate	2 each
Guatire, Petare, Araure, San Mateo, Mompox, Guaiguaza, Cuenca, La Guaira, La Victoria, Guanare, San José de Cunaviche, San Rafael de Orituco, La Sabana de Ocumare, Merida, La Villa de San Luis de Cura, Puerto Cabello, Panaquire, Villa de Onoto, Santa Marta, Angostura, Tunja, Pamplona, Villa del Socorro, Barcelona, Los Reinos de España, Soarta, Parroquia de Macuto	1 each

Figure 4.23: Geographical Origin of the Europeans: '*Natural de ...*'

From ...	Number of men responding
Towneid, Bonso Castle, Doblin [Dublin], Bay, Londres [London], Coronin, Lincan [Lincoln], Guieanan, Amburgo [Hamburg], Corquiz [Cork], Inoxcien, Imacnanan, Cantion, Imbora [Edinburgh], Cembriche [Cambridge], Canterbury, Givantal, Luedli, Grenfox, Lenpren, Leyli, England:	1 each

[Each of the 22 men responding gave a different answer, many of which, having been transcribed by non-English speakers, are unrecognisable]

Figure 4.24: District of the Americans: '*Corregimiento de ...*' [Literally, 'District of']

District of...	Number of men responding
Caracas	23
Bogotá	6
Barcelona (Venezuela)	5
Orinoco	3
Pamplona, New Granada, Cumaná	2 each
Apure, Guanare, Cuenca, Cartagena	1 each

[This correlates in terms of later national boundaries, to 38 from Venezuela, 9 from New Granada, 1 from Ecuador, and 8 not answered]

Figure 4.25: District of the Europeans: '*Corregimiento de ...*'

District of ...	Number of men responding
Dublin, London, England	2 each
Towneid, Bonso Castle, Hanover, Coronin, Lincoln, Ireland, Scotland, Canterbury, Givantal, Eceto [Exeter], Cork, Hamburg, Inoxcien, Mexche, Coxques, Grenfox	1 each

Figure 4.26: Americans Domiciled: ‘*Abecinado en ...*’ [Literally, ‘Domiciled in’]

Domiciled in ...	Number of men responding
Caracas	21
His Village [Su Pueblo]	6
Santafé de Bogotá	4
Barcelona	3
Aragua, San Mateo, Cartagena, Cuenca, La Guaira, Cumaná, San Rafael, Ocumare, Mérida, Angostura, Pamplona, Soatra, His Parish [Su Parroquia], Another Village [Otro Pueblo]	1 each

Figure 4.27: Europeans Domiciled: ‘*Abecinado en ...*’

Domiciled in ...	Number of men responding
Europe	10
Ireland	4
His Village in Europe [Su Pueblo en Europa]	2
His Village in Ireland [Su Pueblo en Irlanda], Cambridge, Germany, London, and England	1 each

An examination of the data provided is interesting, although the low number of forms completed means that the results must be treated with caution. The sample can be taken as random, in that the selection was made by the (presumably arbitrary) method of being wounded in battle. The Venezuelans saw all the foreign European volunteers who entered their hospital as ‘white’. To the pardo artisans who compiled these invalid forms, the whites, whether they were British or Irish, were a readily identifiable ‘Other’; taller, a different colour, blue-eyed, older, bearded and speaking barely comprehensibly. While national difference was recognised in the forms, in the responses made by the volunteers themselves, ethnic difference, filled in by the pardo officers, was not.

The most popular answer for the British and Irish when questioned about their origin was simply ‘Europe’, a wide-ranging geographical term which contrasted vividly with those answering ‘My Village’, or ‘My Parish’. Nevertheless, some Irishmen answered ‘My Village in Europe’, or ‘My Village in Ireland’, implying common feelings of loyalty to the home village – an unnamed *patria chica* – shared by rank-and-file soldiers of both European and American origin. These local allegiances and identities have been

denounced by some subsequent historians, who saw parochialism as the enemy of national projects and interests.¹⁶⁰

Those men who described themselves as ‘from Europe’ are also of great interest. The distance from home seems to have subsumed their local affiliations into a larger, non-nation-specific identification with a continent. In contrast to the Americans’ general lack of an identifiable national consciousness, and preference for local or regional tags, six men answered ‘Ireland’ to one of their questions, two men answered ‘England’, and one ‘Scotland’. Therefore almost half of the Europeans answered in terms of what might be termed a ‘national’ identity, in contrast to just 4% of the Americans. It is a crude and limited comparison – but suggestive nonetheless. Indeed, this 4% was composed of two New Granadan men far away from home, lending some credibility to Racine’s assertion that these identities were ‘forged’ as much through distance from home, as by warfare or imagination.¹⁶¹

For all their limitations, the importance of these documents should not be underestimated. Although non-elite groups in Venezuela may have come into contact with *ingleses* before the end of the colonial period through contraband activities or piracy, the influx of volunteer soldiers to live alongside them, fight alongside them, answer the same questions and fill in the same forms as them, was a unique opportunity for comparison and assessment. Such encounters served to undermine any possible conception that all foreigners were ‘almost members of a higher humanity than mere mortals’.¹⁶² In the consequences of the ‘opening up to the world’ that came with Independence, Hispanic Americans met foreigners in varied conditions, including both the smart British businessmen with their ‘air of superiority’ conventionally considered in the historiography, and also wounded and disillusioned mercenaries reporting to Hospital and requesting assistance.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ This was also true to the *patria chica* in Spain. See Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p.104.

¹⁶¹ Racine, ‘Nature and Mother’, p.6.

¹⁶² Halperin Donghi, *Hispanoamérica después de la independencia*, p.146.

¹⁶³ Halperin Donghi, *Hispanoamérica después de la independencia*, pp.153–4.

Conclusions

As Jaime Jaramillo Uribe has argued for Colombia, internal socio-economic, political and ideological changes all had their roots in the colonial period, and would play themselves out during the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁴ The sources examined in this chapter support the argument that British and Irish volunteers helped to hasten these changes. Arriving as a homogeneous whole, categorised simply as *ingleses* by all social groups, in a short period of time they revealed themselves to be composed of a variety of collective identities, English, Irish, Scottish, and German, as well as British and even European.

Several examples show that the volunteers were among the most strident supporters of Bolívar's 'supranationalism'.¹⁶⁵ Francisco Burdett O'Connor felt that 'the world was his *patria*, and the men of all nations its citizens, justice was the object of his veneration, and liberty his faith'.¹⁶⁶ Many of the volunteers, like Daniel O'Leary, William Ferguson and Belford Hinton Wilson, stayed loyal to Bolívar during his attempts to extend his rule well beyond the equator. In many ways he was 'their' caudillo, having recruited them and in many cases promoted them to positions of authority and prestige. But these were exceptional figures. During the Wars of Independence, local circumstances and regional and regimental loyalties were far more important in shaping men's identities. These identities were constructed from national origins on the other side of the Atlantic, but also from conceptions of masculinity and honour which evolved from the nature of their situation as adventuring mercenaries in a new environment.

The Albion Battalion made this clear in their 1820 letter to Santander. They claimed that 'the English soldiers in Venezuela ... will never stain their character with such acts of atrocity and murder. They will always respect the rules of warfare, and the rights of

¹⁶⁴ Jaramillo Uribe, *La personalidad histórica en Colombia y otros ensayos*, pp.131-54. For the long-term features of these changes in Colombia, see Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones*, pp.355-60.

¹⁶⁵ Collier, 'Nationality, Nationalism and Supranationalism in the writings of Simón Bolívar', *HAHR*, 63:1 (1983), pp.37-64.

¹⁶⁶ O'Connor, *Independencia Americana*, p.111. Others linked closely to the volunteers, such as his mistress Manuela Saenz, felt a crisis of identity as the new republics were founded. She wrote 'Why do you call those from the south 'Peruvians', and me 'foreigner'? I will be whatever you want me to be, all I know is that my country [*páís*] is the continent of America'. Manuela Saenz, *Hoja Suelta*, printed by Andrew Roderick (former printer of the *Correo del Orinoco*) in Bogotá, 20 June 1830, quoted in Eduardo Posada, *Apostillas*, (Bogotá, 1978 edn), p.120.

humanity, and they will always despise those savage principles which, until now, have prevailed in this melancholy struggle'.¹⁶⁷ The members of this group sought to publicly redefine themselves with relation to three events: firstly, the departure of the Irish Legion from the Independent service, destroying the town of Riohacha as they went; secondly, the spread of the perception among Hispanic American elites that such behaviour from auxiliary troops was not acceptable; and thirdly, the continuing 'War to the Death', in which no quarter was to be given to prisoners. The members of the Albion Battalion tried to define themselves as honourable outsiders with regard to this type of warfare, in which they had long taken, and continued to take, an active part.¹⁶⁸ They attempted to express a non-Hispanic, European superiority, in which brave men respected the rule of law.¹⁶⁹ It is impossible to know exactly what Creole officers thought of such claims, but it seems fair to conclude that they perceived them as rather disingenuous, given the volunteers' recent history of rebellion, mutiny and claims for preferential treatment. Nevertheless, the presence of proclamations of such foreigners in the heart of the Independent army was an integral part of the ongoing debates about collective identities.

For those volunteers who were to remain in Colombia after 1821, distinctions between English, Scottish, British or Irish were no longer of great relevance. It is no coincidence that the sources used in this chapter have predominantly been public ones such as newspaper articles, proclamations, and speeches. Collective identities, whether national, regional, local or regimental, were negotiated in public, whereas more individualistic notions of honour were discussed in private correspondence and in conversation. Groups of volunteers sought to stress their honour, to which end their foreign origins were immaterial to their good conduct. An unspoken element of this honour was their whiteness, which will be examined in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁷ John Mackintosh on behalf of the Albion Battalion to Santander, 26th December 1820, Popayán, in *Correo del Orinoco*, 31st March 1821.

¹⁶⁸ For British and Irish involvement in the repression of Pasto in 1822, see Guerrero Vinuena, *Pasto en la guerra de independencia*, Vol.2, p.144.

¹⁶⁹ A similar argument was made by some British officers in Portugal in the previous decade, as discussed in Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p.198.

For pre-industrial Colombia, the metaphor of the ‘forging’ of national identities is not appropriate.¹⁷⁰ National identities, like the mining sector that produced much of the region’s wealth, followed seams dating back to the colonial period. Adventurers brought their own collective identities with them, but these adapted and to their interactions during their campaigning experiences. Throughout the Wars of Independence, elites, non-elites and foreigners all had a hand in bringing new and precious stones to the surface.

¹⁷⁰ As used in Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*; Timothy Anna, *Forging Mexico, 1821-1835*, and Racine, ‘Nature and Mother’, p.6.

Chapter 5: Race, Slavery and Abolitionism

The prayers and the arms of freemen have at length prevailed: – Colombia is no longer in bondage. The dark and heavy chain of Slavery which had so long palsied the energies of that beautiful Country, is now sundered for ever; and although the besotted machinations of one power, and the cold indifference of another may perhaps for a season, retard the full consummation of her glory, yet – thanks to Heaven! – Her Ultimate triumph, neither force nor fraud can avert.

JOHN DEVEREUX (1824) ¹

Race was an integral but largely unspoken component of honour. The white adventurers saw themselves to be inherently more honourable than black, indigenous, mulatto or mestizo men. Because his independence and freedom were constricted, the slave was even less honourable. This chapter explores the ways that slavery affected the volunteers as they fought for the cause of Independence and Emancipation. It argues that despite the rhetoric of liberty, freedom for slaves was only rarely embraced by the adventurers, who were much more concerned with asserting their own honour as white men. When it was in their interest, volunteers even worked on slave plantations, or purchased their own slaves. With some exceptions, their dealings with slaves and people of colour reveal the great extent to which most of the volunteers' honour, and the nature of their adventuring in Colombia, depended on their position and identity as white men.

At an 1822 City of London Tavern dinner hosted in honour of the Colombian representative Francisco Antonio Zea, the anti-slavery campaigner William Wilberforce stood up to give a speech. His friend, the reformer James Mackintosh, had just proposed a toast to 'General Bolivar and the Army of Colombia', and other speakers had praised the burgeoning commercial relations between the New and Old Worlds. Wilberforce spoke of the need for 'the entire and speedy abolition of the slave trade', and thanked 'the

¹ Devereux to Daniel O'Connell, 22nd August 1824, London, O'Connell Papers, UCD, P12/3/148.

Congress of Colombia for its efficient exertions towards that object'.² According to a report of the dinner, Wilberforce announced that 'the darkness of slavery was receding – the light of freedom was already beaming with brilliancy, and they would shortly be enabled to hail a glorious day in its full meridian lustre'.³ He concluded his speech by reflecting that it was 'delightful' for him to see, 'in the decline of life', the culmination of his own campaigning work in the abolitionist tendencies of the South American Independents.⁴

To various extents Wilberforce's sentiments were shared, developed and contradicted by the volunteers who fought in the Wars of Independence. They encountered slavery across Gran Colombia, reaching as far south as Esmeraldas on the Ecuadorian Pacific coast.⁵ The British government had formally abolished its own slave trade in 1807. A decade later campaigning against the institution of slavery was superseding indignation at the continuing trading of slaves by other powers.⁶ Hispanic American elites recognised that they had to prove their 'abolitionist' credentials to gain the political recognition they so desired from Great Britain.⁷

² Anon, 'Account of the Public Dinner In Honour of Francisco Antonio Zea', 10th July 1822. Reproduced as an appendix to *Colombia – a Geographical, Statistical, Agricultural, Commercial and Political account of that country*, p.741.

³ William Wilberforce, quoted in 'Account of the Public Dinner', p.739.

⁴ Wilberforce, quoted in 'Account of the Public Dinner', p.740.

⁵ Some volunteers also travelled in the South of the United States of America, or Cuba, before or after their time in South America or the Caribbean. Their comments on slavery in these areas are not discussed here, but see for example, Chesterton, *Peace, War and Adventure*, p.123, p.243.

⁶ Wilberforce and Mackintosh were among the founders of the Anti-Slavery Society in early 1823. See John Pocock, *Wilberforce*, (London, 1976), p.283; Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810*, (London, 1975) and Anstey and P.E.H. Hair, eds., *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade and Abolition, essays to illustrate current knowledge and research*, (Widnes, 1976); Seymour Drescher, 'Abolitionist Expectations: Britain', *Slavery and Abolition*, 21:2, (August 2000), pp.41-66. The literature on the abolition of slavery is vast. See the bibliographies in Franklin W. Knight, 'The disintegration of the slavery system in the Caribbean', in Knight, ed., *UNESCO General History of the Caribbean*, Vol.3, *The Slave Societies of the Caribbean*, (London, 1997), pp.322-45; and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, 'Big questions and answers: Three histories of slavery, the slave trade and the Atlantic World', *Social History*, 27:2 (May 2002) pp.209-17. Madge Dresser has argued that there can be no overriding explanation for abolitionism in Britain, as it was an integral part of radical thought in this period. See her *Slavery Obscured, the Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*, (London, 2001).

⁷ Humberto Triana y Antorveza, 'La abolición del comercio de negros de Africa en la política internacional de la Gran Colombia 1821-30', *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, 82:788 (January-March 1995) pp.9-73. See also Margarita González, 'El proceso de manumisión en Colombia' in the same author's *Ensayos de historia colombiana*, (Bogotá, 1975), pp.222-5.

The years 1820 and 1821 were a turning point in the Independents' attitudes to slavery.⁸ Before the 1821 Cúcuta Congress, freeing slaves was seen as a military necessity that provided manpower to debilitated armies, and these men contributed both to the Independents' military success and to shaping the discourse surrounding Independence.⁹ With the establishment of the Republic of Colombia in 1819, and its subsequent institutionalisation at Cúcuta, fears of losing the war against Spain gradually became less acute. Concerns about regaining control of the labour force and enabling economic recovery, added to anxiety at the prospect of inter-ethnic warfare, led Independent leaders to revert to their original ambivalence about freeing slaves. They preferred to focus on what they saw as more pressing liberties: freedom to trade, freedom of expression, and political freedoms for those who had fought for Independence. Similarly, by 1821 many volunteers had left the continent to pursue other interests, some finding employment in the British colonies where slavery remained important. Those who stayed and integrated themselves into Hispanic American societies tended to adopt the dominant local attitudes accepting slavery as an integral part of economic relations.¹⁰ As shown in Chapter 2, however, slavery was not an issue in all regions. Numbers of slaves were limited in highland and forest areas and more common on coastal plantations and in mining regions. This meant that propertied classes across Gran Colombia were not united in their attitude to slavery, unlike their counterparts in Santo Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica or Brazil, where slavery was fundamental to their economies. In the Hispanic Caribbean islands, slaves made up at least one-third of the population; on the Hispanic American mainland, the figure was just 2%.¹¹ These figures reflect the case for the British slaving colonies: in

⁸ Lombardi, 'Los esclavos negros en las guerras venezolanas de la independencia', *Cultura universitaria*, 93 (October-December 1966), pp.153-66.

⁹ See Brito Figueroa, *Las insurrecciones de los esclavos negros en Venezuela 1777-1830*; Lombardi, 'Los esclavos negros'; Nuria Sales de Bohigas, *Sobre esclavos, reclutas y mercaderes de quintos*, (Barcelona, 1974); Helg, 'The Limits of Equality: Free People of Colour and Slaves during the First Independence of Cartagena, Colombia (1810-1815)', in *Slavery and Abolition*, 20 (August 1999), pp.1-30; Helg, 'Raíces de la invisibilidad del afrocaribe en la imagen de la nación colombiana', pp.219-51; Peter Blanchard, 'The Language of Liberation: Slave Voices in the Wars of Independence', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 82:3 (August 2002), pp.499-523.

¹⁰ For the abolition of slavery in Colombia, see Harold A. Bierck, 'The Struggle for Abolition in Colombia', *HAHR*, 33 (August 1953), pp.365-86. For Venezuela, see Lombardi, *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery 1820-1854*.

¹¹ Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery 1776-1848*, (London, 1988), p.5. Figures are estimates for the late eighteenth century, during which time many of these areas passed from colony to republic.

mainland British North America 21% of the population consisted of slaves, and in the British West Indian islands this figure rose to 86%.¹² For this reason, in contrast to Cuba and Puerto Rico, slavery was not defended staunchly by the upper classes except in very specific locations and circumstances, like Cartagena or the Pacific Coast. Elsewhere it was not a core institution underpinning the social order.

Figure 5.1: Distribution of Slaves across Gran Colombia, c.1820.¹³

Region	Slaves as Percentage of Regional Population
Venezuelan Coast	26.29%
Venezuelan Coastal Range	21.57%
Segovia Highlands	9.65%
Venezuelan Andes	3.20%
Venezuelan Llanos	7.94%
Guayana	9.60%
New Granadan Caribbean Coast	8.67%
New Granadan Eastern Cordillera	2.29%
Upper Magdalena	6.38%
New Granadan Central Cordillera	19.26%
Upper Cauca Valley	20.76%
New Granadan Southern Highlands	0.69%
New Granadan Pacific Lowlands and Coast	48.82%
New Granadan Eastern Llanos	0.57%
Total	100%

Before analysing the volunteers' encounters with slavery and free black people across the Gran Colombian region, it is important to note that the volunteer expeditions did not always consist solely of white men themselves. Historians have long recognised the many Haitian troops who served in the Independent armies.¹⁴ Sources reveal that the volunteer expeditions had a substantial black component, perhaps in the region of 2-3%, just as the British Army did at the time. In the late eighteenth century the British Army's West India garrisons had increasingly recruited slave soldiers and other British Army units contained black men, generally in their musical corps as black men were perceived to be

¹² Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery 1776-1848*, p.5.

¹³ Figures taken from Lombardi, *People and Places*; McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*. As no reliable figures are available for Ecuador, it should be understood that highland Ecuador had the same very low percentage of slaves as the New Granadan Southern Highlands, and the Ecuadorian coast had a similar level as the New Granadan Pacific coast to its north.

¹⁴ Particularly Verna, *Petición y Bolívar*, p.152.

particularly good musicians.¹⁵ By the end of the Napoleonic Wars around one quarter of the British Navy was black.¹⁶ Gregor MacGregor's expedition on Portobello contained black seamen, and Gustavo Hippisley's Hussars had several black trumpeters.¹⁷ The surviving documentation seldom records the skin colour of individual West Indian soldiers such as William Thompson and Francis Yeakey.¹⁸

In addition to praising the musicality and heroism of his black trumpeters, Hippisley stressed what a fine cook his black servant W. Williams was.¹⁹ Other officers like John Mackintosh also had black servants in early 1819.²⁰ Nevertheless, British commanders would commend black men only as long as they were in a subservient capacity. Any attempt to break out of that role was strictly limited.²¹ Indeed, relations between black and white British men were not always convivial. According to one officer, a 'black West Indian British subject' who was in Maturín, was 'hauled into the patriot ranks' by a

¹⁵ Holmes, *Redcoat*, pp.124-7; Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar and Seapower*, pp.363-7; Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies*, pp.119-22. For a short period in 1820, Simón Bolívar attempted to employ some of his most efficient British officers in leading an entirely black battalion. For the black Battalion of Santander see Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.266.

¹⁶ Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, p.311.

¹⁷ Private John Lewis was a member of Gregor MacGregor's expedition to Portobello in 1819. He was a black seaman, possibly West Indian and with experience in the British Army, and was captured by the Loyalists when the town was lost. Despite making an escape attempt, he was amongst those prisoners subsequently executed at Panama. Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*, p.422; Weatherhead, *An account of the late expedition against the Isthmus of Darien*, p.104. John Lewis' British Army experience was indicated in WO 97/389/12 (born Kingston, Jamaica) and WO 97/97/1133/226 (born Tobago). See also Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.205, pp.366-9; Adam, *Journal of Voyages*, p.84.

¹⁸ For volunteers from the Anglophone Caribbean, see my unpublished paper 'Atlantic Networks of Mercenaries and the Arms Trade'. A small number of volunteers from 'Bermuda', 'The West Indies' and 'Jamaica' appeared in 'Descriptive Roll of the B.L. Achaguas, 22nd December 1820', AHG G, Actas 3-5. In 1818 Alexander Rulo described his national origin as 'being of the dominions of England'. AGI Cuba, Legajo 906, testimony given in Puerto Cabello, 30th October 1818. Comparatively, see George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900: (Black Legions of Buenos Aires)*, (Madison, Wisc., 1980) which contains some astute observations on the historical invisibility of black soldiers in the Independence period. For further discussion of racial identity in this period, see Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture*, p.9-25.

¹⁹ Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.369.

²⁰ 'Review of Rifles under John Mackintosh', 1st March 1819, in AL, Vol.14, f.37.

²¹ Even in his memoirs, Hippisley could not resist undermining the heroism of his black trumpeter, Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.643. Other sources feature minor references to black members of the expeditions. A *Teniente* Harris had a 'black servant' who managed to escape when his master was captured and killed by Loyalist Indians on the passage from Trinidad to Angostura, *Morning Chronicle*, 17th November 1819. Combining the musicality and cookery of other black British military men, John Potter Hamilton recounted meeting at Soledad in New Granada 'a black, named Louis Bramar, who had for three years played the kettledrum in one of our regiments of lifeguards. He spoke English very well, and had the situation of a shopman to our landlord. We found him very useful – he also learnt to make egg-punch English style'. Hamilton, *Travels Through The Interior Provinces of Colombia*, Vol.1, p.47.

Creole officer. Whilst white British officers looked on, he was repeatedly beaten by an Independent officer who did not believe the man was British. One of the officers who watched the beatings, 'averse to interfering with the native troops', remembered that the 'unfortunate black called, shame!'²²

The Rhetoric of Slavery

The rhetoric of slavery in the early nineteenth century was applied to a much wider variety of conditions than just the chattel slavery of black Africans. While forced labour was the emotive reference of Devereux's phrase 'the dark and heavy chain of Slavery', his main concern was Spain's authority over its American Empire. Other volunteers who became disillusioned with their treatment in South America often wrote of their situation in terms of slavery. One officer, upon his return to London in 1820, described the volunteer expeditions as 'this traffic in human blood' of a nature 'as black and barbarous as the SLAVE TRADE'.²³ Comparing the treatment of white volunteers to the slave trade was as sharp a criticism as could be imagined. Merchants also used the language of slavery to emphasise their own difficult situations. One claimed in 1823 that 'after having served the Republic almost like a slave for over four years, having spent my own money and having suffered terribly, I thought that I had some rights to request compensation. Few foreigners have taken more interest than me in Colombia's cause'.²⁴ The following year, British merchants in Cartagena petitioned the British consul, complaining about 'the shackles imposed' on their mercantile transactions.²⁵

The semantics of slavery had long been loose enough for soldiers and merchants to appropriate them, but when they encountered its reality in the Caribbean, the transition

²² Adam, *Journal of Voyages*, p.84.

²³ Chesterton, *A Narrative of Proceedings in Venezuela and South America*, p.vi, original emphasis. John Evans quoted Bolívar referring to the volunteers as 'my slaves – I have paid for them in mules and cattle', in 'Brief Account of the Proceedings and Career of the Patriot Army of Venezuela, commended by General Bolivar and his colleague, Páez of the cavalry, of the interior of that Country', in *Carrick's Morning Post*, 23rd November 1823.

²⁴ Matthew MacNamara to Secretary of War and Marine, 10th April 1823, Bogotá, AGNC R GYM, Vol.35, f.911.

²⁵ Petition of Robert McFarlane, James A. Brush, George Still, James G. Simpson, W. Simpson, and Robert Cartmell to Edward Watts, 16th February 1824, Cartagena, PRO FO 18/6, ff.204-20.

from rhetoric to reality was complicated.²⁶ All of the volunteers would have had some contact with slave societies as they passed through the West Indies, and around two thousand of them dispersed into the islands looking for work after leaving the Independents.²⁷ The first impression of many was simply shock. Whether this was an easy, throwaway expression of sympathy is difficult to ascertain. Yet such comments as these were not uncommon:

[In Jamaica, 1819] The heart was moved to pity by the condition of the slaves ... [who] led a life of comfort or torture according to the temper or caprice of their owners.²⁸

[In Cumaná, 1819] They are human beings and they deserve the name better than those who abuse them.²⁹

[In St. Martins, 1817] A visit to the West Indies would probably induce the greater proportion of even the warmest advocates of the slave trade to retract their sentiments, and unite in detestation of this barbarous and unnatural traffic.³⁰

Expressions of common humanity with slaves were often accompanied by comments on the 'good treatment' of slaves by their Spanish masters, for in 'a striking contrast to the disgraceful and morbid selfishness of the possessors of this unfortunate race in other countries ... [here the slave] is at least considered a social animal'.³¹ C.S. Cochrane went so far as to hope that the gradual system of emancipation evident in the new republics 'might not be adopted with beneficial results in our West India Islands, where similar experiments, modified so as to suit particular circumstances, might be productive of similar results'.³²

²⁶ Christopher Brown, 'Empire Without Slaves: British Concepts of Emancipation in the Age of the American Revolution', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 56 (1999) p.286.

²⁷ This figure is based on the statistical analysis in Chapter 2. See also Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies*, p.180.

²⁸ Chesterton, *Peace, War and Adventure*, p.170, p.216, p.243.

²⁹ [Anon], *Travels in South America*, (Dublin, 1824), p.36.

³⁰ Hackett, *Narrative of the Expedition which sailed from England in 1817*, p.36.

³¹ [Anon], *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the ship 'Two Friends'*, p.125. Under Spanish and Portuguese law, slaves did have opportunities to purchase their freedom, especially those in urban areas who could obtain some remunerative work away from their official duties. That the Spaniards were benevolent slave owners was a commonplace of travel literature in this period. See Semple, *Sketch of the Present State of Caracas*, p.116; Richard Bache, *Notes on Colombia taken in the years 1822-23*, p.161; Robert Proctor, *Narrative of a journey across the Cordillera of the Andes and of a residence in Lima and other parts of Peru in the years 1823 and 1824*, (London, 1825), p.233.

³² C.S. Cochrane, *Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia*, Vol.2, p.38. Others were more pragmatic in the way they saw slavery. Francis Hall wrote to Jeremy Bentham that the decline of slavery in the Caribbean was now inevitable, simply because 'free Spanish America will undercut slave societies for sugars, rum and coffee'. Hall to Bentham, 5th February 1824, Maracaibo, in Conway, ed., *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*, Vol.10, (Oxford, 1989), p.346. See also the comments of Consul Wood, 'The General State of the Country', 30th January 1826, Guayaquil, PRO FO 18/37 f.150.

For every volunteer who criticised slavery, or hoped for its rapid disintegration, there was another who lambasted slaves themselves for their idleness or savagery. Describing a Venezuelan maroon community he visited, one volunteer officer commented that 'it is most likely that these solitary savages had made their escape from slavery in some of the neighbouring West India islands, and now lived a life of idleness, surrounded by abundance'.³³ Another volunteer thought the blacks he encountered in the same area 'fit for nothing but beasts of burden or slaves'.³⁴ The foreign volunteers, coming to Hispanic America via the Caribbean, were exposed to the widespread fear of slave insurrection, with white settlers permanently 'on the defensive'.³⁵ The memory of the Haitian Revolution and War of Independence remained with the anxious Caribbean planters, and refugees took their scare-stories with them to Cuba, Louisiana, Venezuela, and back to Europe.³⁶

Freeing Slaves and Fighting with Them

When the volunteer expeditions were first being recruited in London in 1817, some radicals did see the abolition of slavery as an integral part of the movement for 'emancipation'. A dramatised version of Aphra Behn's anti-slavery novella *Oroonoko* was shown in London's West End in February 1817, and reviewed in the radical newspaper *The Black Dwarf*. The reviewer hoped that 'there is so much about liberty, and the right even of blacks to be free, that it will go nigh to rouse our white population from their lethargy'. He recommended that 'everyone should see this representation, the friend

³³ Adam, *Journal of Voyages*, p.55.

³⁴ Robinson, *Journal of an Expedition*, p.185.

³⁵ Heuman, 'The Social Structure of the Slave Societies in the Caribbean', in Knight, *UNESCO General History of the Caribbean: Vol.3: The Slave Societies of the Caribbean*, p.162. For Venezuela in particular see Carrera Damas, 'Para un esquema sobre la participación de las clases populares en el movimiento nacional de independencia, en Venezuela, a comienzos del siglo XIX', in Carrera Damas, *Historiografía marxista venezolana y otros ensayos*, (Caracas, 1967).

³⁶ For a detailed discussion of the particular fear of 'contagion' from the French colonies, see William J. Callahan Jr., 'La propaganda, la sedición y la revolución francesa en la capitanía-general de Venezuela, 1789-1796', *Boletín histórico*, 14 (May 1967), pp.182-205.

of freedom to open his soul to congenial daring – the sons of despotism, to learn the power of freedom’.³⁷

An editorial in the *Correo del Orinoco* in July 1820 continued this explicit link between political emancipation and the freedom of slaves. It argued that ‘nature, justice and religion reprove man being converted into simple merchandise. All nations are agreed that this horrible traffic must be suppressed. Only the oppressive Spaniard resists the voice of nature, of justice, and of religion: the unanimous voice of nations. So America, in emancipating itself, will have also to break the chains of the African’.³⁸ Nevertheless, the claims of ‘the chains of the African’, *Oroonoko*’s ‘right even of blacks to be free’ and the concern for the ‘most degraded and deserted of the human race’, were still secondary priorities for radicals who felt that political emancipation and the introduction of constitutions and rational law codes would ‘naturally’ lead to social change. Yet it was still an integral part of the rhetoric, and one that volunteers chose to give as much weight to as they saw fit. Some volunteers saw the abolition of slavery as a logical extension of ‘liberty’, while others did not.

The point at which ‘liberty’ ceased to refer to black slaves can be traced in the *Black Dwarf* editorials. They attacked the ‘West India planters’ for their cruelty to slaves, but consistently argued that the terrible conditions endured by the English labouring classes should be improved before ideas of ‘liberty’ could be exported abroad. In 1819 *Black Dwarf* described the unquestioning obedience to superior military officers as ‘itself a form of slavery’ that should no longer be tolerated.³⁹ *Black Dwarf* made no distinction

³⁷ *Black Dwarf*, 12th February 1817, p.48. For Aphra Behn see David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, (New York, 1966), p.473. *Oroonoko* itself can be found in Paul Salzman, ed., *Oroonoko, and Other Writings*, (Oxford, 1994.).

³⁸ *Correo del Orinoco*, 29th July 1820. The travellers who shared this opinion were few. One was Carl August Gosselman, a Swede who travelled in Colombia in 1825–6 and 1837–8. See his *Informes sobre los Estados Sudamericanos en los años de 1837 y 1838*, ed. Mörner (Stockholm, 1962) p.21, and *Viaje por Colombia, 1825 y 1826* (translated by Ann Christien Pereira, Bogotá, 1981), p.333.

³⁹ *Black Dwarf*, 1st December 1819. In 1823, exasperated at the failure of revolutionary movements in Britain, *Black Dwarf* saw slavery wherever it looked across Europe: ‘The virtue of Europe is on its wane. It is too deeply corrupted to display any republican virtue. Wealth has tainted the richer, and poverty degraded the poorer classes. There is no stock on which a love of country can be grafted. ... Despotism stalks triumphantly over the continent; and truly the race of slaves who inhabit it are fitted for the tyrants

between the brutality of slavery endured by blacks in the West Indian colonies, labourers in the 'manufactories' in England, or peasants in Ireland.⁴⁰ Aside from this rhetoric, however, there was no other link between the liberation of slaves and the struggle for freedom in Britain. *Black Dwarf* consistently argued that those wishing to fight in the name of liberty should do so at home, before worrying about the freedom of others. Contemporary black radicals like Robert Wedderburn and the 'radical underworld' of which they formed part may have secretly hoped for the two causes to be united, but even they were not explicit.⁴¹

In the British West Indian islands, influential traders and planters sought to undermine the volunteer expeditions despite their separation from the British radical and abolitionist movement, because they perceived them as a threat to their interests in the Caribbean. Whilst nowhere was this an open policy, many volunteers recalled that upon their arrival in the Caribbean islands they had been told that their cause was 'hopeless' and they should return home.⁴² More tangibly, Caribbean newspapers such as the *Jamaica Gazette* waged campaigns to damage the reputation of Gregor MacGregor.⁴³ MacGregor was by no means an explicit abolitionist, but planter interests did not welcome his links to Haiti or his attack on the commercial centre of Portobello. MacGregor pragmatically freed or employed slaves according to his own political or economic necessity, and this ambiguity on the issue caused discomfort to slave owners. It would not be unreasonable to propose that those volunteers who felt more fervently about the matter chose to be silent to avoid similar criticism. However, some volunteers who were decidedly unambiguous about freeing slaves have been excluded from both the literature dealing with slavery and that of the Wars of Independence. John Runnel, for example, was not discussed by either

who govern them with rods of iron. ... The age of men has passed away, and the old world is disgraced by a succession of imitative apes of humanity'. *Black Dwarf*, 8th October 1823.

⁴⁰ *Black Dwarf*, 18th February 1824, 3rd March 1824.

⁴¹ Iain McCalman, ed., *The Horrors of Slavery' and Other Writings by Robert Wedderburn*, (Edinburgh, 1991), pp.17-8. McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795-1840*, (Cambridge, 1988), especially pp.233-7, argued strongly for the existence of a 'small but continuous revolutionary-republican "underground" which runs from the mid 1790s to early Chartism'. It made no mention of the volunteer expeditions to South America.

⁴² For example, on St. Thomas one volunteer's 'golden daydreams' were 'brought to darkness'. [Anon], *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the ship 'Two Friends'*, p.42.

⁴³ Brown, 'Inca, Sailor, Soldier, King'.

Hasbrouck or Lambert, despite his appearance in a wide variety of published sources relating to the Independence period. The key to Runnel's exclusion from the conventional narratives lay in the nature of his relationship with slaves and other non-whites in the Wars of Independence in Colombia. An exploration of Runnel's career illuminates hitherto hidden aspects of the ways that race and slavery underscored the careers of all the mercenaries.

In the 1920s the historian Demetrio García Vásquez wrote about John Runnel in a short appendix to his history of the Cauca region. He explained that Runnel was a savage bandit who had terrorised the civilian population of Cali and the surrounding area in 1819-1820, at the head of marauding hordes of slaves whom he had encouraged to escape from the local haciendas. García Vásquez contended that Runnel gained fame amongst the 'popular masses' simply by being a foreigner renowned for his bravery, and that he declared a War to the Death on the peace-loving townspeople. Runnel was accused of 'stirring up hatred amongst the slaves so that they would engage in the most terrible rampaging'.⁴⁴

Sixty years later Germán Colmenares referred to Runnel in a footnote to his history of social conflict in the Cauca region in the Independence period. Colmenares wrote that Runnel 'makes one think of Joseph Conrad's *Nostramo*, having his own version of the revolution and fighting alongside the lower orders and escaped slaves'.⁴⁵ He concluded that both armies had tolerated guerrilla bands like Runnel's, so long as they prevented slaves from escaping the conflict altogether. García Vásquez and Colmenares both saw Runnel as a novel sideshow to events in Cauca. Whilst one demonised him, the other romanticised him.⁴⁶ Yet neither looked at Runnel's career in any detail, nor asked what happened to him when he left Cali. Colmenares did not explore whether Runnel's 'own

⁴⁴ Demetrio García Vásquez, *Revaluaciones Históricas*, Vol.1, (Cali, 1924), pp.xxix-xliii.

⁴⁵ Colmenares, 'Castas, patrones de poblamiento y conflictos sociales', p.147.

⁴⁶ How Runnel fits in to the 'bandit' theses developed by Hobsbawm, Slatta and Izard is debatable. In the absence of any documentary sources giving further details as to whom the '*malvados*' that followed him actually were, any judgement would be premature. See Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, (London, 1998, 3rd edition); Slatta, ed., *Bandidos*, and Gilbert M. Joseph, 'On the trail of Latin American bandits: A re-examination of peasant resistance', *LARR*, 25:3 (1990), pp.7-53.

version of the revolution' included unconditional liberty for slaves, or indeed wholesale demolition of the colonial racial hierarchies.

Runnel left no written documents of his presence in Hispanic America. Like the majority of seamen and soldiers who came from Britain and Ireland in this period, he was probably illiterate. Even his name is ambiguous – although many documents referred to him as '*el inglés Juan Runnel*', there is no obvious Anglicisation of Runnel.⁴⁷

Runnel's brief Gran Colombian career can be sketched as follows. He arrived in Buenaventura as a crewman under the Irish corsair William Brown flying the Independent flag of Buenos Aires in 1816, but was left on shore when Brown departed in a hurry. In addition to twenty-five crewmen, Brown left behind 'twenty cannons, gunpowder, arms, and ammunition'⁴⁸ which may have formed the basis of Runnel's armoury. It is possible that Runnel then enlisted in the Spanish army (the Cauca region was being re-occupied by Spanish expeditionary forces) before finding work as an overseer on slave plantations.⁴⁹ When the Independent armies arrived in 1819, Runnel was one of several men leading guerrilla groups of black slaves.⁵⁰ After taking part in the

⁴⁷ In the other sources used to compile the database there were no references to any John Runnel, or John Ronald, which seemed the most obvious translation. Runnel is a village in Norfolk. However, as Chapter 4 showed, the term '*inglés*' did not necessarily translate as English, as it was commonly used to mean anyone not of Spanish or Hispanic American origin – including Irishmen, Scotsmen, North Americans, Frenchmen and even Poles. The only Runnels encountered found searching the internet were two prominent contemporary Estonians, Veljo and Hando Runnel, and one mid-nineteenth-century Panamanian law-enforcer, Randolph Runnel. For Veljo and Hando see www.raamatukoi.ee, and for Randolph see Susan Harp, *History of the Las Cruces Trail and Adjacent Area*, (Panamá, 2001). This all casts further doubt on just how *inglés* Juan Runnel was.

⁴⁸ 'Un documento que parece ser un anexo de actas de cabildo', in Latin American Manuscripts Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, reproduced in Ramírez Zuluaga, *Guerrilla y Sociedad en el Patía*, p.113. For notice of Brown's departure see also Restrepo, *Historia de la revolución*, Vol.3, p.37. For Brown see De Courcey Ireland, *The Admiral from Mayo: A Life of Almirante William Brown of Foxford, Father of the Argentine Navy*, (Dublin, 1995).

⁴⁹ A Loyalist document dated 28th June 1816 mentioned 'three Englishmen who have come [from Buenaventura to Cali] to join the army', ACC, Sala Independencia, C1-5f, Sig. 507. All three of the Englishmen were illiterate, and could not sign their names. No documents have been found mentioning Runnel in the years 1817-1818. A tentative conclusion is that he maintained himself in the slave economy, as did other volunteers elsewhere in the Caribbean. Such experience, and the scarcity of men of appropriate 'intermediate' status, is a more convincing explanation as to how Runnel came to lead groups of escaped slaves, than García Vásquez' claim that it 'was just because he was foreign', *Revaluaciones históricas*, Vol.1, p.xi.

⁵⁰ The others included Antonio Alaix and most famously, Simón Muñoz. See Pérez Ortiz, *Guerra irregular en la independencia de la Nueva Granada y Venezuela*, pp.201-54.

battle of San Juanito in September 1819, he took control of Cali when it was threatened with Spanish reconquest in early 1820. In April that same year he was persuaded to enlist, with his men, in the regular Independent army.

Recent scholarship has stressed the irregularity and flexibility of slavery in Cauca, and the nuances between the labour systems in the surrounding regions.⁵¹ In the area around Popayán, indigenous people worked on haciendas as often as black slaves, so Runnel's followers were probably not just escaped black slaves, but a racially-mixed group of workers, some previously enslaved, some with other types of relationship to the haciendas. During the Independence period, the collapse of the slave-based economy gave even greater freedom to these workers, many of whom joined mobile guerrilla groups such as that led by Runnel.⁵²

The high-point of Runnel's military career was the battle of San Juanito, in which his irregular forces assisted the Independents under *Coronel* Joaquín de Ricaurte.⁵³ In contrast to the barbarous savages described by García Vásquez, officials reported that the priest at Buga blessed Runnel's forces on their way to the battlefield.⁵⁴ In his report of the battle, Ricaurte noted that Runnel, 'at the head of the people of the Valley' was fundamental to his victory. When the 'battlefield was covered in corpses', Ricaurte had given Runnel the mission of finishing off the remnants of the Loyalist army, who had taken refuge in a farmhouse. 'This worthy and valiant citizen flew fearlessly to the task:

⁵¹ Díaz de Zuluaga, 'La fuerza de trabajo en el Cauca grande 1810-1830', pp.27-67. For the fears induced in slaveowning elites by escaped slaves and maroon colonies in this period, see Price, ed., *Maroon Societies*; and McFarlane, 'Cimarrones and Palenques: Runaways and Resistance in Colonial Colombia', pp.131-49.

⁵² The best discussion of the involvement of the Cauca region in the Wars of Independence is Hamnett, 'Popular Insurrection and Royalist Reaction in the Colombian Regions 1810-1823', in Fisher, Kueth and McFarlane, eds., *Reform and Insurrection in Bourbon New Granada and Peru*, pp.313-22.

⁵³ Joaquín de Ricaurte (b.c.1790 Bogotá, d.1821 Bogotá) came from an important Bogotá family that supported the Independent cause from the beginning. He was exhausted by this campaign in the Cauca, and died shortly afterwards.

⁵⁴ José Manuel Saavedra Galindo, *Colombia libertadora: la obra de la Nueva Granada y especialmente del Valle del Cauca, en la campaña emancipadora del Ecuador y del Perú*, (Bogotá, 1924), pp.29-30.

on the way he dispersed some fifty men who surprised him round the back of the house, and he faithfully fulfilled my orders to stay firm and steady once the house was taken'.⁵⁵

Manuel José Castrillón, who occupied administrative posts in Cauca whilst Runnel was in the area, related a story of Runnel leading highwaymen in January 1820.⁵⁶ Castrillón said that a colleague of his had been attacked on the main Cali-Popayán road by 'the bands led by the foreign patriot Runnel'. This story was confirmed by Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, a member of one of the leading families in the Cauca region. He remembered 'an Englishman Runnel, who had belonged to one of the corsair ships in the Pacific, who organised guerrillas from among the common people [*gente común*] to disturb the peace and public morals'.⁵⁷ Mosquera continued: 'the Englishman Runnel, with the men he had gathered together to take the fight to Calzada, became a bandit and inflicted further pain on the people he should have been protecting'.⁵⁸ Neither Ricaurte, Castrillón nor Mosquera specifically referred to Runnel leading escaped slaves – they chose other descriptions such as 'common people', 'bands' and the 'people of the valley'. When he was being successful, the issue of slavery was overlooked, and Runnel's own leadership was emphasised.

Indeed, contemporary commentators praised Runnel for his courage when leading the civilian resistance in Cali. *Coronel* José Concha, the Independent leader in nearby Ibagué, noted that 'the people of Cali have bravely refused to give in to Calzada, and have resolved to defend themselves under the orders of an Englishman Runnel, with forty guns and 500 gentlemen [*caballeros*]'.⁵⁹ News of the rise of Runnel spread across the region. The *Correo del Orinoco*, published faraway in Angostura, picked up on it,

⁵⁵ Joaquín de Ricaurte, Buga, 29th September 1819, in AGNC R GYM, Vol.323, f.909. See also Restrepo, *Diario político y militar*, Vol.1, p.29.

⁵⁶ Diego Castrillón Arboleda, ed., *Memorias de Manuel José Castrillón (Biografía y memorias)* Vol.1, (Bogotá, 1971), p.175.

⁵⁷ Mosquera, *Memoria sobre la vida del General Simón Bolívar*, p.305.

⁵⁸ Mosquera, *Memoria sobre la vida del General Simón Bolívar*, p.311.

⁵⁹ Letter from José Concha, Ibagué, 22nd January 1820, copied in 'Diario de operaciones del Ejército de Cundinamarca desde 1^o de enero de 1820', AGNC R GYM, Vol.325, f.536. The use of 'caballeros' to describe Runnel's escaped slave followers is confusing, and may have been mistakenly used instead of 'caballos' (horses). However, the original manuscript is clear.

referring to 'Commander Runel [sic], who is in charge of Cali'.⁶⁰ Runnel's only surviving proclamation, albeit reported indirectly, was published in the same period. It revealed a confident, even arrogant Runnel, asserting the freedom from Spanish rule of the 'towns and villages' under his control, pledging 'not to permit the enemy to set foot in their territory'.⁶¹

The Loyalist commander *General* Basilio García, who was fighting against Runnel's guerrillas at this time, did not criticise the *inglés* for the situation in Cauca, or the slaves for following him. Instead, he blamed the incompetence of his own side, especially *General* Sebastián de la Calzada, whom he criticised for 'having returned from Cali, without having even attempted the persecution of the Englishman Runnel, with whom he engaged in just one skirmish in forty days ... [We will never defeat Runnel with Calzada's] impetuosity ... his despotic manner ... his well-known inability'.⁶² For Basilio García, Runnel was just one more part of the war in the Cauca, neither a loose-cannon foreigner nor an uncontrollable barbarian leading savage slaves. But the Loyalist commanders did not all feel the same way as García. Calzada categorically described Runnel as 'the English leader of the villains' ['*el inglés caudillo de los malvados*'].⁶³ Calzada said that in his skirmish with Runnel's troops, he had captured many prisoners, horses, lances and papers. He claimed to have forced Runnel to ride away into the hills with just eighteen followers.⁶⁴

In contrast, José Concha confirmed that Runnel had been integrated into the Independents' strategy, writing that 'a man well-known for his patriotism has arrived here confirming Runnel's [sic] plan of operations'.⁶⁵ Santander took a similar perspective, based on the reports he received from Concha. He dismissed allegations of pillaging and

⁶⁰ *Correo del Orinoco*, 3rd June 1820, also Restrepo, *Diario político y militar*, 8th April 1820, p.53.

⁶¹ *Gazeta de Santa Fe de Bogotá*, 12th March 1820.

⁶² Basilio García to President of Quito, Popayán, 16th April 1820, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 230, 1820 Vol.2, f.24.

⁶³ 'Diario del Estado Mayor de la División del Reyno al mando del señor comandante don Sebastián de la Calzada, en enero a abril de 1820', entry for 3rd March 1820, reproduced in Elías Ortiz, ed., *Colección de documentos para la Historia de Colombia*, pp.186-7.

⁶⁴ 'Diario del Estado Mayor de la División del Reyno', p.188.

⁶⁵ José Concha to Domingo Caycedo, 7th March 1820, Popayán, in *Archivo epistolar del General Domingo Caycedo*, Vol.1, p.86.

violence, writing that ‘fear and terror produce these visions’.⁶⁶ Colmenares agreed with Santander, arguing that the supposed ‘savagery’ of the lower orders in the Independence period was in fact largely invented by authorities who sought to justify the economic dislocation of the period.⁶⁷

By April 1820 the Cali mercantile and landowning elites were taking a new perspective on Runnel. Minutes of a meeting of the *cabildo* accused Runnel of having brought confusion, anarchy and disaster to Cali. They contrasted him with Antonio Cifuentes, who was to take over charge of the defence of the town. *Cabildo* members praised Cifuentes for ‘the important effects of his having contained the disasters caused by the blacks of the haciendas and the other evil people led [*malvados acaudillados*] by the Englishman Juan Runel [sic]’.⁶⁸ Cifuentes’ success was held to be down to his ‘honour, ability and good conduct’.⁶⁹

Implicitly, what Runnel suffered from in the eyes of the *cabildo* was a lack of honour. This perspective derived not only from his association with the slaves from the haciendas and the other ‘villains’. Most of the members of the *cabildo* were hacienda (and therefore slave) owners and so Runnel’s bands directly affected their interests. In addition to threatening the established social and racial orders, Runnel’s guerrillas directly affected the Cali notables financially.

The documents cited above show that Runnel was an integral part of the conflict in Cauca. The men who followed him were an effective guerrilla/bandit force, as proved by their participation at San Juanito, and their successful resistance to Loyalist attacks on Cali. Whether observers saw him as ‘*el caudillo de los malvados*’, a bandit or a ‘worthy and valiant citizen’, it was only the Cali elites (and the subsequent historians like García Vázquez who followed their accounts) who stressed Runnel’s links to slaves. But while

⁶⁶ Santander to Domingo Caycedo, 13th February 1820, Bogotá, in *Archivo epistolar*, Vol.1, p.86.

⁶⁷ Colmenares, ‘Castas, patrones de poblamiento y conflictos sociales’ pp.143-6.

⁶⁸ *Cabildo* minutes, 17th April 1820, AHC, Fondo Consejo, Actas Capitulares, Vol.42, ff.6-8. The Director of the Archivo Histórico de Cali, Amanda Caicedo, kindly provided me with scanned copies of these documents when I was unable to travel to Cali.

⁶⁹ *Cabildo* minutes, 17th April 1820, f.8.

other commentators overlooked the previous condition of his followers, this would nevertheless determine the manner in which he left the Cauca region, never to return.

After his departure from Cali, Runnel and his guerrilla forces were formally incorporated into the Independents' Army of the South in Popayán. Runnel was entrusted with men and mules – but no arms – and instructed to 'surprise Spaniards and their companions, and to defeat them so as to pacify the Cauca Valley'.⁷⁰ Runnel followed these orders throughout June, when he was recalled to Popayán.

The Independent leader in Popayán was *Coronel* Manuel Valdés, an aging Venezuelan soldier who was increasingly exhausted by the task of organising an army in the Cauca.⁷¹ His orders from Bolívar were to liberate the Presidency of Quito from Loyalist control, but he was hindered by the tropical climate which caused frequent illness and extremely high rates of desertion. Runnel's incorporation into the army was an indication of how desperate things were – soldiers were required to replace those who had died or left. Even Runnel's guerrillas, who had so disconcerted the Cali elites just months previously, were now welcome. Surviving letters written by Valdés reveal a little about his state of mind in the weeks he had Runnel under his command. Of the Loyalists he wrote: 'these barbarous enemies, whose intention is to destroy humanity, should no longer be allowed to exist within Colombian territory'. In order to succeed, he demanded that every soldier 'pursue those traitors' who weakened his army by deserting.⁷² Valdés thought himself surrounded by disloyal cowards, who were unable to comprehend the sacrifices demanded by the war effort. Having lived through several years of the War to the Death in his native Venezuela, Valdés' thinking was full of paranoia, arbitrary punishments and unwillingness to compromise. It was at this point, with these concerns uppermost in his mind, that Juan Runnel entered Manuel Valdés' area of authority. On 14th July, Runnel was sent wearing handcuffs from Cali to Valdés at Popayán. The reasons given by the

⁷⁰ 'Continuación del diario de la comandancia General de la Provincia del Cauca, desde 9 de junio de 1820', signed by Estado Mayor Juan Nep.o Aguila, AGNC R GYM, Vol.324, ff.274-95.

⁷¹ *General* Manuel Valdés (b.1780 Trinidad, d.1845 Angostura) moved into political life in Venezuela at the end of the Wars of Independence. Isolated by his opposition to the rule of José Antonio Páez, he died just after returning from a lengthy period of exile.

⁷² Valdés, Proclamation, Neyva, 2nd May 1820, ACC, Sala Independencia, M1-4-c, Vol.1, Sig. 6379, f.8.

military authorities in Cali were that Runnel had tried to resist marching orders by pretending to be ill. In the light of the 'terrible desertions' suffered by the 4th and 5th companies of the Cauca Battalion under Runnel, it was held 'that Runnel was subversively encouraging this desertion'. He was therefore 'so prejudicial to this province, and could well bring us worse problems [*mayores males*]', that he simply must be punished'.⁷³

Ten days later, armed with these suspicions about the previous conduct of the newly-arrived Runnel, Manuel Valdés wrote to José Concha to complain of 'uncontrollable ... scandalous desertions'.⁷⁴ The previous night he had locked his new recruits in a barn, so that they could not desert in the night, but eighteen of them had still managed to jump out of a window. Those he managed to re-capture were executed by firing squad, to 'set an example to the others'. He then explained to Concha that desertion would continue to plague the Independents whilst those who did not obey orders went unpunished. At the end of a lengthy exposition on how to combat desertion, came one apparently unrelated paragraph:

The Englishman Runel [sic] is leaving today for Bogotá, so that the Vice-President [Santander] can expel him from the country, if he sees fit. A man like this does not deserve to be in our country, nor in this army, under my command.⁷⁵

The two subjects were in fact intimately linked. The context for Runnel's expulsion from the Independent army was Valdés' continuing anxieties over his own leadership, along with allegations linking Runnel to the subversive incitement of soldiers to desert. Valdés found that he could not even prevent overnight desertions, and his authority was consistently undermined by the escapes of the new recruits he desperately needed to fill the ranks. Runnel was accused of two of the most dishonourable acts Valdés could imagine: encouraging the equality of coloured people, and fomenting desertion. The prisoner was therefore to be sent to the capital 'with all the appropriate security

⁷³ 'Continuación del diario de la comandancia General de la Provincia del Cauca, desde 9 de junio de 1820', AGNC R GYM, Vol.324, f.316.

⁷⁴ Valdés to Concha, 24th July 1820, Popayán, ACC, Sala Independencia, M1-4-c, Vol.1, Sig. 6379, ff.39-40.

⁷⁵ Valdés to Concha, 24th July 1820.

measures'.⁷⁶ The same day Valdés wrote to Santander. He explained that he feared Runnel would 'set an example of insubordination', and that all the troops would desert to become bandits. He wrote: 'I send Runnel to you so that you can throw him out of the country, or do as you see fit with him ... but you should not keep him a moment longer than you have to, for reasons you are well aware of'.⁷⁷

Santander did not mention receiving the prisoner in any of his subsequent letters.⁷⁸ Runnel's name never appeared again in the military diaries written in Bogotá or the towns between Popayán and the capital. None of the official or unofficial newspapers that were published in Bogotá featured Runnel's arrival there, his exile or any exemplary punishment that he received. Once Valdés had sent Runnel from Popayán, the prisoner disappeared. On 29th July, a simple note recorded that the authorities in Popayán were to dispose of any possessions the prisoner had left behind.⁷⁹

This is an unsatisfactory end to Runnel's story. His activities in the Cauca had attracted much comment from contemporaries up to this point. Could he really have travelled up to Bogotá, and then from there to one of the Caribbean ports and into exile, without notice? This seems unlikely. Perhaps he rejoined the Loyalist army. Possibly he escaped his captors and fled into the mountains to earn a subsistence living, as so many locals did in this period. One further explanation would be that Runnel never arrived in Bogotá, but that upon his departure from Popayán, Valdés verbally ordered Runnel to be executed. Such an interpretation is supported by José Manuel Restrepo's diary entry for 9th October 1820, commenting that 'Valdés has committed many rigorous acts against the disaffected and the deserters, and he has made a terrible mess of the Southern Campaign, of which we hoped so much'.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Manuel Valdés to 'Sr Gobernador interino de esta plaza', 22nd July 1820, Popayán, ACC, Sala Independencia, M1-4-c-1, Sig. 6532, f.18.

⁷⁷ Valdés to Santander, 24th July 1820, in García Vásquez, *Revaluaciones históricas*, Vol.1, p.xliii.

⁷⁸ Santander's correspondence has been comprehensively published by the Fundación para la conmemoración del Bicentenario del Natalicio y el Sesquicentenario de la muerte del General Francisco de la Paula Santander, (Bogotá, 1988-1990).

⁷⁹ Manrique, 'Oficio del Estado Mayor del Ejército del Sur', 29th July 1820, Popayán, AGNC R GYM, Vol.326, f.209.

⁸⁰ Restrepo, *Diario político*, p.76, entry for 9th October 1820.

What does this partial re-construction of Runnel's career reveal? Firstly, that some of the British and Irish adventurers were able to form effective relationships with non-whites that involved a certain degree of loyalty and respect, as shown by Runnel's success in guerrilla warfare in Cauca. Runnel may well have had 'his own version' of the revolution, but archival research has yet to establish its details. Secondly, Runnel's activities were not approved of by many of those in charge of the Independent armies. In areas such as Cauca with high black and slave populations, it was easier, cheaper and, many Creoles thought, more secure, to base these white-black relationships on physical force. If slaves were to be allowed liberty through enlisting in the army, it must be enforced by severe discipline. Runnel's unorthodox relations with his guerrillas made other Independent leaders uncomfortable, and led to his expulsion from the army. His career reveals how the disruption of war could lead some subaltern white soldiers to form relationships approaching equality and solidarity with similar groups in Colombia. Nevertheless, by leading (rather than following) groups of escaped slaves, he avoided undermining his own position in the racial hierarchy. The implicit questioning of the social and racial orders which Runnel's 'insubordination' involved, was not one which Creole elites were comfortable with, whether Independents or Loyalists.

Overseeing Slavery

Unlike Runnel, many volunteers did not feel the need to question the system of slavery in the New World. Some even claimed that when they enlisted they had been promised 'six slaves each' to work the land they would be granted in Venezuela.⁸¹ The author of a journal published anonymously in the *Dublin Evening Post* in 1820 set out to describe slavery as he saw it, attempting not to add any moral criticism or justification. He wrote that he had initially landed at Essequibo, and was entertained at the Dartmouth plantation, 'where I saw the negroes at work on the cotton plantation'.⁸² This was stated as fact, neither to be approved nor disapproved. He continued: 'I was most kindly and hospitably

⁸¹ 'Declaración de Jayme Powling', 12th April 1819, Puerto Cabello, AGI Cuba, Legajo 911A, 'Declaraciones de pasados o aprehendidos'.

⁸² Anonymous Journal, *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th June 1820.

entertained by a Mr McPherson, a Scotch gentleman, where I remained, dined and slept like a Naybob that night – his house delightfully situated in Paradise indeed'.⁸³ The plantation had some three hundred slaves, which the author estimated would be worth 'a sum no means uncomfortable'. The Journal continued: 'After my partaking and enjoying all luxuries of this delightful and hospitable country, where plenty and every comfort reigns, even among the negroes (slavery excepted), we proceeded ...'⁸⁴ In these passages, the Irish volunteer described a Paradise necessarily supported by slave labour. Everyone was comfortable and happy, except the slaves, whose labour was a necessary evil. When the expedition was caught the next day in a storm at sea, he was pleased to be able to return to the same spot. Wet and exhausted, 'we were glad to strip and sleep naked in the hut [we found], on the floor with the negroes'.⁸⁵ This extract demonstrates the ambiguities of attitudes to slavery held by some of the volunteers. While the anonymous author showed no concern for the condition or well-being of slaves, neither did he fear sleeping amongst them in his moment of need. The slaves themselves were neither a physical threat nor an example of unacceptable oppression. For this author, just a few months out of Ireland, slavery was a New World institution to be observed and commented upon, but not to be questioned.⁸⁶

Faced with the alternative of mendicancy or returning to Ireland having made no discernable gains in currency or honour, many members of the Irish Legion obtained work in Jamaica as overseers, book-keepers or labourers. The principal source for this assertion is Benjamin M'Mahon, who published his memoirs in London in 1839. In the prologue to *Jamaica Plantership*, M'Mahon wrote:

I am anxious to expose the treachery, the torture and the tyranny, practised by the overseers and the attorneys of Jamaica, towards the slaves, and even towards the book keepers, by such a succinct detail of facts as my experience and observations for the last eighteen years may enable me to supply.

⁸³ Anonymous Journal, *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th June 1820.

⁸⁴ Anonymous Journal, *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th June 1820.

⁸⁵ Anonymous Journal, *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th June 1820. A similar ambiguity was also apparent in John Hankshaw's memoir *Letters written from Colombia During a Journey from Caracas to Bogota and thence to Santa Martha in 1823*, (London, 1824), pp.81-2.

⁸⁶ It should be noted here that when volunteers commented on their encounters with slavery in the New World, it was within the context of plantation slavery – primarily on sugar and cotton plantations – rather than domestic slavery, which was not mentioned.

As a friend of civil and religious liberty, I abhor slavery in my very soul: knowing, as I do, that no man has a just right to deprive his fellow man of his property, of his limbs or of his life except for some crime against society.

I regard slavery in all its forms and under all the modifications it has assumed, as calculated to deprive its victims of those habits and energies which are necessary to effective and beneficial labour.⁸⁷

Nini Rodgers' work on Ireland and the 'Black Atlantic' concurs with M'Mahon's position, awarding Irishmen a unique antipathy to the institution of slavery, because of their own colonial past and interdependent position in the Atlantic economy.⁸⁸ Such an interpretation lends too much credence to M'Mahon's own description of himself. Like other volunteers who described their feelings upon encountering slavery, M'Mahon recorded his reaction as one of incomprehension, followed by disgust:

I must mention that, while I was in Margarita [in 1818], I had an opportunity of seeing nearly all the inhabitants who had formerly been slaves, and who had only been made free a few months before I got there. I believe I can safely say, that I never saw one, either man or woman, that had not their bodies covered with scars, – their faces, necks, arms, legs and backs, were all marked with cuts crossing each other. My ignorance of the nature of slavery, in those days, left me entirely at a loss to know how all the black inhabitants could have received such horrible wounds; and the truth never struck me, till after I had been a little time in Jamaica. The people about forty years old were grey-headed, emaciated, worn-down and often deformed, occasioned by the barbarous cruelty of the inhuman Spaniards, calling themselves Christians.⁸⁹

M'Mahon claimed to have seen many recently freed slaves wearing the scars of physical beatings in Margarita but, upon arriving in Jamaica, his strong feelings about slavery did not prevent him working as a bookkeeper in the slave system:

I observed to the book-keeper, that if I had a thousand men such as I had left behind me in South America, I would hang every rascal who carried a whip to mangle the flesh of his fellow-creatures or the monster who gave such directions. ... I was young then, the planters did not much mind what I said about slavery and cruelty, but attributed it to my want of experience. After some time passed, my feelings became a good deal blunted by seeing these things so often, and I could not help myself, being poor and unprotected, and my remarks never did any good.⁹⁰

The story M'Mahon told in *Jamaica Plantership* explained how he managed to maintain his initial hatred of slavery despite spending eighteen years working on slave plantations

⁸⁷ M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.ii.

⁸⁸ Nini Rogers, 'Ireland and the Black Atlantic in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Irish Historical Studies*, 32:126 (November 2000), pp.175-192. See also Arthur Meyers, 'Come! Let Us Fly to Freedom's Sky': The Response of Irish Immigrants in the South to Slavery During the Late Antebellum Period', *Journal of Southwest Georgia History*, 7 (1989), pp.20-39.

⁸⁹ M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.13.

⁹⁰ M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.18.

in Jamaica, and not once boarding a ship to return to Ireland. Each time he witnessed a barbarity, he claimed, he left that estate and sought better luck elsewhere. In his book he explicitly described floggings, chain gangs, and the individual crimes of planters and overseers.⁹¹ M'Mahon was relentless in his tirade against the cruelty of the slave system. He tried to make it more persuasive to the reader by continually emphasising the blacks' humanity. In his attempts to present a 'correct picture of the general state of negro feeling on the subject of slavery', he recorded slave voices speech 'directly', often for pages at a time.⁹² He recalled that the time spent on an estate that didn't whip its slaves was 'the happiest in my life',⁹³ and emphasised that he was sacked from one estate for voicing praise of the Baptists and missionaries working on the island.⁹⁴

M'Mahon claimed that his decision to serve in the militia against slave rebels in 1832, like his initial involvement in the plantation system in Jamaica, was entirely pragmatic.⁹⁵ Had he thought that black rebellion could have been successful, he would have joined it. But he knew that white rule must continue, and therefore fought in its ranks. For all his shared humanity with blacks and slaves, M'Mahon's loyalty to other whites came before any supposed solidarity with the unfree. M'Mahon held an uncomfortable position in what Gordon Lewis called 'an accidental society composed of different groups alienated from each other, each understanding Jamaica in different terms', although he did not openly acknowledge it.⁹⁶ M'Mahon did not advocate racial equality; rather he sought to make white rule in Jamaica more benevolent and secure.

⁹¹ Examples appear in M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.61, p.69, p.81, p.85. The Appendix to *Jamaica Plantership* (pp.134-49) was a further list of abuses committed by proprietors, including the 'ferocious barbarity' of one Mr William Miller.

⁹² M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.57.

⁹³ M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.63.

⁹⁴ M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.83.

⁹⁵ M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.107. For the rebellion see Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries: The disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society 1787-1834*, (Urbana, Ill., 1982).

⁹⁶ Gordon K. Lewis, *Main Currents of Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1492 – 1900*, (Baltimore, Mary., 1983), p.321.

Henrice Altink followed Benjamin M'Mahon's description of himself as a fervent abolitionist, ignoring the fact that he wrote some six years after abolition was enacted.⁹⁷ Her interpretation ignored M'Mahon's admission of his real motives for writing, given at the end of the book: 'I record it to the eternal disgrace of humanity, that treachery, fraud, cruelty and bestiality were the only stepping stones to preferment'.⁹⁸ M'Mahon first went to the Caribbean as a member of the Irish Legion, seeking honour, glory and riches. Twenty years on, *Jamaica Plantership* was a story of thwarted ambition. By carefully blaming slavery's excesses onto those just above him in the white social hierarchy, he hoped to preserve his honour, threatened by the abolition of the institution that had supported him for almost two decades. Like the lower-class white men and women described by Colley in *Captives*, M'Mahon was largely impotent in the face of the social, economic and political institutions that governed Britain's empire.⁹⁹ Whilst his desire to abolish slavery may have been as genuine as he claimed, M'Mahon's priorities were always the honour and advancement that the social system seemed to deny him.

Pragmatism over Idealism

M'Mahon's early career in Jamaica suggests that anti-slavery sentiments often existed quite peacefully with the willingness to preserve slavery, or at least an acknowledgement that abolition would be slow and gradual. The *Correo del Orinoco*, in the same edition that it announced Bolívar's convocation of the Congress of Angostura in late 1818, printed the following news report:

Five blacks have escaped from the English ship 'The Jackman', captained by Captain Merchant. The blacks are the property of Captain Merchant. They have stolen a boat from the ship, along with a large quantity of provisions, clothing, and brandy.¹⁰⁰

The article revealed that a reward had been offered for capture of the escaped slaves. It confirms that at the very same time that the Congress was being organised in the new capital of Guayana, and volunteers were arriving to fight 'in the cause of liberty', foreign

⁹⁷ Henrice Altink, '“An Outrage on all Decency”: Abolitionist Reactions to Flogging Jamaican Slave Women, 1780-1834', *Slavery and Abolition*, 23:2 (August 2002), p.100, footnote 20.

⁹⁸ M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.214.

⁹⁹ Colley, *Captives*, Chapter 7.

¹⁰⁰ *Correo del Orinoco*, 24th October 1818.

traders were anchored outside, owning slaves and offering rewards for their capture when they escaped.

Alexander Alexander was one of several volunteers who joined the Independents after having spent time on slave plantations in Demerara.¹⁰¹ In contrast to M'Mahon and many of the Irish Legion, who were visiting the New World for the first time, Alexander had been in Curacao in 1800 where, despite his initial shock, he quickly became accustomed to life as a slave overseer.¹⁰² In Curacao, Alexander met the daughter of a white French planter and fell in love. However, they were revealed to be of very different social backgrounds, and Alexander felt that he had to leave the island. He vowed to be re-united with his lover 'but as a gentleman',¹⁰³ and he returned to Scotland. As his family refused to support him, he enlisted 'with the first company sergeant I met, as I felt a consciousness of being able to raise myself in any regiment by my sobriety and attention to my duties'.¹⁰⁴

Alexander's main complaint against the British Army was the excessive flogging. He constantly contrasted this with his experiences as a slave overseer in the Caribbean. 'For petty misdemeanours, I saw the men every day punished with a severity I had never beheld exercised on the slaves in Carriacou [Curacao]'.¹⁰⁵ When his company was sent to India, 'the vessel was very much crowded, and we were packed together like negroes in the hold of a slave ship'.¹⁰⁶ On arrival in Ceylon, in some ways he still thought like a slave overseer. He wrote that 'nothing appeared to give the natives more pleasure than to

¹⁰¹ Others included Adolf Burton, Edward Kirby, and several unnamed soldiers who travelled and enlisted with Peter Grant. The tensions between the Demerara slave owners and foreign missionary groups were traced in Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823*, (New Haven, Conn., 1994).

¹⁰² *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.17.

¹⁰³ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.69. This aspect of the romantic tradition was common to other books 'edited' by John Howell, but did not affect his treatment of the theme of slavery.

¹⁰⁴ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.70.

¹⁰⁵ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.87. For the case of Jamaica, see for example Turner, 'The 11 O'clock Flog: Women, Work and Labour Law in the British Caribbean', *Slavery and Abolition*, 20:1 (1999), pp.51-2.

¹⁰⁶ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.98.

get the European soldiers flogged ... Often, when I saw their wicked ways, have I fervently wished that I had their dingy hides in the West Indies'.¹⁰⁷

Despite the occasional desire to give 'the natives' a physical beating, Alexander's prime intention was to demonstrate how British soldiers received worse punishments than Ceylon natives and Caribbean slaves, writing that 'neither before nor since have I seen such unfeeling severity used to the worst disposed slaves, as to the poor unfortunate soldiers of the 19th and 66th ... [the soldiers were] used more like condemned spirits than human beings'.¹⁰⁸

In 1810 Alexander returned to London, and in 1814 was on his way back to the Caribbean. On the ship, a passenger reported some items stolen. Alexander was travelling in steerage because of his poverty, and the Portuguese *capitán* therefore requested him to turn out his belongings. Alexander claimed to have been disgusted. There were two free black girls travelling, and he was angry that he was searched (as a passenger in steerage) before the black women (in the class above him) were. It is clear that Alexander believed that colour should come before both class and gender when considering the merit of a person. He told the *capitán* that 'it was a disgrace in him to bring a reproach upon his colour, by his bare insinuation', and later claimed to have 'caught them in the fact ... these black thieves'.¹⁰⁹ Alexander Alexander's memoirs consistently illustrate the centrality of race to his understanding of adventurers' honour, before and after arrival in South America.

At work in Demerara, Alexander was amazed at how loose the controls on slave behaviour were. 'We overseers had to go to great lengths in humouring [the slaves] or little or bad work would be done'.¹¹⁰ 'Slaves are never severely punished save for crimes

¹⁰⁷ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.128.

¹⁰⁸ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, pp.167-70.

¹⁰⁹ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, pp.257-9. Once in Demerara in 1815, Alexander continued to lament the lack of colour-solidarity shown to him by whites. Walking to Plantation Hope, where he had been contracted as an overseer on a sugar estate, 'I met several white men on horseback, who passed me as usual, the same as if I had been a negro, for in this colony, a foot passenger is an object of contempt'. *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.290.

¹¹⁰ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.297.

that would either hang or banish a man in England'.¹¹¹ Despite his earlier criticisms of flogging and brutality towards slaves, Alexander was no longer in favour of leniency. Now a part of the slavery system, he feared the possibility of a slave uprising, describing rumours of insurrection amongst his slaves: 'They said both to proprietor and manager, they had no right to make slaves of them; their liberty ran constantly in their heads, and they bore the most deadly malice against every white on the estate'.¹¹² Life on a Demerara plantation in 1815 had proved to be very different from that in Curacao in 1800 – it was one of the poorer colonies, and opportunities for maroons to escape were ample. Slaves had to be managed in a very different way, and Alexander found it uncomfortable. Rather than being motivated by a love of liberty and emancipation, Alexander now went to join the Independents in Venezuela precisely because he had had enough of showing leniency towards slaves, who consistently questioned his authority over them. He was therefore dismayed when he discovered the reality of the Independents' army. It was not an all-white army, but a mixture of colours and social groupings, many dressed in cast-off British army uniforms. He found this deeply disturbing. 'When I would rouse myself from melancholy dreams, and see the negroes, Creoles and Indians, dressed thus, it looked as if they had returned from ransacking Britain, and I was prisoner to a horde of barbarians'.¹¹³

Alexander soon left to seek alternative employment. He found it easy to re-enter the slave economy, which survived in altered form despite the ravages of the wars and the recruitment of slaves into both Independent and Loyalist armies along the Caribbean littoral. He first found work on a plantation near Santa Marta, owned by a Spaniard who had fled to the Caribbean islands. Upon arrival, Alexander discovered that he was the only white man there. He was surprised to find that the estate was 'watched and clung to by the negro slaves, who in vain strove to protect the property of their masters'.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.311. It is possible that Alexander was right in one way, as recent research has shown that slaves were sometimes able to bargain over tasks and punishments. See Turner, ed., *From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: the Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas*, (London, 1995).

¹¹² *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.1, p.331.

¹¹³ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, pp.96.

¹¹⁴ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, pp.216-8.

Alexander left after just a few months on the hacienda, but he was complementary about the nature of the blacks he encountered there:

The slaves have quite a different air from those in Demerara and the West Indies; it is more that of a peasant than a slave, for the Spaniards are very free and good to them, giving them religious instruction, and attending to their morals, which has a wonderful effect, even on the bad: [although] some of them are bad enough, even here, as I soon found.¹¹⁵

To conclude, Alexander had a complex relationship with the slave system. At first, he was shocked at the brutality of the punishments employed to maintain slave discipline. After his experiences in the British Army however, he used the Caribbean as an example, to emphasise further how white British men were being denied the freedoms he felt were theirs by right. Upon his return to the Caribbean in 1815, he still sought work on slave plantations, both in Demerara and Santa Marta. He was worried by the idea of black insurrection, and seriously discomfited by having to serve alongside freed slave soldiers in the Independent army. Yet he was still able to point out differences between the slave systems he had experienced in Curacao, Demerara and Santa Marta. He joined with those who hoped to learn from 'best practice' to ameliorate conditions for slaves in the British colonies. Rather than arguing for the abolition of slavery, Alexander Alexander wished it to be more humane, so that the threat of insurrection would be less, and white superiority could be assured. He had absolutely no qualms about profiting from slavery himself, as this had in fact been his original motive for travelling to the Caribbean.

Newspapers published in Colombia throughout the 1820s illustrate this paradox. The very first edition of Bogotá's *El Constitucional* newspaper was published on 27th May 1824. Its editor was Leandro Miranda, English-born son of Francisco de Miranda. It expressed its aims as being 'to promote [Colombia's] prosperity. ... the improvement of our native land'. The editor saw therefore no contradiction with the appearance, right at the top of the first column of the first page of the first edition, of the following advertisement: 'FOR SALE – A YOUNG MAN, about 20 Years of Age, without any natural defect, and will be sold cheap. For particulars apply at this Office'.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, pp.216-8.

¹¹⁶ *El Constitucional*, 27th May 1824, original emphasis. *El Constitucional* was a bilingual Spanish-English publication. Editorials such as that quoted here seem to have been translated from fluent Spanish into more juddering English. Interestingly, the original Spanish version of 'For Sale: A Young Man' was '*De venta:*

Owning Slaves

The example of *El Constitucional* demonstrates how, for the commercial elites at least, the existence of slavery by no means diminished the value of the liberty that had been achieved with political Independence. A year later, another of Miranda's editorials proclaimed Colombia to be 'the magnificent picture of a people emerging triumphantly from the shades of slavery to the brilliancy of the sun of liberty'.¹¹⁷ This liberty was a highly flexible concept that could mean more or less what any author or reader wanted it to mean. As the intended readership of bilingual newspapers like *El Colombiano* and *El Constitucional* included retired volunteers, it is possible that some of them were the unnamed sellers or buyers of these advertised slaves. A study of the southern states of North America has shown that 'outsiders' from Europe certainly did purchase and own slaves in this period.¹¹⁸ The papers of the *Comisiones de Repartimiento de Bienes Nacionales* show that volunteer officers such as Edward Stopford, Charles W. Smith, John Benjamin Hubble and Daniel MacLaughlin were able to buy up many small amounts of *haberes militares*, and when they had collected enough of these, they could apply to the Commission to grant them a house, or even an estate.¹¹⁹ All those named above chose to take land on or near the Caribbean coast, where many of the large sugar- or cacao-producing estates also contained slaves. So when the Polish-born volunteer Felipe Mauricio Martin asked in 1826 to be granted the Calabozo estate in northern Venezuela,

un negro o mulato', so the colour-specific noun had been replaced with the generic 'Man' in English. Advertisements such as this continued to be a feature of *El Constitucional* throughout its three-year existence. On 26th April 1827, a large estate was offered for sale 'with one hundred and forty slaves'. *El Constitucional* was by no means unique in offering slaves for sale within its pages in this period. See for example, London's *Morning Chronicle*, 1st September 1817 ('This estate [in St. Christopher's] is advantageously situated, and there is a fine gang of Negroes upon it'); Guayaquil's *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 1st October 1829, 23rd May 1833 ('a twenty-two year old slave, robust, with a good service record, some distinguishing marks, 250 pesos'); *El Patriota de Guayaquil*, 20th June 1829 ('For Sale: Two *Negritos* aged eleven and seven. Inquire at the Printers').

¹¹⁷ *El Constitucional*, 11th August 1825.

¹¹⁸ Dennis C. Roussey, 'Friends and Foes of Slavery: Foreigners and Northerners in the Old South', *Journal of Social History*, 35:2 (Winter 2001) pp.373-96.

¹¹⁹ In addition to those named above, the Polish volunteer Ludwig Flegel was in 1833 recorded as owning 'three slaves named Socorro, Nicola and Damacea' on his Ocumare estate. See his last will and testament, in AGNV IP, Vol.29, ff.143-6. Charles William Smith (b.1793 Ireland, d.c1850 Bogotá) settled in Zulia in the late 1820s, and then in Bogotá between 1829 and 1835, remaining unmarried. According to a plaque there in 2003, he was buried in the British Cemetery. Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.82, p.268; AGN HDS Vol.42, ff.543-64.

he knew that over one-third of the total value of the estate was made up of slaves.¹²⁰ Volunteers like Stopford, who spent several years consciously accumulating *haberes militares* in order to purchase confiscated Loyalist estates from the Colombian government, would have been well aware that they were buying slaves along with the estates.¹²¹

Despite their relative neglect by historians both of slavery and of Gran Colombia, Ecuadorian archives can shed light on volunteers' relations with slavery in the post-Independence period.¹²² The case of *Coronel* Brooke Young shows the extent to which volunteers were able to incorporate themselves into pre-existing slave-owning societies. After serving in the Irish Legion, in 1826 he was appointed to a civilian position as the 'Political Judge of Esmeraldas', on the Pacific coast of the Department of Ecuador.¹²³ Esmeraldas was a minor port in this period, administered from the Departmental capital,

¹²⁰ For the original documentation surrounding the Calabozo estate from late 1824, see Casa de Moneda, Db4681. For Martin's application in March 1826, see Casa de Moneda, Db4719. By 1848 the ownership of the estate had passed to the British subject William Anderson, who claimed to have owned the property for almost twenty years. Acting Consul-General Riddell to Viscount Palmerston, 17th November 1848, PRO FO 420/6, f.24. Felipe Mauricio Martín (b.1786 Warsaw, d.1854 Bogotá) served at Trafalgar under Nelson before joining Miranda's 1806 expedition. After this he settled in Venezuela, and accompanied Bolívar throughout the Wars of Independence until retiring in 1823. He married Francisca Gaitán in Bogotá in 1823. Angel María Galán, *Biografía del Coronel de la Independencia, Felipe Mauricio Martín, escrita para el 'Papel Periódico de Bogotá'*, (Bogotá, 1882).

¹²¹ For the *haberes militares* collected by Edward Stopford in the 1820s, see Casa de Moneda, Db0204, Db0475, Db2183, Db2408, Db2820, Db2927, Db4720. These documents were primarily concerned with negotiations over *haberes militares* and the awarding of estates, rather than encounters with the slaves themselves. For this reason, documents from Ecuadorian archives are used in the subsequent section as representative of the wider region.

¹²² The essays by Manuel Chiriboga and Carlos Paladines in Ayala, ed. *Nueva Historia de Ecuador*, deal with the period and its political, military and international dimensions, but not explicitly with slavery.

¹²³ Young had a varied Colombian career. Shipwrecked off Barbados on his way over (*Dublin Evening Post*, 29th June 1820), he was promoted by John Devereux to Military Secretary of the Irish Legion in July 1820 (Notes of John D'Evereux, 'Head-Quarters', 14 July 1820, AL, Vol.14, Roll 45, f.65). He was at Achaguas in August 1820, and served at Carabobo (Letter of the officers of the British and Irish Legions to Simón Bolívar, Achaguas, 25th August 1820, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 7th December 1820, Lambert, *Carabobo*, p.43). In 1821 Devereux reported that Young was serving as 'town-mayor of Caracas' (Devereux to Daniel O'Connell, 24th November 1824, Caracas, NLI, Fitzsimmon Papers, Microfilm roll n.2718 p.1.622). Young remained in Caracas in 1822 (Statement of Brooke Young, Caracas, 11th May 1822, AGNV R GYM, Vol.16, ff.418-21). In 1823 he travelled from Venezuela to the USA, where he was responsible for placing the sons of *General* José Antonio Páez in the new military academy at West Point (Winifred Scott to Páez, Fort Monroe, 28th May 1823, reproduced in *El Colombiano*, 6th August 1823). In February 1826 Young was in Popayán, where he was granted permission to march to Bogotá (José Contreras to Juez Político del Canton, Popayán, 27th February 1826, ACC, Sala Independencia, Sig. 3003, f.3. His passport from Popayán to Bogotá, granted 10th February 1826, is in AGNC R GYM, Vol.1447, f.172, and on his way he met the Swedish traveller Carl August Gosselman, who recorded the encounter in his *Viaje por Colombia, 1825 y 1826*, (Bogotá, 1981), p.361.

Quito. In his first letter to the Intendant of the Department of Ecuador, Young noted ‘the outstanding lack of an established postal system, which will prove a great disadvantage to my position’. Young expressed the hope that this deficit would be remedied, ‘with at the very least a regular monthly service’.¹²⁴ Esmeraldas was not connected with Quito by road, and Young felt detached from the workings of the Department. He was even more isolated from Bogotá, where many of his friends and comrades still lived. Esmeraldas did not have any medical facilities, and Young also observed that it suffered from a ‘complete lack of trade or commerce’, and was populated by ‘simpletons’ [‘*gente mui sencilla*’].¹²⁵ Young was not just concerned with the lack of education of the inhabitants of Esmeraldas – he also felt that they were naturally inferior to him, and potentially dangerous. The majority of the population of Esmeraldas was (and is) black. Esmeraldas was surrounded by slave plantations and, in an early letter to the Intendant, Young stated his loyalty to maintaining the system of forced labour, writing that: ‘I can assure you that here not a single slave has been manumitted’.¹²⁶ By early 1827, Young felt increasingly threatened by the black slaves in Esmeraldas. He wrote to the Intendant in Quito that:

the blacks who, by the Liberator’s order of 1st July 1823, were sent to populate the Esmeraldas mountain road, are all currently in Esmeraldas. They have no money, nor any formal occupation. Although they were previously at the port of Canigüe with the aim of moving to the mountain, they never achieved anything. They lacked resources, and there was no one in charge of them. It would be possible for these slaves to

¹²⁴ Young to Intendant of the Department of Ecuador, 18th February 1827, Esmeraldas, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 256, Vol.3, f.42. Young reiterated this concern in a further letter, Fondo Especial, Caja 257, Vol.4, f.198. The Intendant of Ecuador, based in Quito, was one of three Intendants of the District of the South in this period (the others were the Intendants of Guayas and Azuay, based respectively in Guayaquil and Cuenca). It was a three-year position, appointed by the central government in Bogotá. Its function was to transmit orders from the central government to regional authorities. See Vela Witt, *El Departamento del Sur en la Gran Colombia*, pp.35-9.

¹²⁵ Young to Intendant of the Department of Ecuador, Esmeraldas, 17th May 1827, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 257, Vol.4, f.245; Young to Intendant of the Department of Ecuador, Esmeraldas, 12th August 1827, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 257, Vol.6, f.41. For his comments on the lack of health facilities see Young to Intendant of the Department of Ecuador, Esmeraldas, 11th September 1828, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 261, Vol.6, f.104.

¹²⁶ Young to Intendant of the Department of Ecuador, Esmeraldas, 14th May 1827, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 257, Vol.4, f.226. For the laws of manumission passed by the Colombian Congress, see Margarita González, ‘El proceso de manumisión en Colombia’, pp.222-50. In 1826, Young and Francis Hall had signed a request to the Departmental Government requesting permission to ‘take whatever labour we need’ from the areas surrounding the road they intended to build from Quito to Esmeraldas. Socios de la ‘Bella Unión’ [Francisco Hall, Alberto Talra, Brooke Young, Diego Mathew] to Bolívar, 6th November 1826, Quito, in *Memorias de O’Leary*, Vol.12, pp.385-6.

establish themselves from San Mateo up to Canigue, but the Government would need to help them with tools and food, and would have to pay someone who would never let them out of his sight.¹²⁷

It is clear from this letter that for Young, despite the manumission laws, ‘blacks’ and ‘slaves’ [‘*negros*’ and ‘*esclavos*’] were still interchangeable terms. (The legal status of the men and women referred to in the letter is not clear. If they were slaves, then an owner was not clearly identified). For Young, a slave was still a black and a black was still a slave. He saw no hope of getting black men to work effectively without someone to watch over them, and he used them as a bargaining tool in his negotiations over budgets with the authorities in Quito.

Young was not the only volunteer seeking to use pre-existing labour relations in the region to his own personal advantage. Another volunteer, *Sargento Mayor* Charles Richard Rudd, requested the ownership of a mine and its slaves in 1824, in lieu of payment of his unpaid officer’s wages.¹²⁸ When Rudd died some years later and the estate and the slaves were returned to their original owner, Young and the Governor of nearby Buenaventura squabbled disputing the ownership. Young wrote that ‘I would prefer to be able to employ the slaves in road construction or some other public work’.¹²⁹ He showed no concern at all for the possible manumission or liberation of any slaves. Rudd and Young saw slaves as property, no more and no less. Two years later, Young claimed to have discovered a conspiracy amongst the slaves. He seemed slightly ashamed that two of the rebellious slaves were his own personal property. He told the local mayor that:

I have discovered a conspiracy amongst some of the blacks of this town, who were combining with other blacks from the Cachaví mine. Amongst the conspirators were two slaves belonging to me, known as Prudencio and Aniseto. These two are currently held here, so please come quickly in order to bring them summarily to justice.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Young to Intendant of the Department of Ecuador, Esmeraldas, 18th February 1827, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 258, Vol.8, f.54.

¹²⁸ Rudd to Comisión Principal de Repartimento de Bienes Nacionales, 1st April 1824, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db4693.

¹²⁹ Young to Intendant of the Department of Ecuador, Esmeraldas, 18th February 1827, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 258, Vol.8, f.58. In the margin of this document the Intendant sided with Young.

¹³⁰ Young to Principal Municipal Mayor, Esmeraldas, 6th July 1829, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 263, Vol.4, f.11.

This document was the first to reveal Young as a slave-owner himself. His shame was not caused by this revelation, but because his negligence had allowed two of his own slaves to conspire against him, undermining his authority and honour. The next day he wrote to Quito to inform the authorities of the ‘most terrible state of abandon and disorder’ that the absence of the Cachaví mine owner had brought about. The mine did not have ‘a resident Administrator, or even a white person who will look after it. For this reason, it has become the asylum of all the vagrants of Barbacoas and the Sierra’.¹³¹ Young claimed to have alerted the owner, a Sr. Muñoz, ‘informing him of the excesses committed by his blacks’. According to Young, the ‘contagious evil of the Cachaví blacks had [eventually] spread to the blacks from the Golden Beach’.¹³² Only the intervention of a local priest averted the potentially terrible consequences of the uprising. Young asserted that ‘there is very good reason to believe that the Cachaví blacks had conspired with the Esmeraldas blacks so as to take control of the military installation and kill all the whites’.¹³³ Consequently Young sent ‘an expedition of 35 soldiers under *Teniente* Gómez to the Cachaví mine’ to suppress the conspiracy using all necessary means. He also noted that he had sold his two rebellious slaves away from the area.¹³⁴ While the slaves were just seen as unruly private property, negotiation was an accepted way of dealing with them. When they became the means of overthrowing the racial hierarchy, at the top of which sat Young himself, physical force was called for.

Later in 1829, Brooke Young left Esmeraldas after just over two years in charge of the Canton. As he explained, he was called back to Quito ‘to respond for the death of a murderer Mr Anselmo Arroyo, who I ordered to be killed’.¹³⁵ Brooke Young’s post-war career reveals that the new republican authorities in Bogotá trusted him enough to choose

¹³¹ Young to General Prefect of the Department of Ecuador, 21st July 1829, Esmeraldas, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 263, Vol.4, f.60.

¹³² Young to General Prefect of the Department of Ecuador, 21st July 1829.

¹³³ Young to General Prefect of the Department of Ecuador, 21st July 1829.

¹³⁴ Young to General Prefect of the Department of Ecuador, 21st July 1829.

¹³⁵ Young to General Prefect of the Department of Ecuador, 5th December 1829, Esmeraldas, ANE, Fondo Especial, Caja 264, Vol.6, f.155. The outcome of Young’s journey to Quito has not yet been discovered. Indeed, he disappeared from the historical record at this point. In January 1832, Francis Hall’s representative wrote to the Government requesting permission to retain some of Young’s estate in Esmeraldas. He claimed that Young had owed his client 900 pesos, and the tone of the letter implies that he was claiming for the estate of a deceased *Coronel* Young. Tomás P. Torres to Prefect of Department of Quito, 10th January 1832, Esmeraldas, ANE, Caja 271, Vol.1, f.43.

a foreigner to govern a peripheral coastal town in Ecuador. Young had never set foot in Ecuador before he was posted there. The extent to which Young's whiteness defined his honour and his identity meant that upon arrival, he felt increasingly isolated from the rest of the republic, and infuriated with what he saw as the simple, lazy and rebellious people it was his duty to govern. Once in Esmeraldas (and much like Manuel Valdés in Cauca), Young was worried at being surrounded by potentially murderous slaves. He used markedly similar language to the stories told about the death of *Coronel* MacDonald on the Apure in 1818. In order to secure his own personal situation (and safety) he chose to continue the system of slavery which used physical force to suppress slaves' claims to liberty. In the light of the highly contingent and pragmatic attitudes to slavery taken by volunteers already studied, Young's position should not be surprising. His attitude to slavery demonstrated a marked willingness to perpetuate the system – he owned slaves himself, and sent military expeditions to suppress suspected slave rebellions. It also reveals that the installation of a white governor did not go unnoticed by the slave communities in the Esmeraldas region who, according to that same governor, planned to take power and 'kill all the whites'.¹³⁶ It may not just have been the slaves who reacted against Young. Dennis C. Roussey has emphasised that for the American South even slave owning 'outsiders' could provoke distrust amongst 'southerners' simply because their slaving credentials were always under suspicion. Such questioning spread beyond the matter of the institution of slavery and conditioned the way attitudes to foreigners shaped national and regional identities in slaving areas.¹³⁷

Volunteers like Rudd and Young saw no place for black slaves in the liberty that they had fought to give to Colombia. No doubt Young's opinion was influenced by his own experiences – by the time he took up his position in Esmeraldas, he had lived in Colombia for over five years, and travelled to the Southern regions of the United States. Whatever his view of slavery had been upon arrival in Hispanic America in 1819, it was tempered (or reinforced) by the experiences of military service studied in Chapter 2, and

¹³⁶ Although using the governor's own testimony is not the ideal way of considering these 'slave voices', it is apparently the only one recorded in documents preserved in the ANE.

¹³⁷ Roussey, 'Friends and Foes of Slavery', pp.385-90.

by his subsequent travels. His colleague Francis Hall, one of the most prominent radicals in Independent Ecuador, also owned slaves on the coast.¹³⁸

Many of Young's fellow volunteers who remained in Colombia claimed with hindsight that the impetus given to the abolition of slavery was one of the major achievements of Independence. This interpretation was circulated by the first British Commissioners to Colombia, and taken up by several historians.¹³⁹ Some of the volunteers agreed with this opinion, and felt able to take the moral high ground on trips to the United States. Belford Hinton Wilson wrote to Simón Bolívar from Washington in 1829, reporting that in the United States he had seen

... the most unbound freedom, yet the most cruel slavery; the most striking equality alongside the most terrible discrimination; all the terrible things I ever heard about Spanish cruelty, I have seen here inflicted on blacks, who are treated worse than beasts of burden. All of the hateful laws that have now been abolished in every other Christian country are here in full force in many of the states of this Republic.¹⁴⁰

Like his colleague Wilson, Daniel O'Leary believed that the decline of slavery demonstrated the growth of a new civilised culture in Colombia. Writing the first part of his memoirs in Jamaica early in the 1830s, he stated that 'the weight of tyranny has been removed. The universal right to freedom has been recognised, although admittedly in practice the freedom is often abused or misunderstood'.¹⁴¹ O'Leary reminded his readers that Simón Bolívar had repeatedly liberated slaves throughout his career:

¹³⁸ Reports by the *corregidor* of Esmeraldas, Tomás Torres, indicate that Young's 'assets' were transferred to Hall as part-payment of a debt. Torres, *Corregidor de Esmeraldas*, 10th January 1832, Esmeraldas, ANE Fondo Especial, Caja 271, Vol.1, f.43. See also the official disposal of Hall's estate after his death in 1833, Juan García del Río to Sr Prefecto Departamental, 24th October 1833, Quito, ANE Fondo Especial, Caja 276, Vol.7, f.165, and Caja 276, Vol.8, f.123.

¹³⁹ Most influentially Lynch, *Latin American Revolutions 1808-1826*, p.379, and Lombardi, *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery*. This argument complements work claiming that slavery was in 'ready to be eliminated' in New Granada in the late colonial period. See Jaramillo Uribe, 'Esclavos y señores en la sociedad colombiana del siglo XVIII' in *Ensayos de historia social*, Vol.1, pp.7-84. Colonel Campbell, writing to the Foreign Office, was optimistic not just about the slave trade, but about slavery itself. He wrote that 'should things remain quiet in Colombia for a few years, probably not a slave will be left in the whole of that state', Campbell to Planta, 6th November 1824, London, PRO FO 18/3, f.164.

¹⁴⁰ Wilson to Bolívar, 10th February 1829, Washington, reproduced in O'Leary, ed., *Correspondencia de extranjeros notables con el Libertador*, Vol.1, p.116.

¹⁴¹ O'Leary, *Memorias de O'Leary: Narración*, Vol.1, p.13. See also William Duane, *A visit to Colombia in 1822 and 1823, by Laguayra and Caracas, over the Cordillera to Bogota, and thence by the Magdalena to Cartagena*, (Philadelphia, Pa., 1826), p.354.

This was not a selfish or interested decision: Bolívar was rectifying something he saw as a palpable injustice. No one can doubt the integrity of his motives, not even his most impassioned political adversaries. Even at the start of the revolution his philanthropy was apparent. There were few like him, and no one could exceed his generosity. Freeing the numerous slaves he had inherited, he sacrificed a splendid fortune and won the moral right to argue for absolute emancipation.¹⁴²

A comment O'Leary made seven pages earlier casts a more pragmatic light on such a generous interpretation of Bolívar's motivation: 'Of the one thousand slaves he had previously owned before the revolution, he only found three on the estate. He immediately freed them'.¹⁴³ Bolívar's slave property had, like many other Venezuelan land- and slave-owners, been all but destroyed by the Wars of Independence. By including this comment, O'Leary recognised that in liberating his last few slaves, Bolívar was acting more symbolically than philanthropically, intending to 'give soldiers to the army, not freedom to the slaves'.¹⁴⁴

Changing Relations in the 1830s

By 1831, the situation regarding slavery had changed further. Reduced armies no longer required slave recruits, and the propertied classes were too poor to buy new slaves. Many men were still slaves across the region, but other working relations were becoming increasingly common. This held for Britons and other foreigners who had previously owned slaves. In 1831 the Ecuadorian newspaper *El Colombiano de Guayas* featured the following advertisement:

A Reward of 250 pesos is offered to the person who apprehends Vicente Cáceres (alias Mariano). Once captured, the prisoner should be taken to the Police, or any public authority, or to Jorge More [George Moore] the Bookkeeper of the Frigate of War 'Colombia'. Vicente Cáceres is Mr More's servant, and he escaped last night at 6pm, taking with him a considerable quantity of money in gold and silver. This money belonged to the state. He is young, between nineteen and twenty years old. He is white. His face is covered in pox marks, especially his nose and mouth. He has lively blue eyes. He can read and write. He is five foot four. He comes from either Quito or Riobamba. He is wearing a typical straw hat with a sky blue ribbon.

¹⁴² O'Leary, *Narración*, Vol.2, p.102. For a discussion of Bolívar's own ambiguous relation to slavery, see Pino Iturrieta, *Nueva lectura de la Carta de Jamaica*, (Caracas, 1999), and Ramos Pérez, *Bolívar y su experiencia antillana. Una época decisiva para su línea política*, (Caracas, 1990), p.154. Note that a 'numerous' amount of slaves for Venezuela could be extremely small relative to Cuba or Saint Domingue, for example.

¹⁴³ O'Leary, *Narración de O'Leary*, Vol.2, p.94.

¹⁴⁴ Lombardi, 'Los esclavos negros en las guerras venezolanas de la independencia', p.165. Wilson and O'Leary differed from British officials in the region, who cautiously reserved judgement on abolition. See Consul Edward Watts to Canning, 27th March 1824, Cartagena, PRO FO 18/6, f.107, and Captain William King to the Admiralty, 9th October 1823, PRO FO 18/2, f.261.

All of his clothing is marked with permanent ink, with all the letters of the name and surname of his *patron* Jorge More. The reward will be paid privately by Mr More.¹⁴⁵

Vicente Cáceres (alias Mariano) was not a slave – he was a servant and white, and was working as the assistant to the bookkeeper of a naval frigate. Nevertheless, all of his clothing was marked with the name of his master. When Mariano fled his ‘service’, George Moore reacted just as he would have done to the escape of a slave – he offered a reward and advertised it in the newspaper. Moore was concerned with the return of his ‘servant’, rather than the lost gold and silver (which belonged to the state). The relationship between George Moore and Mariano was demonstrative of a change occurring in the Republics as they emerged from the break-up of Gran Colombia – a long-term change, variable across regions and economic sectors, from slave labour to other forms of retained or dependent labour.

In this sense the Gran Colombian experience prefigured the later abolition in the British colonies during the 1830s. By 1835 there was a growing recognition that ‘liberty’ should also apply to black slaves. Formal abolition had by then been reduced to the formidable matter of finding the political will and finance to pay compensation to the owners.¹⁴⁶ But in the wake of the introduction of ‘apprenticeship’ in Britain’s colonies, slaveowners in Trinidad made overtures to the Venezuelan authorities in Guayana. They wanted to circumvent the new rules by introducing their slaves to estates in Venezuela, where slavery had yet to be formally abolished. Venezuelan laws prohibiting the import of slaves into the republic were invoked to prevent these ‘English’ slaves being brought into the country.¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, some retired volunteers resisted this trend by continuing to own slaves – one, George Woodbine, was reportedly murdered along with his family by his own slaves near Cartagena in 1833.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 8th December 1831.

¹⁴⁶ Lombardi, *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery*, pp.137-8.

¹⁴⁷ Statement of Antonio Guevara, no date, 1835, Angostura, AHG CB, 1835, Sig.2.1.37.

¹⁴⁸ See FO documents reproduced in Deas and Sánchez, eds., *Santander y los ingleses*, Vol.2, pp.176-84.

Conclusions

Whilst some men like Alexander Alexander had worked in slave plantations in the Caribbean before, most adventurers encountered a slave economy and environment whose physical reality was previously unknown to them. Abolition was easily contemplated in London or Dublin, but it was much more problematic in the reality of the Colombian heartland, and even more so in areas that relied on slavery such as Cartagena and Esmeraldas. Volunteers found themselves in an unfamiliar and insecure world where their primary concerns were with gaining sustenance and employment, and with demonstrating their individual sense of honour and worth to other volunteers and to local societies. Fundamental to their understanding of honour was their identity as white men. Whilst seeking employment and serving in an alien land in a republican army that often included free black troops and officers, volunteers struggled to retain what they felt should be their natural position near the apex of social and racial hierarchies which were often rigidly stratified. By mid-1820 Alexander and M'Mahon, as well as the majority of the Irish Legion, had left the Independent army to seek employment in the slave economy of the littoral and Jamaica. At the same time, John Runnel was expelled from the Independent army because of his 'subversive' relationships with escaped slaves. Renegades like Runnel were no longer welcomed by Independent Creole elites who were anxious to assert their control over subaltern groups, and he received no support or recognition from any of the other volunteers. Some volunteer officers like Brooke Young remained in the Independent service but, once the liberty of Colombia had been achieved, they shared Creole concerns about giving liberty to black slaves.

These examples show that the volunteer expeditions were certainly not an off-shoot of the Clapham Sect and the abolitionist movement. The rhetoric of slavery might have been integral to the language of campaigners and radicals when the expeditions left home, but it was often just rhetoric, used by journalists, soldiers, labourers and merchants alike. When they encountered the reality of chattel slavery in the Caribbean and beyond, volunteers had to re-think this rhetoric in practical terms, and they did so in highly pragmatic ways. John Runnel showed that it was possible for white volunteers to live and work with freed slaves and other ethnic groups. Most volunteers, like Alexander and

M'Mahon, expressed anti-slavery sentiments when it seemed convenient, and then attempted to integrate themselves into slave economies when these offered employment or security. They focused their struggles on bettering the condition of lower-class whites like themselves. The intellectual arguments against slavery may have been won by the 1820s but economic and personal interests easily overrode these concerns, both for local elites and for adventurers.¹⁴⁹

When William Wilberforce described a Colombia in which 'the darkness of slavery was receding – the light of freedom was already beaming with brilliancy' he was not personally acquainted with the region. Men who encouraged the liberty of slaves were increasingly seen as renegades, and by 1822 had largely left the Independent service. Foreign volunteers, concerned with preserving their individual honour and advancement in society, often shared the same personal interests as Creole elites. These interests would prevent anti-slavery sentiments from being converted into formal abolition for several more decades. Race and slavery continued to underpin social relations and collective identities in the post-war period.

¹⁴⁹ Jaramillo Uribe, *Ensayos de historia social*, Vol.1, pp.240-4.

Chapter 6: Veteran Soldiers and the State

For fourteen years I have had the honour to belong to the Colombian family, to this heroic family born out of the ruins of despotism at the cost of our most dear sacrifices.

The burning plains of Apure and the frozen mountains of Pisba can testify that I crossed them barefooted in order to fight the tyrants and throw them from this country in the memorable battles of Vargas and Boyacá.

THOMAS MANBY (1832) ¹

This chapter examines the changing ways that foreign mercenaries related to Gran Colombian state and society in the post-war period.² It consists of three parts. The first discusses the rewards offered to Colombia's soldiers at the end of the wars, and the attempts of the volunteers to receive some kind of pecuniary recompense. The second examines the practical details of how many volunteers settled in Colombia, in what regions, what occupations they exercised, and who they married. The final part discusses the different aspects of honour, service and allegiance that were articulated by the volunteers as they settled in Colombia, and how they reacted to their treatment by the state. The chapter concludes that veteran soldiers gradually changed the way they conceived of themselves and their role in Independence, and that to some extent they were correspondingly assimilated into society. It shows how volunteers' understandings of honour and masculinity were conditioned not only by their military experiences, but by the Creole conceptions of citizenship and patriotism from which they were increasingly excluded.³ Gaining officially recognised citizenship was of negligible importance, as the

¹ Manby, 21st November 1832, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, f.164. Manby's was a unique case only in that the surviving documentation combines his personal correspondence with its concern for marriage and financial independence, with official petitions to the government asserting his military honour, and with printed proclamations asserting his political independence. For this reason his case is repeatedly discussed in this chapter.

² It thus expands upon valuable work on 'foreign-local' encounters discussed in Joseph, 'Writing the History of the Foreign-Local Encounter', in Joseph, LeGrand and Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire*, pp.13-22.

³ See for example Hebrard, 'Ciudadanía y participación política en Venezuela 1810-1830', pp.122-53; Pino Iturrieta, *Fueros, civilización y ciudadanía*, pp.42-55.

offer of Colombian citizenship to all volunteers was hedged with sharply defined property qualifications, and thereby excluded most of the soldiers and many officers.⁴ Side-lined from patriotism, and existing on the fringes of republican citizenship, volunteers reiterated their demands in the language of honour, virtue, and their military service at the birth of the *patria*.

1 *Petitioning for haberes militares*

a) *Rewarding the Soldiers of Independence*

The guidelines for rewarding the soldiers of the Republic were set down well before the majority of the foreign volunteers had even thought about leaving Europe. The ‘Law of Distribution of National Property in Recompense to Officers and Soldiers’, signed by Bolívar in October 1817, considered that ‘the Government’s first duty is to recompense the services of the Republic’s virtuous defenders, who have generously sacrificed their lives and property for the liberty and happiness of the *patria*’.⁵ From the start, honourable characteristics such as generosity and sacrifice were central to interpretations of what made a good soldier. The law’s second article set out clearly that ‘the distribution of property will be made in accordance with the promotions obtained on campaign, which are definitive proof for the merits of each individual’. The law set up a special Commission to deal with the distribution of goods and properties confiscated from Loyalists, and this was the foundation of the subsequent commissions that dealt with requests for *haberes militares* throughout the 1820s.⁶ One week later, Bolívar published a

⁴ Newspapers regularly featured lists of newly ‘naturalised’ foreigners, but these were as likely to be merchants for whom citizenship facilitated special commercial treatment, as serving or retired volunteers. The ‘Ley sobre la naturalización de extranjeros’ was reproduced in the *Gaceta de Colombia*, 20th September 1821. An amendment relaxing the residence qualification appeared on 13th July 1823. The *Gaceta de Colombia* listed those foreigners (no more than twenty) who received ‘*cartas de naturalización*’; see for example 22nd September 1822, and 15th June 1823. For a later view of the naturalization of foreigners as ‘unnecessary’, see the editorial of *El Constitucional*, 12th January 1826. The Colombian government tended to be slower to recognise the services of naval officers and seamen than those of the land-based forces. Only in May 1825 did a decree grant naturalisation rights to any foreigner who had served more than six months on a Colombian vessel. ‘Decreto mandando despachar cartas de naturaleza a los extranjeros que hayan servido en buques nacionales’, 3rd May 1825, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.5, p.29.

⁵ ‘Ley de repartición de bienes nacionales como recompensa a los oficiales y soldados’, 10th October 1817, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.2, pp.295-6.

⁶ The commission was to reside in Angostura until the occupation of Caracas, and initially consisted of General Manuel Cedeño, Francisco Zea, and Fernando Peñalver. ‘Repartición de Bienes Nacionales:

modification to the law, specifically aimed at the foreign component of the Independent army. Foreigners were not given preferential treatment on this occasion, as the amendment stated that ‘no foreigner admitted to the service of the Republic, whether officer or soldier, will be able to claim the amount assigned to their rank, if they have not served under Venezuela’s flag for two years’.⁷ Unlike locally-born soldiers, they would have to prove that they had served at least two years service, or perform some ‘very distinguished action’ in order to be eligible. With the arrival from early 1819 of much larger numbers of mercenaries, the authorities felt that they had to re-assess the situation. In October 1819 Vice-President Arismendi decreed that ‘the foreign troops, who have come to Venezuela in virtue of the contracts celebrated with the Supreme Government’s commissioners, constitute part of the Republic’s army. As such they enjoy the same *fueros*, privileges and rights as the country’s *naturales*’.⁸ Arismendi hoped to assuage British complaints by promising foreign troops the best of both worlds – they were to be included in the laws of the Republic, as well as having their original contracts completely fulfilled.

On 6th January 1820 the Angostura Congress passed its ‘Law on the Redistribution of National Property to the Servants of the *Patria*’. Two weeks later an amendment noted that *haberes militares* would only be awarded for the period encompassed between 1816 and the installation of Congress on 15th February 1819, ‘when formal wages began to be paid to soldiers and civil employees’.⁹ Nevertheless, a special clause was to apply to foreigners, whose service up to 1st May 1820 would be included, so as to give them more chance to have served the full two years required by the law. Another modification enabled volunteers to claim for a fraction of the *haberes* if they had served less than two

Comisión encargada’, 1st November 1817, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.2, pp.323-4.

⁷ ‘Repartición de Bienes Nacionales: Modificación de la ley’, 17th October 1817, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas*, Vol.2, pp.297-8. See also ‘Repartición de Bienes Nacionales: Reglamento de la ley’, 1st November 1817, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.2, pp.320-3.

⁸ ‘Decreto sobre fueros, preeminencias y derechos de las tropas extranjeras’, 11th October 1819, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.3, pp.116-26. Bolívar was absent, campaigning in New Granada.

⁹ ‘El Congreso modifica la ley de repartición de bienes nacionales’, 21st January 1820, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.3, pp.177-80. The exemption for foreigners was Article 4.

years.¹⁰ This was a pragmatic modification of Arismendi's proclamation that the volunteers would be treated as regular soldiers as well as having their original contracts fulfilled. Henceforth, the Congress intended *haberes militares* to be the only recompense for all officers and soldiers, regardless of their place of origin. The small concession was made in recognition that the foreigners had generally arrived on the scene quite late, but strict adherence to the letter of the law meant that some volunteers received derisory amounts. Private John Mackay, requesting his *haberes* in Bogotá in 1825 after over five years service, received just ten pesos because his late arrival meant that he had served only fifteen days in the required period back in 1820.¹¹

At the end of 1820 a further amendment to the law was published.¹² It recognised that very few soldiers or officers retained their original dispatches or indeed any records of their service, due to the 'extraordinary circumstances of the war'. Officers therefore were required to vouch for the dates and location of service of their subalterns. It demanded certification from 'trustworthy people certain of the facts' [*personas fidedignas que sepan de ciencia cierta los hechos*] before any awards could be made. Such conditions meant that notions of honour, trust and respect were at the centre of all petitions to the commissions.

Just two scholarly works have examined the wealth of correspondence created by the *haberes militares* laws. Germán Carrera Damas collected documents relating to the subject as a means of focusing scholarship on the 'agrarian question' in Venezuela.¹³ Francisco Miguel López' subsequent study of the *haberes militares* law stressed its social content, and described how Bolívar's re-distributive intentions to create a nation of propertied citizens were thwarted by self-interested politicians, landowners and military

¹⁰ Some volunteers like John Gerbat later had to remind a forgetful Commission of this exemption, in order to receive their full entitlement. Juan Gerbat, 21st February 1821, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db0134, f.10.

¹¹ Documents relating to 'Juan Mackey', 29th August 1825, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0689, f.9.

¹² 'Reglamento sobre repartición de bienes nacionales', 31st July 1820, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.3, pp.204-7.

¹³ Carrera Damas, ed., *Materiales para el estudio de la cuestión agraria en Venezuela, 1800-1830*, Vol.1 (Caracas, 1964).

chiefs.¹⁴ López used the *haberes militares* law to trace the development of a ‘governing oligarchy’ in Venezuela in the period up to 1830, who enriched themselves at the expense of ‘the soldiers who fought for Independence’, a process that further entrenched the Republic in debt. As López noted, there is little documentation to attest to exactly how much land was distributed to soldiers. What is certain is that many soldiers were paid in paper *vales*, which senior officers and speculators then bought from them for a fraction of the nominal value.¹⁵

In September 1821, the Colombian Congress assembled at Cúcuta passed a new law on the distribution of *bienes nacionales*.¹⁶ It re-stated the requirements of the original law, based on its original motivation: ‘that one of the Republic’s most sacred obligations must be to reward the great sacrifices of its servants who contributed to its freedom and Independence’.¹⁷ *Haberes* were to be paid out of confiscated goods, land, and cash (when available). *Vales* were explicitly prohibited (although speculators were to have their *vales* honoured). A National Commission was to be set up in Bogotá, with Subaltern Commissions in other points around the Republic as necessary. Military men were to be favoured over civilians, ‘in consideration of the fact that it was the armed forces that renewed and extended the lands of the Republic’. Nevertheless, these and subsequent reforms could not avoid the fact that ‘the majority of the confiscated estates passed into the hands of merchants who had bought up *vales* from soldiers’.¹⁸

¹⁴ Francisco Miguel López, *Contribución al estudio de la ley de haberes militares y sus repercusiones*, (Caracas, 1987). For a chronology of the various laws, modifications, decrees and relevant local newspaper articles, see López, *Contribución al estudio*, pp.31-6. Bushnell, *The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia*, pp.275-81 discussed the unrest caused among military veterans by the *haberes militares*, concluding that ‘all in all, one cannot escape the conclusion that the Colombian government’s efforts to deal with the llaneros – as with all the veterans – were distinctly inadequate; the most one can say is that Colombia lacked the resources to handle the problem correctly, and that other American nations generally did no better’. This interpretation has been followed by Pino Iturrieta, ‘Caballeros, clérigos y hombres de armas: o por que los ciudadanos no existen en Venezuela’, in *Fueros, civilización y ciudadanía*, pp.60-1.

¹⁵ López, *Contribución al estudio*, pp.16-7, p.24. One of the first actions of the Republic of Venezuela in 1830 was to amend the law so that in future, soldiers would be paid their *haberes* only in *tierras baldías*, [grants of supposedly empty ‘wasteland’] rather than in confiscated estates. Nevertheless, by this stage it was too late for most of the adventurers, who had either taken their *haberes* in *vales*, or else left the country.

¹⁶ ‘Ley haciendo asignaciones de bienes nacionales a los que sirvieron a la República desde el año 6 hasta el 9’, 28th September 1821, reproduced in *Materiales para el estudio de la cuestión agraria*, Vol.1, pp.304-7.

¹⁷ ‘Ley haciendo asignaciones de bienes nacionales a los que sirvieron a la República’, pp.304-7.

¹⁸ López, *Contribución al estudio*, pp.20-4.

The Cúcuta Congress also decreed on the memory of those men who had died for the *patria*. There were to be three levels of honourable death. Firstly, those ‘Colombians who died on the fields of honour, defending the Independence of their *patria*’, deserved ‘eminent and faithful’ remembrance. Secondly, those who ‘perished at the hands of firing squads’ were named ‘illustrious martyrs’ whose memory should be ‘transmitted to posterity with the due glory’. Thirdly, those who had served the Republic with honour and died naturally in its service would merit ‘grateful remembrance’.¹⁹ The Congress therefore formally ratified the importance of honourable service and honourable death in determining the degree of recognition that the Colombian state would grant to those who had served it.²⁰

At least one hundred British and Irish officers and troops petitioned the Commissions for their *haberes militares* in the 1820s.²¹ It is unlikely that this was the total number, as the Commissions’ documentation has only recently been catalogued, and much of it has been restored from a deplorable state. It is possible that some records were lost in the intervening period.²² Nevertheless, this is still a useful number of records to analyse and to compare to the (over one thousand) Hispanic American officers and soldiers who also petitioned the Commission.²³ The vast majority of the Hispanic American petitioners

¹⁹ ‘Decreto sobre memoria de los muertos por la patria, y consideraciones y recompensas a que son acreedores sus viudas, huérfanos y padres’, 11th October 1821, Cúcuta, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.3, pp.312-4. For a discussion of the implications of this hierarchy of honourable death in later nineteenth-century Colombia, see Tovar Zambrano, ‘Porque los muertos mandan’, pp.125-169.

²⁰ As *El Colombiano de Guayas* reflected seven years later, ‘Happy are those who die on the battlefield, defending the sacred rights of the *patria*. They will live on forever in posterity’s memory. But Vice-Admiral Guisse will be forgotten by posterity, because he has stained his honour in the last days of his career [by serving in the Peruvian Navy against Colombia, in 1828]. *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 6th December 1828.

²¹ Not all of the petitions contain complete records, and those which are incomplete have been omitted from the statistical analysis that follows.

²² The Commission’s papers are collected in the Casa de Moneda section of the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá. I am extremely grateful to Jorge Orlando Melo for suggesting this source to me, and to Martha Jeanet Sierra for her continual efforts and assistance in tracking down my requests. It may be possible to cross reference some of these figures with a document referenced by López, AGNV, Sección Intendencia de Venezuela, Vol.128, f.115, ‘Relación de haberes militares al Batallón Carabobo’, 1822, which I was unable to consult in 2002 because the volume was being restored.

²³ Documents submitted to the Commission took the following form: initially, the petitioner himself presented a sheet proclaiming his name, rank and intention to claim his *haberes*. There then followed the declarations of two or sometimes three of his superior officers, who testified to the length of his service

were assigned their *haberes* with little ado. Most llaneros received their allocated 500 pesos for two years service with a simple statement from their *Coronel* that ‘they had served much more than two years’.²⁴ There was more complicated and often problematic bureaucracy involved in proving the identity and services of foreign mercenaries, which provoked the criticism that, by putting so much effort into organising these ‘paltry sums’, the government had lost sense of its priorities.²⁵ Even when land was on offer (rather than currency), most volunteers preferred credit notes or cash in order to settle the debts they had incurred during the Wars of Independence.²⁶

during the period specified by law, and attested to any promotions or absences. These declarations were submitted with another signed declaration from the petitioner – those soldiers who were illiterate would either mark with an X, or have a notary sign for them. On the reverse of this documentation an initial statement was written by a clerk from the Commission. In the case of the foreign volunteers this was usually a request for further witnesses or more paperwork. Once this had been presented, the clerk recommended the Commission to award the petitioners’ *haberes*. Once this was done, the papers were passed to the Secretary of War for the petitioner to be named as a creditor of the republic or, more rarely, to record that the petitioner had been paid in cash or with part of an estate.

²⁴ See as an example the case of Private Gregorio Andrade, Casa de Moneda, Db0589.

²⁵ *El Constitucional*, 3rd June 1824.

²⁶ There were however some exceptions. *Sargento Mayor* William Smith requested, and was granted a house in Caracas for 3,300 pesos, and went on to establish himself in the city as one of the principal residents and politicians. Documents relating to William Smith, 17th December 1825, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db4972, ff.1-3. Private Joseph Ellis was typical of the few lower-ranked volunteers who did request their *haberes* in the form of land. He wanted his 330 pesos in land around Caracas, but was denied by the lack of availability. Documents relating to Joseph Ellis, 2nd March 1825, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db0737, f.3-5.

Figure 6.1: *Haberes militares* granted to British and Irish volunteers, 1821-1829.

Rank	Standard award for two years service (in pesos)	Number of volunteers of this rank in sample	Total amount of <i>haberes militares</i> awarded (in pesos)	Mean amount awarded (in pesos)	Total Number of months served in period up to May 1820	Mean number of months served in period up to May 1820
<i>General in Chief</i>	25,000	0	0	0	0	0.0
<i>General of Division</i>	20,000	0	0	0	0	0.0
<i>General of Brigade</i>	15,000	0	0	0	0	0.0
<i>Coronel</i>	10,000	3	22,567	7,522	63	20.8
<i>Teniente Coronel</i>	9,000	0	0	0	0	0.0
<i>Mayor</i>	8,000	4	15,154	3,788	61	15.2
<i>Capitán</i>	6,000	10	34,309	3,431	157	15.7
<i>Teniente</i>	4,000	11	27,074	2,461	147	13.3
<i>Subteniente</i>	3,000	3	8,361	2,787	54	18.1
<i>Sargento</i>	1,000	19	11,774	619	313	16.5
<i>Cabo</i>	700	11	5,007	455	176	16.0
<i>Soldado</i>	500	35	10,603	303	497	14.2
TOTAL		96	134,849	1,405	1,468	15.3

Figure 6.2: Summary of *haberes militares* granted to British and Irish volunteers, calculated from Figure 6.1.²⁷

Rank	Number of volunteers of this rank in sample	Total amount of <i>haberes militares</i> awarded (pesos)	Mean amount awarded (pesos)	Total Number of months served in period specified by law	Mean number of months served in period specified by law	Mean date on which <i>haberes</i> were awarded
<i>Overall</i>	96	134,849	1,405	1,468	15.3	May 1824
Officers	31	107,465	3,467	481	15.5	Jan 1824
Non-commissioned officers and Privates	65	27,384	421	986	15.2	Aug 1824

²⁷ Non-commissioned officers are defined here, as elsewhere, as *sargentos* and *cabos*. Figures 6.1 and 6.2 are based on documentation held in the Casa de Moneda. The figures for Standard Awards are taken from 'Ley de repartición de bienes nacionales como recompensa a los oficiales y soldados', 10th October 1817, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.2, pp.295-6.

The *haberes militares* documentation presented above can be simply summarised. Commissioned officers were awarded eight times the *haberes* of their non-commissioned counterparts, although for a similar period of time, on average eight months short of the maximum two year period. Soldiers and non-commissioned officers waited on average seven months longer than commissioned officers to be awarded their *haberes*.

Beyond these statistics, the Commissions' correspondence casts light into the workings of early republican Colombia. The Wars of Independence ravaged the economies of Venezuela, New Granada and Ecuador, disrupting communication, dislocating labour markets, and sending many of the principal landowners and merchants into exile. For this reason, currency was especially coveted as a means of assuring (or obtaining) status and honour, which in turn was increasingly linked to 'the authority of wealth'.²⁸ Peter Grant was brought before a Colombian civil court in Bogotá in June 1826 as a result of having struck a merchant who demanded payment of a debt. While the trader was less concerned with the assault on his person than the recovery of his money, Grant protested that he was bound to defend his honour after he had been accused of being a 'rogue [*pícaro*]' who doesn't pay his bills'.²⁹ Grant and the anonymous merchant represented the two sides of changing understandings of honour. Grant remained focused on his public reputation, whereas the merchant saw his only chance of regaining his status as lying in reclaiming debts, even from clients as potentially violent as Grant. The Commissions' correspondence brings out the diverse ways in which adventurers viewed the state and their honour, and the ways that the state and its administrators perceived the adventurers.

b) *Challenging and Exploiting the State*

Unlike institutions such as the Church or Customs Offices (which had substantial colonial antecedents), the Commissions were newly-created national bodies and therefore suffered from the attendant difficulties of nation-building.³⁰ Indeed the structure and workings of

²⁸ Uribe Urán, *Honorable Lives*, p.158.

²⁹ Testimony of Peter Grant, 8th June 1826, Bogotá, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 96, f.562.

³⁰ From an early date there was friction between the Principal Commission and its Subaltern bodies. In March 1822 Vice-President Santander authorised the Intendant of Venezuela (Carlos Soublette) to distribute *haberes* to the Apure army regardless of the Commission's deliberations, ordering him only to

the Commissions reveal the tensions which would eventually lead to the disintegration of the Republic of Colombia in 1830. The Principal Commission operated out of Bogotá, and subaltern commissions were set up in Barinas, Caracas, Maracaibo and Cumaná, to where many of the Venezuelan soldiers (and several volunteers) had returned when the warfare moved on to the South. The geographical distance between the Commissions, and the time it took for the Principal Commission to approve the decisions of its subalterns, caused conflict common to other national institutions.³¹ On occasions (and, increasingly as time went on) the Principal Commission made minor amendments to these decisions.³² Equally, the Subaltern Commission in Caracas questioned arrangements made by its counterpart in Barinas.³³ These procedures caused delay and frustration. James Constant, a musician in the British Legion, first applied to the Subaltern Commission in Caracas in October 1825. Due to frequent requests for more documentation, Constant was awarded 372 pesos only in February 1827. But it was not until January 1828 that the Principal Commission in Bogotá authorised the decision, and therefore unlikely that Constant received his *haberes* before the middle of the year – almost three years after his initial submission.³⁴

Because of their importance in distributing the scarce ‘national’ goods to those who had fought for the Independence of the Republic, the Commissions adopted a punctilious regard for the correct presentation of documentations by applicants.³⁵ Officials frequently

‘keep the principal commission informed’ of decisions he made. ‘El Poder Ejecutivo de Colombia autoriza al intendente de Venezuela, para que ejerza las funciones que al ejecutivo comete la Ley de 28 de Septiembre de 1821, en el reparto de bienes nacionales en lo que corresponde al ejército de Apure’, 21st March 1822, reproduced in *Materiales para el estudio de la cuestión agraria*, Vol.1, pp.322-3. For a later critical commentary of this law lamenting that so few soldiers had received land, see *El Observador Caraqueño*, 20th May 1824.

³¹ These tensions are the backdrop to both Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, and Pino Iturrieta, *País Archipiélago*.

³² See the increase in *Sargento* George Cox’s *haberes* made in 1823, in Casa de Moneda, Db0430, ff.4-5.

³³ See John Moore’s arrangement with the Commission in Barinas to be paid his *haberes* in cattle, which was later disputed by the Caracas Commission, Casa de Moneda, Db0328, ff.6-10.

³⁴ Documentation regarding James Constant, Casa de Moneda, Db0978, ff.1-6.

³⁵ This was often directed at foreigners, but was also vented at prominent Creole officers. In one case Carlos Soublette was openly criticized by the head of the Principal Commission, for allowing *Cabo* Thomas Thomson’s submission to pass by him without the correct authentication. The Commissioner requested that ‘in the future informal papers do not reach my desk’. Note of Fiscal José Joaquín Gori, 18th August 1825, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db1217, f.6. Gori was one of Gran Colombia’s principal civilian officials. In 1828 he was elected to the Ocaña Convention.

requested volunteers to provide more validation of their careers. Often this meant proving on which date they had entered the service, or at what rank. On other occasions, officials requested further proof from witnesses that a volunteer had been ‘valiant and loyal’.³⁶ In some cases volunteers were allowed to avoid extra verification because of practical and insuperable difficulty, for example, that ‘all of the chiefs from that time are now dead’.³⁷ Bureaucratic precision often occasioned great delays in the granting of *haberes*. *Sargento* John McCann complained in September 1825 that he had waited seven months since he submitted his application, and had heard nothing. He requested a prompt decision, ‘because, being a foreigner here, my continued sustenance depends upon it’.³⁸

Both Carrera Damas and López concluded that the *haberes militares* system was exploited by elites to strengthen their hold on power in the post-war period. Neither mentioned the involvement of foreigners in this process, yet it is clear that, at least initially, foreign officers and their associates played a key role in buying up *haberes militares* from soldiers, and amassing considerable collections for themselves. Experienced volunteer officers often took advantage of their own relative economic security and friendship with members of the Commissions. They bought up the *haberes* of lower-ranked officers and soldiers who needed ready currency immediately and could not wait for the Commission’s bureaucracy to deal with their cases.³⁹ Other foreigners used their *haberes* as a means to acquiring reputation and honour. In 1825 John Illingworth conspicuously donated whatever *haberes* the government should choose to give him to the Republic’s Naval Forces.⁴⁰

³⁶ José Ignacio de Márquez (b.1793 Ramiquirí, d.1880 Bogotá) took charge of the finances of Colombia in the 1820s, and became Finance Minister in 1828. He commented on the case of Archibald Dunlop, 23rd March 1823, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0567, f.6. For standard cases in which more validation was requested, see Db0110 for Private Julian Bunn and Db0272 for Private Francisco Fuge.

³⁷ For one example of this recurrent phenomenon, see the comments of Pedro Briceño Méndez on the case of Cornet Peter Hutchinson, 24th October 1822, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0335, f.6.

³⁸ Juan McCann to the Vice-President, 13th September 1825, Maracaibo, Casa de Moneda, Db4717. There is no other documentation for Juan McCann ever having received his *haberes*.

³⁹ In 1825 Fernando Sirakowski claimed *haberes militares* totalling 16,750 pesos, which he had bought from soldiers of Venezuelan and foreign origin. *Capitanes* Francisco Sedeño and Archibald Dunlop were among his ‘clients’, as were *Sargento* Diego Renedi and Private James Flinn. Fernando Sirakowski, 1st May 1825, Casa de Moneda, Db2917, f.1.

⁴⁰ Illingworth did not come to Colombia with the other volunteers, but was a naval officer under Lord Thomas Cochrane, joining Bolívar’s forces in 1820 when he was penniless. Juan Illingworth, ‘Reclama su haber para destinarlo a beneficio de la República’, [2nd] February 1825, Casa de Moneda, Db1726, ff.1-2.

Merchants like Richard Illingworth and Joseph Clark also took advantage of the opportunities offered to networks of individuals who could lobby the Commissions across Colombia.⁴¹ They profited from their links and friendships with volunteers like *Coronel* Edward Stopford in order to speculate on the *haberes* of llaneros and their relatives. In Caracas in May 1826, a petition sent by a group of llaneros to the Subaltern Commission explained that they had asked Illingworth to represent them because ‘it is not easy for us to cash [*cobrar*] our *haberes*, because the necessary separation from our place of work and residence is impossible. So we have chosen together to give our powers to a person of trust, resident in the city of Bogotá’.⁴² Taking advantage of his mobility and networks across Colombia, from the llanos to the capital, Illingworth was eventually able to claim a total of 67,099 pesos in *haberes* – by far the largest amount claimed by any one individual. The operation worked on the basis that Illingworth’s contact in Caracas, Edward Stopford, paid the soldiers a minimal amount for the *haberes* in ready cash, which Illingworth would later recoup with profit from the awards made by the central government in Bogotá.

Stopford was the classic example of a volunteer who exploited his links to British merchants and his position as a nexus between Creole authorities and poorer soldiers. Throughout the 1820s Stopford occupied prestigious positions of authority in Caracas, as well as editing *El Colombiano* for the commercial elite. He harvested the trust formed in military comradeship and the shared masculine experience of good times (military victory, celebrations, romances) and bad times (privations, deaths of friends, illness). During the wars he had cemented bonds of trust and reciprocity, which often provided the basis for long friendships and understandings, such as those he shared with figures like

Such actions contributed to gaining Illingworth the trust and respect of Bolívar. See Bolívar to Santander, 23rd May 1826, Magdalena, *Cartas Santander-Bolívar, 1825-1826*, Vol.5, p.204.

⁴¹ For Richard Illingworth (John Illingworth’s cousin) see Casa de Moneda, Db5494. For Clark, see Db0363.

⁴² Submission of Vicente Hernández, Francisco Mosquera, soldados Miguel Rivera, Joseph María Mesa, Pantaleón Serpa, Simón Gómez, 3rd May 1826, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db0134, f.20. For Illingworth’s final bill, see f.49.

Carlos Soublette and Juan José Conde.⁴³ Whilst Stopford later used Richard Illingworth as his representative in Bogotá, in the immediate post-war years Stopford himself sat on the Subaltern Commission in Caracas, whilst simultaneously purchasing *haberes* at knock-down prices from the soldiers and non-commissioned officers who appeared before him.

In May 1828 Stopford represented eight *cabos* and nineteen private soldiers in their claims for long-overdue *haberes militares*. All of the men were from the village of San Rafael de Onoto in the llanos, and their claim had been organised by another speculator, Miguel Ledesma. Although none of the men could sign their names, Ledesma drew up a contract which they approved, under which Ledesma was empowered to follow their claims through the relevant authorities in the departmental capital.⁴⁴ Three weeks later Ledesma had already transferred this duty over to Stopford in Caracas, and the resulting correspondence revealed a chain of speculators and middle-men operating a system in which little if any of the *haberes* actually made its way back to the residents of villages like San Rafael. A list of *haberes militares* being passed from the Caracas Subaltern Commission to the Principal Commission in Bogotá in 1822 indicated the extent of this speculation. A total of 325 *haberes* were held in just twenty-five pairs of hands, with only thirteen belonging to the ‘original creditor’. Most had been bought by speculators. Over one third (132, with a value of 38,073 pesos) belonged to Edward Stopford.⁴⁵

On occasions Stopford attempted (unsuccessfully) to deceive and manipulate the Commission.⁴⁶ Later however, Stopford’s conflict of interest became both more apparent

⁴³ Juan José Conde (b.1793 Caracas, d.1848 Caracas) was a civilian administrator who, loyal to Bolívar, also took up some military duties. In the post-war period he occupied several important positions in Caracas.

⁴⁴ Empowerment of Miguel Ledesma, San Rafael, 5th May 1826; Empowerment of Stopford, Caracas, 26th May 1826; Stopford presentation to Commission, 7th May 1828, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db2813, ff.1-3.

⁴⁵ ‘List of twenty-five vales emitted by the Guayana Commission, being sent by the Caracas Commission to Bogotá’, signed by Manuel Ruiz (b.1763 Valladolid, Spain, d.1834 Caracas), Fernando Key Muñoz (b.1768 Tenerife, d.1845 Caracas), Juan Pablo Ayala Soriano (b.1768 Caracas, d.1855 Caracas) and Thomas Richards (Secretary), 6th September 1822, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db0046, f.1.

⁴⁶ On one occasion Stopford claimed that one of his volunteer clients, *Mayor* Joseph Deighton, had served for the maximum two years under the law. But the Commission – composed of Stopford’s friends and colleagues Ruiz, Muñoz and Ayala threw out Stopford’s claim, and awarded Deighton just fifteen months

and more insidious. In some cases, Stopford represented a soldier and then crossed over the floor to judge on whether his submission should be approved.⁴⁷ But did those being represented by men close to the Commission actually get a better deal? They may well have been dealt with slightly faster and more efficiently (as indicated by the discrepancies between the treatment of officers and soldiers in Figure 6.2), but financial irregularities were hard to get past the Commission's intricate structure, as evidenced by the many instances in which the Principal Commission amended its subalterns' decisions. Indeed even Stopford seemed not to benefit financially in the long-term – by 1827 Sir Robert Ker Porter's diary was full of references to Stopford's economic distress.⁴⁸

Despite the attempts of speculators like Stopford, informal corruption of the *haberes militares* system was not widespread. The new republican authorities were often severe in their adherence to guidelines and returned documents to volunteers requesting further verification of their claims. Because the law offered different terms to foreigners and local troops, much of the documentation related to requests for proof of foreign origin. In July 1825 when dealing with William Ashford, a secretary noted that he could not grant *haberes* because 'although the surname Ashford suggests that he is a foreigner, such a fact is not expressly stated in the documentation submitted'. In addition to casting doubt on Ashford's origin, the Commission also stated that it did not have 'the faintest idea' ['*no teniendo el menor conocimiento*'] of who *teniente coroneles* Juan Ferriar, Roberto Gordon and Enrique Weir were. (They were the witnesses Ashford had provided to attest to his campaigning services in Venezuela, apparently unheard of in Bogotá).⁴⁹

Sometimes the problem was simply that confusion arose over an uncommon surname. *Teniente* John Benjamin Hubble first applied for his *haberes militares* in July 1825, but

worth of *haberes*. Documents relating to Joseph Deighton, January to February 1823, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db0134, ff.9-10.

⁴⁷ Submissions relating to *Capitán* Eugenio Díaz, 11th February 1827, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db0475, ff.10-1.

⁴⁸ On other occasions, it is possible that volunteers represented by Stopford may have received the benefit of the doubt on close decisions. Dionisio O'Reilly, for example, was awarded *haberes* corresponding to the rank of *capitán* when it was suspected that he only merited that of *teniente*. See the discussions in January-March 1823 at the Caracas Commission, in Casa de Moneda Db0569, ff.7-9. For Ker Porter's references to Stopford's financial discomfort, see the entry for 1st July 1827, *El Diario de Sir Robert Ker Porter*, p.230.

⁴⁹ Casa de Moneda, Db0585. See also Db0598 for similar queries with regard to Private George Meates.

his case suffered because the Commission was never clear whether his surname was Bubble or Hubble. Bolívar's secretary had misspelled the name on the original contract back in 1820. Hubble therefore had to amass a considerable collection of documentation in Maracaibo in 1825 and again in 1826, and was eventually awarded his *haberes* thanks only to the intervention of Rafael Urdaneta.⁵⁰

As Hubble's case shows, although the whole system was probably not corrupt, those volunteers who formed relationships with influential Independent officers tended to receive special treatment in the distribution of *haberes*. The British officer Terence Nugent received his *haberes* relatively early, despite hardly having been involved in any active campaigning at all. He had spent most of the Wars of Independence in the *batallón de inválidos* in Bogotá, which paradoxically meant that he was in an ideal situation to become acquainted with the authorities in charge of dealing with his claim in the capital.⁵¹ High-ranking volunteer officers like John Mackintosh and John Johnson received their *haberes* within days of returning to Bogotá from the Campaign of the South in 1822, in marked contrast to the months and sometimes years that subordinate officers and men had to wait. In 1825 in Caracas, *Coronel* Thomas Richards was the beneficiary of similar relationships. He had his *haberes militares* claim rushed through in just one day by his friends and acquaintances on the Subaltern Commission. On the very same day these *haberes* were put towards assigning Richards a coffee- and cacao-producing hacienda in Ocumare, where he lived until his death.⁵²

Disputes over identity were not always over simple mistakes as in Hubble's case, and on occasions they provided opportunities for lower-ranked volunteers to exploit the bureaucratic system. This was the case for Private George Meates. He and Private John Wilton left Maracaibo for Bogotá to petition the government for their unpaid wages, at the end of their five-year period of service in 1825. Wilton died on the passage over the

⁵⁰ Casa de Moneda, Db2222. The officer who became known as Enrique López also suffered this problem when requesting his *haberes* in 1827. A mass of documentation, including a letter from Bolívar, was required to prove to the Bogotá authorities that Heinrich Loeper, previously of the Prussian army, was in fact a foreigner who had hispanified too much. Documents regarding Enrique Loeper, October 1827, Casa de Moneda, Db0510, ff.1-8.

⁵¹ Casa de Moneda, Db0266.

⁵² Documents relating to Thomas Richards, 11th February 1825, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db4971.

Cordillera. Once in Bogotá, George Meates claimed his own *haberes*, and then impersonated John Wilton so as to claim those pertaining to the deceased as well. Deciding to settle in Bogotá, he quickly sold on both of these entitlements to pay for food and lodging.⁵³ Meates' deception was only discovered one year later, when the Bogotá speculator Manuel Escovar petitioned the Ministry of War, complaining that he had recently discovered that John Wilton had died before reaching Bogotá, and that therefore the signature on the paper in Escovar's possession must be a fake. This naturally invalidated the papers. Escovar noted that 'they [the foreign volunteers] all look the same', but still requested that the government re-pay him the amount he had lost.⁵⁴



Figure 6.3: Signature of 'John Wilton' (forged by George Meates), Db0696.

Some confusion was perhaps understandable given that several hundred soldiers were petitioning the Ministry in this period, most of who had lost their original papers whilst campaigning in the mountains or the marshy plains. For men like Manuel Escovar, the foreign soldiers were not so rare as to be individually distinguishable, and this served to highlight the profound importance of trust and honour. Several of these difficulties were illustrated in the case of Pierre and María Bachelor. It demonstrated the persistence shown by the families of some adventurers and also the refusal of the Colombian government to allow recognition without detailed testimony and documentation. Where there was no personal acquaintance, governmental approval was sometimes nearly impossible to obtain.

Upon her husband's death in 1821, María Bachelor travelled to Bogotá to petition the Commission. When *Coronel* Thomas Jackson testified to Pedro Bachelor's length of service, and María provided a copy of the certificate of their marriage in Chelsea in 1818,

⁵³ Documents relating to George Meates and John Wilton, Casa de Moneda, Db0598, Db0696, Db01467, Db4805.

⁵⁴ Manuel Escovar to Minister of War, 10th June 1826, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db4805, f.1.

she was named as a creditor to half the sum of her husband's *haberes militares*.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, María Bachelor felt herself entitled to the full amount of the award. She produced witnesses to swear that back in England she had a 'son called Peter, the legitimate child of Pedro Bachelor'.⁵⁶ Whilst the authorities recognised that such a child would be owed the rest of the *haberes*, they requested confirmation that it was still alive. She swore that 'the son of myself and my late husband, the child Pedro Bachelor, was alive and in good health when the witnesses left London. But it is impossible for any person currently in Colombia to certify that the child is currently alive, as there is no post or any direct communication between the two countries'.⁵⁷

In response, the Secretary of State José María del Castillo ruled that María Bachelor had still to prove the survival of her son, and that she should correspond with Manuel Hurtado, the Colombian Representative in England, for that purpose. Three weeks later, María Bachelor requested the original certificate that had granted her half of her husband's *haberes*. No further correspondence survives. Presuming that she remained healthy, it seems that María Bachelor realised that she could not prove her claim to the satisfaction of the authorities, and decided to return home.⁵⁸ It is possible that she remained in Colombia and settled into society, like the subjects of the next section.

Settling Into Society

In the post-Independence years, British elites formed relationships of trust, friendship and mutual benefit with local elites in Colombia, just as they did across the British empire.⁵⁹ An elite social circle revolved around high-level Britons in Bogotá in the 1820s, although

⁵⁵ Casa de Moneda, Db1269, ff.2-6.

⁵⁶ Archibald Dunlop, 3rd May 1823, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda Db1269, f.8.

⁵⁷ María Bachelor, 15th July 1823, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db1269, f.12.

⁵⁸ As Pierre Bachelier (apparently a Frenchman who had Anglicised his surname to Bachelor, and then hispanified his first name to Pedro) had left London in late 1818 with the Hanoverian section of the British Legion, but his son remained in London, it appears that María remained in London after her husband's departure. If the child had been conceived prior to the wedding she could have given birth, left the child with a guardian, and then accompanied her husband. It is therefore difficult to know whether she accompanied the volunteers throughout their campaigning, but the dates of her arrival in Bogotá (December 1822), and her husband's death (January 1822, according to Jackson), allowed just enough time for news to reach her in London, and then travel from London, probably to Caracas, and then on to Bogotá.

⁵⁹ As described in Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*.

this was just one element of a society beginning to coalesce around status groups, regardless of national origin.⁶⁰ It coincided with the British attempt to 'create congenial collaborating elites [by converting] them to the British way of life'.⁶¹ The adventurers observed with pleasure the social rise of those Creoles who associated with them in the 1820s.⁶² Leaders like Santander were also actively trying to create a congenial collaboration, reporting with satisfaction in 1825 that 'the *ingleses* in Bogotá are now crazy with happiness' ['*están locos de contento*'] as a result of his attention.⁶³

One way that elites re-affirmed their position was through owning horses, racing them and gambling on them, activities that involved men and women, foreigners and locals.⁶⁴ This was not just part of a fashion for all things English, but rather the continuation of the social relationships between local and foreign elite groups formed during the Wars of Independence.⁶⁵ Similar relationships were replicated amongst the lower-class volunteers and their Bogotano peers, with festival days providing the focus for drinking, partying and comradeship.⁶⁶ There is a resounding lack of first-hand evidence confirming these relations, and only way to gain insight into the way that the less-celebrated volunteers

⁶⁰ Uribe Urán, *Honorable Lives*, pp.3-6, pp.14-8. For the British social circle in Bogotá in the 1820s see Deas, *Vida y opinion de Mr William Wills*, Vol.1, (Bogotá, 1996), pp.22-7.

⁶¹ Knight, 'Britain and Latin America', p.125. Knight shared the perspective elaborated in Jaramillo Uribe, 'Bentham y los utilitaristas colombianos del siglo XIX', *Ideas y valores*, 4:13 (January-June 1962) pp.11-28, and Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia*, pp.57-60.

⁶² Juan Galindo's rise was marked by his now wearing 'the longest moustaches in town ...so much for the man who translated papers for Mr Henderson and others'. Manby to Mary English, 6th March 1836, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/213. For Galindo representing volunteers as an *apoderado*, see for example Casa de Moneda, Db0676, Db4583, Db4696.

⁶³ Santander to Bolívar, 21st April 1825, Bogotá, *Cartas Santander-Bolívar 1823-1825*, Vol.4, p.349.

⁶⁴ Scott, *Mary English*, p.134; Gosselman, *Viaje por Colombia, 1825 y 1826*, p.275. In a letter to Mary English, C.S. Cochrane compared gambling in Bogotá to that on the St. Leger in Doncaster. Cochrane to English, 9th October 1825, London, English Papers, HA157/3/168. Other retired volunteers engaged in other social pursuits reminiscent of home: according to John Potter Hamilton, *Coronel John Johnston* 'was extremely fond of deer hunting, and had taken several couples of fox-hounds to Bogota'. Hamilton, *Travels Through the Interior Provinces of Colombia*, Vol.1, p.165. The Henderson Papers, PRO FO 357/12 f.28 contain an undated sheet from a sketchpad, upon which the then British Consul in Bogotá had scrawled odds and proposed bets between himself, *Coronel* Needham and Dr Mayne (both volunteers) amongst others. John Dawson Needham (dates unknown), also referred to as 'Nidham', he travelled to Venezuela from Brussels via Philadelphia. He was an important figure in British circles in Bogotá throughout the 1820s, and obtained lands near Upata in the Caroní missions. Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.79.

⁶⁵ Official British criticism of Colombians' gambling can be found in Consul Edward Watts to George Canning, 27th March 1824, 'Carthagena de Colombia', PRO FO 18/6 f.18; Watts to Canning, 13th November 1824, 'Carthagena de Colombia', PRO FO 18/7 f.221.

⁶⁶ Hamilton, *Travels Through The Interior Provinces of Colombia*, Vol.2, pp.240-1.

settled in Gran Colombia in the 1820s is to examine where they lived, who they associated with, and what their occupations were.⁶⁷

Figure 6.4: Principal Occupations of Volunteers who remained in Colombia after 1822.⁶⁸

Occupation	Number of Volunteers	%
Accountant	1	0.26
Administration	12	3.07
Arms Dealer	1	0.26
Army	140	35.81
Bricklayer	1	0.26
Diplomacy	6	1.53
Doctor	9	2.30
Evangelist	1	0.26
Farming	3	0.77
Fishing	1	0.26
Housewife	1	0.26
Jockey	1	0.26
Journalist	1	0.26
Landowner	5	1.28
Merchant	7	1.79
Mining	5	1.28
Navy	14	3.58
Newspaper Agent	1	0.26
Novelist	1	0.26
Security Guard	1	0.26
Printer	1	0.26
Retired	165	42.20
Servant	3	0.77
Shop Owner	1	0.26
Trader	2	0.51
Student	1	0.26
Tailor	1	0.26
Teacher	3	0.77
Translator	2	0.51
TOTAL	391	100

⁶⁷ For the background to this discussion see David Sowell, *The Early Colombian Labor Movement: Artisans and Politics in Bogotá, 1832-1919*, (Philadelphia, Pa., 1992), pp.1-20.

⁶⁸ This and all subsequent tables have been constructed from the database based on the wide range of primary and secondary sources listed in the bibliography. As noted earlier, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, only named volunteers are included, but this inevitably leads to the neglect of many lower-status volunteers, such as those mentioned by Robert Ker Porter below.

Figure 6.4, whilst constructed from fragmentary documentation such as pension records and casual references in correspondence and newspaper advertisements, allows at least a few general remarks. It reveals that very few of the volunteers became permanently involved in farming, or in skilled occupations such as muleteers, masons, blacksmiths or inn-keepers. Despite the number of volunteers who claimed to have been artisans in Britain or Ireland (see Chapter 2), there is little documentary evidence to show that they went on to exercise these trades in Colombia. Perhaps they found no demand in the post-war economy of what was still a predominantly rural region, or they discovered that soldiering assured them of a better income. Possibly the arrival of so many artisans meant that it was no more than a case of supply outstripping what little demand there was. Bogotá, Socorro and Quito all had a plentiful supply of artisans in the late colonial region, so incomers with skills such as carpentry, tailoring or shoemaking were not required.⁶⁹ The army was therefore by far the most prevalent 'occupation', along with the navy, medicine and political administration (all of which, in the sense that they did not involve volunteers having to learn new roles, were extensions of their military service).⁷⁰ Several years after they 'retired' from the service, many volunteers rejoined the army, either because the government called them up in an emergency, or as in the case of financially-stricken James Fraser, who 'had to take whatever [he] could'.⁷¹ It is possible that underemployed retired volunteers were involved in rustling cattle, or robbing the mail, as some of them were during the wars.

Figure 6.4 includes 165 'retired' soldiers for whom no further profession has been detected. What exactly this 'retirement' consisted of is less clear. Certainly many cashed pensions at the same time as taking up other types of employment, but given the small size of most urban population centres, it is possible that these volunteers retired from military service, from regional capitals (and hence beyond the reach of much of the

⁶⁹ McFarlane, 'The Rebellion of the 'Barrios'. Urban Insurrection in Bourbon Quito', pp.197-218; McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence*, pp.43-56.

⁷⁰ Note that the term 'occupation' is used in preference to 'profession' because in early republican Colombia (as is abundantly demonstrated by this table) individuals occupied multiplex, non-specialised roles, and were not 'professional' in the current sense. For comments on the honour of doctors serving with the Independents, see Bartolomé Salom, 5th February 1822, Guayaquil, Casa de Moneda, Db0267, f.3.

⁷¹ Fraser to Mary English, 1st August 1845, Salazar, English Papers, HA157/3/189.

archival documentation), and into semi-autonomous rural trading and a semi-subsistence farming existence. This is the picture that emerges from the correspondence between Mary English and James Fraser, who took over cacao and coffee plantations around Cúcuta.⁷² Their precarious agricultural existence was influenced by the price depression and failing crops they had witnessed in Europe before emigration, and the natural disasters (floods, landslides, droughts) that regularly affected areas of New Granada, Venezuela and Ecuador. No doubt these factors put off many potential farmers. In 1827 *The Present State of Colombia* recorded that twenty volunteers had taken up agriculture in Colombia, although the book itself was intended to encourage further agricultural emigration, and so tried to present as favourable a picture as possible.⁷³ Figure 6.4 records no more than ten as owning land or farming. Family tradition claims that Walter Chitty took to growing coffee in his retirement, but no documents survive to show that British or Irish farmers adopted new agricultural techniques, or use of better qualities of seed, livestock or irrigation.⁷⁴ Those who had worked in agriculture at home found that their skills and techniques would have to be adapted to new soils and climates. Overall, perhaps because of their experiences in long years of rural campaigning, they preferred to settle in towns rather than rural areas.

Some volunteers did seek work in their previous trades. Hugo Hughes petitioned the government for work in copper mining as ‘I have been brought up in one of the most considerable copper mines in England, and ... I have a complete knowledge of all the different operations of the Smelting and Refining of Copper Ores as practised in the most extensive works in England’.⁷⁵ Private Daniel Dowd advertised his services as a ‘gardener, bricklayer or tiler of houses’ in *El Colombiano*, and it seems unlikely that he could have been the only retired volunteer to try to supplement his income through manual labouring.⁷⁶ Two non-commissioned officers of the Colombian army, *Sargentos*

⁷² Fraser to Mary English, 1844-46, Salazar, English Papers, HA157/3/166-98.

⁷³ [Anon], *The Present State of Colombia*, p.177.

⁷⁴ José de Armas Chitty, ‘Walter Dawes Chitty’, in *Diccionario de Historia de Venezuela*.

⁷⁵ Hugo Hughes, Original in English, 31st August 1824, Bogotá, AGNC R GYM, Vol.56, f.183.

⁷⁶ Daniel Dowd, Advertisement, *El Colombiano*, 14th January 1823. Like the rest of the newspaper, the advertisement also appeared in Spanish, revealing that Dowd’s command of the Spanish language did not stretch to translating the word ‘tiler’: ‘Se necesita una situación para trabajar como jardinero, albañil de casa de ladrillo, o cualquiera otra ocupación, en que ofrece ser útil a quien quiera que lo emplea’.

Fortune and Robinson, were working as domestic servants in Angostura in 1823.⁷⁷ Others were unable to find paid labour. Sir Robert Ker Porter described the ‘useless, invalid, drunken English soldiers’ who lived in Caracas, thieving money and jewellery from more affluent individuals. Apart from this reference to robbery, and a sardonic comment that ‘one of these heroes, now converted into a butcher, discovered the stolen jewellery in the possession of another, now a shoemaker’, Ker Porter ignored the presence of these lower-ranked retired volunteers, recording only the activities of officers and British merchants.⁷⁸ Yet his dismissive comment itself revealed that one soldier was working as a butcher and another as a cobbler.

Figure 6.4 sheds little light on the volunteers who practised more than one occupation. Retired soldiers may have earned a living at a chosen trade, eked out an existence from their military pensions, or may have taken whatever work that came to them – some seasonal labouring, or fishing, perhaps combined with an occasional return to military duties when the government requested it of them. Figure 6.4 certainly does not reveal an affluent class of entrepreneurial farmers, traders or speculators. Those volunteers who earned a comfortable existence from their adventuring in Hispanic America were limited to those who married into established Colombian and Venezuelan families, and other senior officers who profited from their links with the important figures in the new republics. Surprisingly, one of these was John Devereux who, despite being widely derided throughout the period, eventually negotiated a comfortable pay-off and pension from the Colombian Government, a positive write-up in Restrepo’s history of the period, and a comfortable retirement in England.⁷⁹ One of the Angostura merchants examined in Chapter 1, the merchant ‘*Coronel*’ James Hamilton, continued to live and trade in Angostura, and was awarded British diplomatic positions as a reward. But in the 1820s

⁷⁷ ‘Padrón de todos los Extranjeros de ambos sexos que se encuentran en esta Capital, con distinción de sus oficios, motivo de su permanencia, y los que están, o no, naturalizados en Colombia’, AHG CB, Sig. 1.3.4.103.5.

⁷⁸ Diary entry for 5th March 1828, *El diario de Sir Robert Ker Porter*, p.307.

⁷⁹ Restrepo, *Autobiografía*, (Bogotá, 1985), p.41 stated that Devereux was ‘generous’ in dealing with Restrepo’s personal debt to him in 1840. Juan Galindo had reported meeting Devereux at a Horticultural Fete near London in 1836. Devereux apparently ‘looked younger than ever’. Galindo to Thomas Manby, 18th October 1836, Kingston, Jamaica, Archivo de Cartas del Coronel Tomás Manby 1836-1840, BLAA, Libros Raros MS 344, f.3.

many foreign merchants were bankrupted, as has been well documented by Catalina Banko.⁸⁰ Indeed, the lack of materials for the study of early British involvement in Colombian business and economic history is indicative of the very limited success of British merchants, even before the 1826 crash that led to the withdrawal of much foreign investment.⁸¹ Mining attracted several volunteers, although it did not create any fortunes.⁸² The wide dispersion of opportunities meant that the volunteers settled across Gran Colombia.

⁸⁰ Banko, *El capital comercial en La Guaira y Caracas*, pp.42-56.

⁸¹ Carlos Dávila, *Historia empresarial de Colombia: Estudio, problemas y perspectivas*, (Bogotá, 1990), p.69. Bankruptcies were generally published in the principal commercial newspapers of the period, notably the *Correo del Orinoco*, *El Colombiano* and *El Constitucional*.

⁸² It is difficult to know how much (if any) gold was taken out of Colombia by the volunteers. Rumours of volunteers returning home rich may well have been self-mythologising, as when Daniel O'Connell reported a volunteer bringing back a gold chain 'a yard in length' as a present for his wife. Daniel O'Connell to Mary O'Connell, 7th February 1824, Dublin, in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.3, d.1088. In September 1824 a \$500 reward was offered for the recovery of a 'small iron chest, containing specie, in gold, Spanish dollars'. This had been stolen from the store of J.J. Guedron in Bogotá in December 1823. In May 1827 a bag was stolen in Bogotá from Santiago Grajales, containing over twenty ounces of gold. Its existence demonstrates that gold was circulating in some form in Bogotá, probably in the hands of a speculator. A month later Tomás Gómez de Coz lost a package containing four gold bars, on the road from Honda to Guaduas. They were destined for Pedro Mosquera in Bogotá. The 'peon conductor', Estévan Zerda was accused of stealing them. *El Colombiano*, 8th September 1824; *El Constitucional*, 3rd May 1827; *El Constitucional*, 28th June 1827.

Figure 6.5: Distribution of volunteers across Colombia post-1822

Places Settled	Vols	%
Angostura	5	1.30%
Barinas	1	0.26%
Barquisameto	1	0.26%
Barrancas	1	0.26%
Barranquilla	2	0.52%
Bogotá	166	43.23%
Buenaventura	1	0.26%
Caracas	100	26.04%
Cartagena	10	2.60%
Citara	1	0.26%
Coro	1	0.26%
Cúcuta	1	0.26%
Cuenca	6	1.56%
Esmeraldas	2	0.52%
Guayaquil	5	1.30%
La Guaira	1	0.26%
Maracaibo	21	5.47%
Margarita	1	0.26%
Medellín	5	1.30%
Mérida	3	0.78%
Mompós	2	0.52%
Pamplona	2	0.52%
Panama	1	0.26%
Pasto	1	0.26%
Popayán	11	2.86%
Puerto Cabello	12	3.13%
Quito	8	2.08%
Santa Marta	2	0.52%
Socorro	1	0.26%
Sogomoso	1	0.26%
Tocayma	1	0.26%
Valencia	4	1.04%
Vélez	1	0.26%
Zipaquirá	3	0.78%
TOTAL	384	100%

Figure 6.6: Distribution of Volunteers post-1822 according to region

Region	Vols	%
Venezuela	146	38.02%
Ecuador	21	5.47%
New Granada	217	56.51%
Total	384	100%

The fragmentary documentation upon which Figures 6.5 and 6.6 are based means that they can do no more than suggest general trends in conjunction with other sources. A further qualification is that many of the volunteers did not settle in one place. Peter Grant spent over five years in each of Caracas, Bogotá and Tocayma. Edward Brand lived for two decades in Bogotá, and another two in Caracas. Francis Hall ran newspapers in Caracas and Quito, and was involved in a lengthy topographical survey on the Magdalena River. The apparent statistical preference for New Granada over Venezuela or Ecuador shown in Figure 6.6 can largely be attributed to the number of soldiers who were last documented in Bogotá, before disappearing from the record. Frank Safford has argued that the Bogotá elites admired foreigners for their financial aptitude, and therefore facilitated their rise from humble employee or artisan to capitalist within just ten years.⁸³ It is possible that many of these subsequently left Colombia entirely, but the figures do indicate that there was a Bogotá-Caracas axis that was most welcoming to the retired volunteers. This may have been because of these cities' colonial pasts as seats of *audiencias*, which gave them a more direct link with Europe than other urban or rural centres. The colonial link to Europe may also explain the relatively high number of volunteers who settled in major ports like Cartagena and Guayaquil.

Guayaquil families married their daughters to foreign businessmen in the later colonial period, and this continued into the 1820s.⁸⁴ A change had occurred, however, in that these foreigners were now more likely to be British, Irish, North American or German, rather than Spanish as they had generally been in the past. This openness was reciprocated by the volunteers, who appreciated the cosmopolitan attitude of the ports in contrast to the often conservative interior. As Thomas Manby wrote to a friend in 1821, 'you will like Guayaquil. If you have a bit of money, it is better than anywhere I have visited in Colombia (but if you do not have any, it could be hellish). No one pays much attention to

⁸³ Safford, 'Foreign and National Enterprise in Nineteenth Century Colombia', in *Aspectos del siglo XIX en Colombia*, (Medellín, 1977), p.47.

⁸⁴ Townsend, *Tales of Two Cities*, p.80.

army officers, except the women, which is exactly as it should be, as far as I am concerned'.⁸⁵

In contrast, more isolated mountainous areas attracted fewer volunteers. Perhaps a town like Popayán was too conservative and too Catholic to encourage retired volunteers to settle. Even Quito had few foreign residents. A rare 1823 register revealed that less than one year on from the passage of the Albion Battalion and other volunteers through the city, just one Briton was serving in the Quito militia.⁸⁶ In contrast, in Santa Marta the arrival of volunteers appeared to occasion a change in relations to foreigners. Despite (or perhaps, because of) their colonial contact with foreign smugglers and pirates, local elites had married amongst themselves until Independence. Saether's study of their marriage patterns demonstrated that local elites now actively sought alliances with foreigners.⁸⁷ This was due to the influx of foreign heroes of the Wars of Independence and also because 'the social make-up of Samarian society [had] changed, not just because of migrations or specific demographic developments, but because society was conceptualised in a new manner'.⁸⁸ As discussed in Chapters 4 and 7, the very nature of what it meant to be foreign was changing.

Some volunteers were able to settle away from the capitals or principal ports. Hugo Hughes settled in Medellín, from where he worked on various mining projects. Doctors settled in Barquisameto and Santa Marta, areas where their services were in demand by foreign traders as well as the local population. Other volunteers settled where they had been posted to administrative positions in the immediate aftermath of the war, like Thomas Murray in Vélez, James Fraser in Mérida, and Arthur Sandes in Cuenca. Yet those who did not have such immediate and remunerative employment often stayed in the capital cities, close to the seats of the governments that they perceived as their best source

⁸⁵ Manby to Baron Von Eben, 10th December 1821, Cali, translated into Spanish (without English original) in *Memorias de O'Leary*, Vol.12, pp.350-1. See also Sandes' comments in a letter to Flores, 9th June 1828, Guayaquil, *Memorias de O'Leary*, Vol.12, p.410.

⁸⁶ This individual, 'Santiago Blanco' (Private James White) was from London, but there are no other documents to explain why he had chosen to live in Quito. 'Filaciones de los individuos del Cuerpo de Notables de Honor de la Ciudad de Quito, Segunda Compañía, 1824', ANE Fondo Especial, Caja 247, Vol.7, ff.130-48.

⁸⁷ Saether, 'Identities and Independence', pp.307-9.

⁸⁸ Saether, 'Identities and Independence', p.325.

of employment, honour and financial assistance. The volunteers who had been wholly devoted to their short-term enrichment had long since left the continent. Some who stayed, like Hughes in Medellín or Julian Bunn in Popayán, may well have kept on travelling, searching for their own personal El Dorado. More likely however, is the possibility that their experiences during the war enabled them to form relationships and acquire honour, which subsequently allowed them to find employment and satisfaction within local ambits. On occasions, it led to marriage with local women.

Figure 6.7: Volunteers' Marriages in Colombia.⁸⁹

Surname	Name	Nat	Name of Wife	Year Married	Place Married	Relations
Ashdown	Charles William	BI	María del Carmen Landaeta	1824	Valencia	Daughter of Ignacio Landaeta and Teresa Hidalgo
Blair Brown	Hugo	I	Eduviges Gaviria	c.1828	Medellín?	Daughter of F.A. Zea's cousin
Brigard, de	Juan	P	Unknown	1824	Unknown	
Brown	Thomas	S	Unknown	c.1825	Cumaná	
Brown	Thomas	S	María Francisca Ruiz	1828	Cumaná	Daughter of Francisco Ruiz and María del Carmen Ruiz
Brun	Jayne	SP	Unknown	n/a	Cartagena?	
Burton	David Adolph	BI	Unknown	c.1823	Angostura	
Caballi	Carlos	IT	Unknown	c.1831	Popayán?	
Castelli	Clemente	NA	Unknown	n/a	Unknown	
Chamberlayne	Charles William	B	Eulalia Ramos	<1817	Venezuela	
Collins	Samuel	E	Unknown	n/a	Unknown	
Council	Daniel	BI	Dominga Alvares	<1820	Caracas?	She later married Daniel Maclaughlin
Cox	George	E	Unknown	1822-42	Caracas?	
Curtis	Javier Francis	M	Antonia España	c.1821	Angostura	Widow of Francisco Antonio de Orellana
D'Cross	Frederick	I	Unknown	c.1831	Popayan	
de Aldercreutz	Friederich	SW	María Josefa Díaz Granados	1821	Cartagena?	Daughter of Spanish officer
Finlay	Edward	BI	Eliza Barres	<1818	Trinidad	French
Flegel	Ludwig	P	Ursula de Liendo	1822	Caracas	Daughter of Independent <i>Coronel</i> Juan José Liendo
Fraser	James	S	María Ignacia Marquez	c.1830	Cúcuta?	
Gregory	Edward	I	Unknown	1837	Medellín	
Hallowes	Miller	E	Unknown	n/a	Unknown	
Hands	John Henry	E	Trinidad Páez Lobera	1823	Pto. Cabello	
Harris	William	I	Unknown	c.1830	Cuenca	
Hill	John	E	Unknown	c.1825	Coro?	

⁸⁹ National Origin (Nat) key: B = British; BI = British or Irish; E = English; F = French; H = Hanoverian; I = Irish; IT = Italian; M = Maltese; NA = North American; P = Polish; R = Russian; S = Scottish; SW = Swedish; SP = Spanish. My thanks to Claire Brewster for allowing me to cross-reference the women listed in this table with an early version of her database from the 'Gendering Latin American Independence: Women's Political Culture and the Textual Construction of Gender, 1790-1850' project.

Irwin	John	I	Josefa Joaquina Vale Mijares	c.1827	Maracaibo	
Jeampierre	Francisco	F	Mercedes Mauricia Bruzual	1825	Sta. Marta	Daughter of Antonio Bruzual of Caracas
Joly	Nicholas	F	Unknown	<1824	Margarita	Sister of Juan Bautista Arismendi
Kean	Francisco	I	Unknown	1821	Maracaibo	
Klinger	Adolfo	H	María Cabrera	c.1826	Quito	
Lecumberry	Ignacio	F	Rita Robles	c.1826	Quito	Sister of Francisco Robles, future President of Ecuador
Lee	Robert P	BI	Leonor Franco	c.1840	Bogotá	
Luzón	Henrique	G	n/a	<1828	Unknown	
MacGregor	Gregor	S	Josefa Lobera de Bolivar	1811	Valencia	Cousin of Bolivar
MacLaughlin	Daniel	S	Dominga Alvares	c.1828	Caracas?	She had been married to Daniel Council
MacPherson	John	S	Unknown	n/a	Unknown	
Manby	Thomas	E	María Josefa Fortoul	1836	Bogotá	Daughter of <i>General</i> Pedro Fortoul
Martin	Felipe Mauricio	P	Francisca Gaitán	1823	Bogotá	Daughter of Carmen Rodriguez de Gaitán
Mayne	Henry George	E	Rita Paris	1824	Bogotá	Daughter of <i>General</i> Joaquín Paris
Meyer	Johannes	R	Unknown	c.1832	Bogotá	
Minchin	Charles James	I	Unknown	1827	Coro	
Minuth	John Theophilus	P	María Genovera Bitau de	c.1840	Cartagena	
Murphy	Richard	I	María de la Natividad Landaeta Codecido	1830	Valencia	Daughter of militia <i>capitán</i>
O'Connor	Francisco Burdett	I	Francisca Ruyloba	1827	Bolivia	
O'Hara	N	B	Unknown	<1819	Caribbean	Gregor MacGregor's wife's lady in waiting
O'Leary	Daniel Florencio	I	Soledad Soubllette	1828	Bogotá	Daughter of Carlos Soubllette
Rasch	Frederick	H	Francisca Granados	c.1830	Cartagena	
Von Reimboldt	Julius Augustus	H	Ana Maria Salina	1824	Maracaibo	Daughter of Independent officer Fabián Salina and Antonia Miranda
Richards	Thomas	E	María Vergara	c.1825	Caracas	
Rooke	James	BI	Ana Tucker Rooke	1815	St. Kitts	Daughter of Governor of St. Kitts
Russian	Giuseppe	I	Ana Flex	1819	Margarita	
Server	Tomás	NA	Francisca Antonia González de Goursac	1834	Angostura	Daughter of María de la Cruz Gonzales
Sirakowski	Ferdinand	P	María Infanta Rusiano	1822	Bogotá	
Smith	Julian	BI	Unknown	c.1825	Bogotá	
Smith	William	S	Mercedes Vera	c.1828	Caracas	
Smith	William Porter	BI	Unknown	1822	Sta. Marta	
Stagg	Leonard	BI	Unknown	1830s	Quito	Daughter of Juan José Flores
Stopford	Edward	I	Laura Margarita	<1818	n/a	
Thomas	Alexander	BI	Soledad Pérez	1818	Angostura	
Uslar	Juan	H	Dolores Hernández	1823	Valencia	
Vernon	George	B	Barbara Muñoz	1843	Barrancas	
Voigt	Louis	F	Unknown	c.1825	Cartagena?	
Wallace	Jorge	E	Baltasara Caldas	c.1800	Popayán	Relative of Caldas
Weir	Henry	E	Dolores Salinas	1826	Maracaibo	Daughter of Independent officer Fabián Salina and Antonia Miranda
Woodbine	George	BI	Unknown	n/a	Unknown	
Wright	Thomas	I	María de los Angeles Victoria Rico y Rocafuerte	1832	Guayaquil	Daughter of Vicente Rocafuerte

Figure 6.7 lists the sixty-six marriages firmly documented to have taken place between named foreign volunteers and Hispanic American women.⁹⁰ References to these marriages were found in fragmentary fashion across a range of primary and secondary sources and they cannot be taken as comprehensive. Nevertheless, they reveal some illustrative trends. In the early period of the wars very few volunteers married local women. One of the exceptions was Private Francis Kean, who married in 1820 during a break in fighting at Altagracia on the Venezuelan coast.⁹¹ The failure to officially ratify relationships was perhaps caused by the crisis of ordination in the Catholic Church, which meant a huge shortage of priests who could otherwise have officiated at weddings.⁹² There were, it seems, no possibilities for civil marriage and matrimony was too expensive and unlikely an arrangement to be contemplated by the rank-and-file. Just one priest was recorded as travelling with the volunteer expeditions, a Father Cornelius O'Mullan who accompanied John Devereux, and he died of fever in 1821 on the New Granadan Caribbean coast, less than one year after his arrival.⁹³ Volunteers were more likely to marry in the later 1820s, once they had ended their military careers and were looking to settle into domestic life. Many married the daughters of principal military figures from the Independent army and navy, or the cousins of civilian politicians or members of traditional landowning families, who were the principal dispensers of patronage in a new and uncertain period.

From the opposite perspective, Figure 6.7 is revealing about the marriage strategies of elite Colombian women and their families. Daniel O'Leary's biographer wrote that Soledad Soubllette married him 'because of his very condition as a foreigner, come from

⁹⁰ Due to the relatively small numbers, this section includes all foreign volunteers who married into New Granadan, Venezuelan or Ecuadorian society, regardless of their national origin. Another fifty volunteers were recorded as having married in Britain, and many of the wives accompanied the volunteer expeditions, as discussed in Matthew Brown, 'Adventurers, Foreign Women and Masculinity'.

⁹¹ Kean was captured by the Loyalists during his leave, and was imprisoned for a year at Maracaibo before being released to claim a pension from the Colombian government. See Casa de Moneda, Db0010, Db0734.

⁹² On the shortage of priests see Lynch, 'The Quest for the Millennium in Latin America: Popular Religion and Beyond', in *From Colony to Nation*, p.99.

⁹³ For O'Mullan see [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, Vol.2, p.77.

far-away lands: a circumstance that tends to seduce the feminine imagination'.⁹⁴ Karen Racine claimed much the same for the Independent leaders 'fondness for daughters of blond Albion' during their time in London.⁹⁵ But if this pattern held generally true, perhaps rather more mercenaries would have formed permanent relationships with smitten Colombian women. More usefully, the type of volunteer Colombian women married must be considered. Soledad Soubllette could have married any of the volunteers if she had simply been seduced by the idea of marrying a foreigner, but she ended up with *General* O'Leary, a close confidante of Simón Bolívar and by 1828 one of the highest-ranked volunteers. Soubllette herself was the sister of *General* Carlos Soubllette, a Bolivarian loyalist who would later become Venezuelan President. More prosaically, some of the volunteers who married, like John Illingworth, Thomas Richards, Thomas Manby and Edward Stopford, had links to foreign traders or British investors. The O'Leary-Soubllette, Wright-Rocafuerte, Stagg-Flores and MacGregor-Lobera marriages joined highly-ranked and relatively prestigious (at the time of marriage) volunteers to families with considerable political influence.

The majority of marriages were not so well documented. Some volunteers married into prominent colonial families, like the Illingworth-Décimavilla, Ashdown-Landaeta marriages, but those between lower-ranking foreign officers with the daughters of lower-class Colombian families are less clear. Possibly on the local level, marrying a British or Irish private or *cabo* was a source of prestige.⁹⁶ These relationships remain more personal 'close encounters' than the historical record can reveal until more local archival research is carried out. Investigations into a similar group, British migrants to Cuba later in the nineteenth century, show that lower-class Britons did not engage in stable sexual relationships with locals. Whatever lay behind this non-occurrence, while merchants and

⁹⁴ Pérez Vila, *Vida de Daniel Florencio O'Leary*, p.340.

⁹⁵ Racine, 'Imagining Independence', p.108.

⁹⁶ See particularly Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth Century Cuba*; and Eileen J. Findlay, 'Love in the Tropics: Marriage, Divorce, and the Construction of Benevolent Colonialism in Puerto Rico, 1898-1910', in Joseph et al, *Close Encounters of Empire*, pp.139-72; but also Gary Miller, 'Bourbon Social Engineering: Women and Conditions of Marriage in Eighteenth Century Venezuela', *The Americas*, 46:3 (January 1990), pp.261-90. For a more complete bibliography, see Saether, 'Identities and Independence', pp.14-5.

officers were often assimilated into Cuban society, lower-class individuals remained outsiders.⁹⁷

The way that the volunteers settled in Gran Colombia in the 1820s was dependent on many factors. They may have found a region they liked, or a woman to marry. Some were appointed to positions of political or military authority, and subsequently settled in the area having formed personal or business relations. Even the fragmentary archival sources available indicate that the men who left Britain and Ireland in 1810 as adventurers had now changed the way they looked at Gran Colombia. They had played a part in the region's Independence from Spain, and now lived alongside and with the very people to whose 'liberation' they had contributed. They were ten years older. As a result of these experiences, the way they imagined their relation with the state and the nation had changed, just as the way political institutions began to view them in a new light. The articulation of these changes is the subject of the final section of this chapter.

The Honour of the Veteran Soldier

a) Creole Re-evaluation of Individual Honour after Independence

This section presents a closer reading of the volunteers' petitions in order to complement the inconclusive nature of the statistics presented above. It argues that changing conceptions of honour were integral to the processes of settling and assimilation. Chapter 3 demonstrated how volunteers sought to assert and protect their individual honour in their new circumstances in Venezuela, as a means of negotiating their position with regard to the new social groups that surrounded them. This individual honour was founded on class and race distinctions, and on the ostentatious masculinity of bravery and loyalty in military service. The first three decades after political Independence saw an extensive re-working of the 'myriad standards of legitimacy' and the 'dense thicket of loyalties' upon which the new republican states rested precariously.⁹⁸ These new ideas

⁹⁷ Curry-Machado, 'Sugar, Steam and Slave Rebellion: British Machinists in mid-nineteenth century Cuba', paper presented to SLAS Annual Conference, April 2001, University of Birmingham.

⁹⁸ Reuben Zahler, 'Honor, Corruption, Legitimacy, and Liberalism in the Early Venezuelan Republic (1821-50)', Ph.D thesis, University of Chicago, expected 2005. I am extremely grateful to Reuben for allowing me to read early drafts of this pioneering work, and for his comments on an early draft of this chapter.

were illuminated in court room discussions of corruption, in newspaper and congressional debates of political heresy, and in threats and challenges to central government.⁹⁹ The recognition of the role of foreign soldiers in the Wars of Independence was a fundamental part of this conceptualisation of post-colonial society. Those volunteers who remained in the region were affected by these developments just as much as they influenced any changes themselves. The idea of individual honour became subsumed into deeper conceptions of the honour of the nation, the state, and race and class groups. This section illustrates how this happened through a discussion of both Creole and volunteer correspondence.

The *haberes militares* system aimed to assist all those men who had served in the Independent armies. For the soldiers whose period of service had been ended by wounds and injuries, the government introduced a means of providing for those it declared 'invalids'. Just as previous legislation recognised a hierarchy of honourable deaths, there was a hierarchy of honourable wounds, ranging from men who had lost limbs, down to those whose bad back or rheumatic joints prevented them from working.¹⁰⁰

Documentation relating to those soldiers who wished to be declared invalids or to have their pay or pensions restored after political upheaval was collected in the Service Records (*Hojas de Servicio*) sections of national archives in Bogotá and Caracas.¹⁰¹ This means that for the volunteers, only the minority who remained in Colombia after the Wars were over were recorded.

In addition to providing basic information such as age, national origin, length of service and dates of promotion, the service records also reveal the classification used to assess the character of soldiers and officers, and provide an insight into expectations of honour

⁹⁹ Zahler, 'Honor, Corruption, Legitimacy, and Liberalism in the Early Venezuelan Republic (1821-50)'.

¹⁰⁰ The initial attitude towards invalids was set out in Bolívar to Santander, 5th December 1821, Bogotá, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.3, p.340. Subsequent laws included 'Ley de inválidos de guerra', 12th April 1836, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.7, pp.44-8. See also 'Reglamento de la ley de inválidos con anexos', 15th April 1836, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.7, pp.48-54; and 'Reforma a la ley de inválidos', 24th April 1839, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.7, pp.314-8.

¹⁰¹ For *Repúblicas en armas*, Thibaud used all of the over one thousand surviving records. I am enormously grateful to him for his generosity in allowing me to cross-reference my own work in these archives against his own database.

and character. Each man was assessed according to 'conduct, manners, education, instruction and valour'.¹⁰² For example, after detailing Joseph Jeffery's services, Miller Hallowes noted that Jeffreys had 'perfect conduct, fine manners, very good education, much talent, complete training, and great valour'.¹⁰³ These were the qualities valued by the new regime, and provide a useful deconstruction of how military honour was understood. Nevertheless, the actual single sheet service records form only a small minority of the documentation preserved in these archives. The surrounding letters, depositions, testimonies, amendments, accounts and notes reveal a wealth of detail as to the way volunteers and their relatives petitioned the state, and how authorities and leaders in the new republics viewed these applications. Similarly useful is the correspondence generated in Venezuela in the latter part of the nineteenth century by the introduction of the *Ilustres Próceres* decoration.¹⁰⁴

High-ranking Independent officers like Briceño Méndez and Páez argued in their submissions that non-commissioned officers and privates should have 'carried themselves like good soldiers' and 'served constantly' in order to receive recognition from the state.¹⁰⁵ When Briceño Méndez spoke of a 'good soldier', his prime concern was subordination. A good soldier was one who 'always behaved himself, and merited the esteem of his chiefs', no matter what circumstance he was in. Other essential components of this military honour were physical bravery, success in 'vanquishing' the enemy, and loyalty and courage when under duress.¹⁰⁶ These concerns were reflected in the requirements that the Colombian authorities made of volunteers who sought recognition.

¹⁰² These categories were pre-printed onto each form.

¹⁰³ José Jeffreys, 16th November 1827, Pamplona, AGNC HDS, Vol.24, f.59 [*'conducta: irreprehensible; modales: finos; educación: muy buena; talento: mucho; instrucción: completa; valor: mucho; estado: soltero'*].

¹⁰⁴ For an introduction to the *Ilustres Próceres* system see Vicente Dávila, *Diccionario biográfico de Ilustres Próceres de la Independencia Suramericana*, Vol.1, (Caracas, 1924), p.v.

¹⁰⁵ See for example Briceño Méndez witness to the conduct of *Sargento* John Rice, 28th May 1823, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db1011; Briceño Méndez, witness to the conduct of *Sargento* Garrett Nowlam, [no date, probably May 1823], Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0338. For similar comments with regard to Lorenzo MacGuire's 'perfect conduct', see Benedicto Díaz, 11th July 1832, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.28, f.883, and Mosquera, 5th May 1834, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.28, f.894. For the stress on 'constant service', see Páez, 7th September 1822, Maracaibo, Casa de Moneda, Db0328, f.5; Páez, 16th November 1822, Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db0569, f.4.

¹⁰⁶ See for example Briceño Méndez, witness to the conduct of *Sargento* James Wilson, 18th April 1823, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0657, f.3.

Creole Independent officers often praised volunteers for their loyalty, dedication and bravery in search of honour and glory.¹⁰⁷ But as shown in Chapter 4, what they saw most in each other – patriotism – was difficult to detect in demonstrably ‘foreign’ volunteers. In seeking to exalt the Wars of Independence as the foundational patriotic myth of the new republics, Creoles instead therefore praised the volunteers’ selflessness and devotion to the cause – their virtue. This devotion was sometimes imbued with religious intensity. *General* Julian Castro described *Capitán* William Ashdown ‘as one of the brave men who made up that Crusade for Liberty [‘*cruzada de la libertad*’] that left the Old World to fight in the New for the cause of humanity. They sacrificed their interests, and lent their bravery to support the Independence of Colombia’.¹⁰⁸ Casting the volunteers as ‘Crusaders of Liberty’ set them above religious distinctions and beyond political and even national frontiers. Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera praised John Mackintosh for ‘coming here to fight for liberty, not as an adventurer like some others ... he experienced misery and poverty, all in the name of a *patria* that was not his own’.¹⁰⁹ These values of sacrifice, abnegation and faith in the cause were consistent with all the Christian denominations, and were employed to side-step the vexed question of patriotism.

Elites were especially keen to recognise the honour of those volunteers who formed family ties with Creole families. This built on the longer tradition of Creole officers situating their military service within their patriarchal duties to provide for their families at home.¹¹⁰ William Ashdown was therefore recognised as ‘distinguished in the eyes of his chiefs because of his bearing, and since his retirement, he has been in the eyes of society, a good husband and father’ [‘*padre de familia*’].¹¹¹ For Creole war veterans such

¹⁰⁷ For praise of *Coronel* John Johnston in this light, see Briceño Méndez, 23rd October 1822, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0166, f.4, and for John Mackintosh, September 1822, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0310, ff.1-5.

¹⁰⁸ Julian Castro, 15th November 1856, Valencia, AGNV IP, Vol.6, f.288.

¹⁰⁹ Mosquera, 21st March 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.30, f.981.

¹¹⁰ *Subteniente* Pedro Laura was typical in lamenting that ‘now that we have achieved the grand object of our labours, it is painful for me to look at my naked, hungry family surrounded by misery, disgrace, and unhappiness ... it hurts my soul when I remember that my military profession impedes me from working to improve their condition’. Laura to National Commission, 21st October 1821, Valencia, Casa de Moneda, Db0651, f.3. See also José María Asunción Montezuma, 21st October 1821, Merida, Casa de Moneda, Db0412, f.4.

¹¹¹ Juan Uslar, 24th December 1849, Valencia, AGNV IP, Vol.6, f.301. In what follows, *padre de familia* is generally not translated into English. Its connotations of ‘patriarch’ and ‘head of family’ are too suggestive

as Trinidad Portocarrero, Ashdown was the model volunteer, because ‘his conduct ... as a soldier has been active and brave, and as a citizen has been laborious and well-known’.¹¹² Because of these testimonies Ashdown was recognised by the state and received a pension. Being a good citizen and *padre de familia* was just as important as military achievements in the ‘crusade of liberty’.

One of the most important constituents of an officer’s honour was his honesty. This ran parallel to the concern of returned volunteer chroniclers to stress the ‘deceitful’ nature of the recruiting agents back in London.¹¹³ The preoccupation with honesty and truthfulness was shared by Creole authorities anxious to preserve their own honour in the new republics, and provoked much paperwork in verifying volunteers’ identities and/or trustworthiness. When witnesses were not considered honourable or trustworthy, Creole authorities disregarded the evidence presented to them.¹¹⁴

After honesty, military service and loyalty to ‘Colombia’ or the ‘cause of Independence’, Creoles began to give importance to foreigners’ political neutrality, or at least, their perceived distance from rival factions. The volunteers slowly learnt to present their own actions in this way. This first became important after the assassination attempt on Bolívar on 25th September 1828, although loose political groupings had been forming in previous years. *Coronel* James Whittle was commanding a military unit in Bogotá that evening

to translate simply as ‘father’, as discussed in Arlene Díaz, ‘*Ciudadanas*’ and ‘*Padres de familia*’: *Gender Conflicts in the Early Venezuelan Republic*, (Chicago, 1994).

¹¹² Trinidad Portocarrero, 15th March 1850, Valencia, AGNV IP, Vol.6, f.308.

¹¹³ Such a concern runs through the majority of the volunteer memoirs. Two examples from newspapers are *Carrick’s Morning Post*’s 3rd February 1820 editorial lamenting ‘the sad narratives of our duped and abused and abandoned countrymen’, and similar references to ‘MacGregor’s dupes’ in *Royal Gazette, Jamaica*, 11th September 1819.

¹¹⁴ This was particularly the case in relation to the occasional testimonies of John Devereux, for example, documents relating to *Teniente* William Peisley, 3rd March 1823, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0109, ff.1-2. For Márquez doubting Devereux’s testimony for Edward Fitzpatrick, see 15th March 1823, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0676, ff.6-10. Other Devereux testimony is reproduced in documentation relating to William Lynch in Casa de Moneda, Db1506, and relating to Private Michael Cunningham, Db3093. The suspicions of some British officers towards Devereux, plus the thwarted ambitions of some who had served in the Irish Legion, combined with the animosity of Nariño (with whom Devereux had come into open conflict in 1821 at Cúcuta, as examined in Chapter 4) to make Devereux’s evidence ‘untrustworthy’. Instead, William Peisley had to collect testimony from Santander, Nariño and Briceño Méndez. This caused an anxious and dishonoured Devereux to submit another statement, affirming that ‘Peisley did arrive in June 1819 ... because although I did say in my previous statement that he arrived at Margarita in October, that was simply a slip of the pen’.

and was widely criticised for his slow reaction to events.¹¹⁵ *Capitán* Charles Wilthew was directly implicated in the plotting and was forced into exile in the aftermath. He was accused of being ‘unworthy of the name of an Englishman’ [*indigno de ser inglés*].¹¹⁶ Wilthew himself noted that ‘I was expelled from the country because of the upheavals of that time, and because of my liberal principles’.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, this worked both ways, and when Wilthew returned in 1833 to request backdated pay and pensions, another of the conspirators, Joaquín Posada Gutiérrez, vouched for his ‘honourable conduct and good services’.¹¹⁸

The reference point for these discussions in the early 1830s was the battle of El Santuario in Antioquía on 18th October 1830, in which two veterans of the volunteer legions were widely blamed for the death of the popular Colombian *General* José María Córdoba.¹¹⁹ Those involved, Rupert Hand and Richard Crofton, had committed the ‘homicide’¹²⁰ under the orders of another volunteer, the Bolivarian loyalist, Daniel O’Leary.¹²¹ In 1832 the associates of *teniente* William Keogh were at pains to stress that ‘he has never been

¹¹⁵ On the ‘cowardly’ foreign involvement in the events of 25th September 1828, see Posada Gutiérrez, *Memorias históricas políticas*, Vol.1, pp.184-90.

¹¹⁶ *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 4th November 1828, citing *Gaceta de Colombia*, 28th September 1828.

¹¹⁷ Carlos Wilthew, 30th March 1833, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.48, f.815.

¹¹⁸ Joaquín Posada Gutiérrez, [no date, 1833], Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.48, f.812.

¹¹⁹ For El Santuario, see Enrique Otero d’Costa, ed., *Asesinato de Córdoba: Proceso contra el Primer Comandante Ruperto Hand*, (Bogotá, 1942), and Botero Herrera, *Estado, nación y provincia de Antioquía*, p.48. Córdoba was closely linked to Fanny Henderson, daughter of the British representative, and often dined at the Henderson’s house in this period. James Henderson and Córdoba had begun a close correspondence in November 1828, much of which is collected in PRO FO 18/357 and has been published in Moreno, ed., *Correspondencia y documentos del general José María Córdoba*, Vol.3. The United States envoy William Harrison actively accused Henderson of being involved in political conspiracies in his *Remarks of General Harrison, late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Republic of Colombia, on certain charges made against him by that government*, (Washington D.C., 1830), p.8. Both continued to protest their innocence: see for example Fernández, *Memorias de Carmelo Fernández*, p.67. James Henderson later requested Domingo Caycedo to provide him with an alibi for his whereabouts on the night of 25th September, and to attest that he had been ‘completely ignorant of the nature of the revolution until the morning of the 26th’. Henderson to Caycedo, 25th January 1830, Bogotá, reproduced in *Archivo Epistolar del General Domingo Caycedo*, Vol.1, p.267.

¹²⁰ This term is used in much of the historiography, notably in Gomez Hoyos, *La independencia de Colombia*, p.299.

¹²¹ For a rare sympathetic interpretation of the accusations against Rupert Hand and Richard Crofton, see Florentino González, *Memorias*, (Bogotá, 1971), p.165.

an enemy of the legitimate Government, and we know that he has reproached the conduct of some *ingleses* who were at El Santuario, and who were Friends of Despotism'.¹²²

The governments of Bolívar and Luis de Urdaneta following the battle of El Santuario were seen by subsequent administrations as 'dictatorships'.¹²³ When they failed to maintain Colombia's unity and three new republics were created, those volunteers who had been involved in the unrest came under detailed scrutiny. Acutely conscious of the ambiguous legitimacy of the new republican regimes, government authorities and civil society engaged in lengthy periods of self-justification and denial of any involvement in supposedly 'revolutionary' uprisings. Volunteers frequently had to request the restoration of their pensions, claiming that they had always 'belonged to the cause of Liberty'.¹²⁴

The case of John Mackintosh is most illustrative. Having returned to Colombia in 1829 to settle the debts owed by the republic to his financier brother James, Mackintosh began negotiations with Miguel Uribe Restrepo at the Ministry of Finance. In 1835 Uribe, who by then was Vice-President of New Granada, testified to Mackintosh's explicit rejection of the dictatorship. Uribe noted that he had often heard Mackintosh express political opinions, which were 'in complete agreement with my own'. They had spoken of politics 'in several places' and Uribe had 'heard Mackintosh lament the terrible fate that had befallen the best of Colombia's patriots at the hands of the persecution unleashed by *General* Bolívar while he [Mackintosh] was away'.¹²⁵

Uribe commented that when Mackintosh heard about events at El Santuario, he was 'almost as upset as I was at this disgrace'.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, some witnesses questioned

¹²² Joaquín María Barrigas and Ramón Pérez, undated [probably 22nd September 1832], Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.24, f.438.

¹²³ Luis de Urdaneta (b.1798 Maracaibo, d.1831 Panama) led the movement to maintain the integrity of Gran Colombia when Ecuador and Venezuela seceded, and shortly afterwards he was assassinated by the troops guarding his prison.

¹²⁴ For a background to these disputes see Safford and Palacios, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*, pp.122-31. An example is William Keogh, 22nd September 1832, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.24, ff.437-8.

¹²⁵ Miguel Uribe Restrepo, 25th March 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.30, f.980.

¹²⁶ Miguel Uribe Restrepo, 25th March 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.30, f.980. Other testimonies collected by Mackintosh also contended that he had had nothing to do with El Santuario or the dictatorship that followed, for example Joaquín Paris, 23rd March 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.30, f.975.

Mackintosh's neutrality, alleging that he had commanded a paramilitary force of sixty men at the Zipaquirá salt mines in 1830 which had operated at the service of Urdaneta's dictatorship.¹²⁷ Other stressed that 'Mackintosh did not get involved in anything', and recalled Mackintosh asking them 'why would I support an illegitimate military government, when I have fought and spilt my blood to see a government established in Colombia that could equal the best in Europe, and when I am waiting for the government to pay its recognised debts to my brother?'¹²⁸ Thus Mackintosh and his associates linked political neutrality back to an original belief in 'the cause' of liberty and freedom, attempting to bypass charges of unpatriotic behaviour by means of individual honour and personal interest.

Other New Granadans similarly valued public demonstrations of loyalty to the constitutional regime. In 1835 José Acevedo remembered that Thomas Manby 'told me once in the street that he did not wish to lend his services to an illegitimate administration [*'administración intrusa'*]. ... I can safely say that according to the word on the street [*'según la voz pública'*], Manby has performed good services in the Wars of Independence, during which he maintained the utmost dignity.'¹²⁹ Manby's public reputation for honourable conduct was contrasted with 'the insistence and example of some of his friends and compatriots, all of whom took sides against our liberty'.¹³⁰ Foreigners like Henry Mayne were accused of 'subversively undermining the established order'; witnesses reported him 'calling Obando a whore' in the street.¹³¹ More astute volunteers avoided making such public comments and made every effort not to be tarred with the same brush as 'the men of *El Santuario* and other parts, men who had plunged their fists into the bosom of the *patria*'.¹³² Despite evidence to the contrary, they claimed

¹²⁷ Bernardino Tovar, 25th March 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.30, f.984.

¹²⁸ Juan Granados, [no date, probably March 1835, probably Bogotá], AGNC HDS, Vol.30, f.997.

¹²⁹ José Acevedo, 21st November 1832, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, ff.166-8.

¹³⁰ Joaquín Acosta, 19th November 1832, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, f.169. Acosta's emphasis.

¹³¹ Testimony of *Cabo* Gregorio Vargas, 7th December 1831, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 95, f.530. Mayne's reputation was restored four years later, when several witnesses attested that he had said no such thing, for example Mauricio Hogan, [illegible, probably dated April 1835], Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, f.797.

¹³² John Mackintosh to 'Los honorables senadores y representantes', 2nd April 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.30, ff.990-5.

that they ‘never got mixed up in politics’, and stressed their ideological links back to the cause of Independence.¹³³

In conclusion, in the post-war period the volunteers discovered that their individual honour, with its emphasis on military service and bravery, was no longer enough to secure them recognition from the state which increasingly rewarded demonstrations of patriotism and loyalty. Essentially, they were asked to square a circle by being ‘patriotic’ whilst also ‘foreign’. Such a manoeuvre was possible, however, by giving up their ‘manly independence’, getting married, and becoming a respectable *padre de familia* with sons and daughters born in Hispanic America. The next section analyses the way that volunteers gradually and reluctantly adapted to the demands placed upon them by the prevalent Hispanic American concepts of honour, patriotism and service.

b) Volunteers’ Re-evaluation of Honour after Independence

The new republican elites valued ‘patriotism’ in native-born soldiers, and loyalty, deference and political neutrality in foreign volunteers. The next section argues that private soldiers and non-commissioned officers recognised that in applying for rewards from the government they should stress their loyalty and constancy. They compensated for their ‘lack’ of patriotism by emphasising their individual honour, heroism and bravery, and by contrasting themselves with the supposed disloyalty, insubordination and treachery of deserters, complaining officers and the rebellious Irish Legion. Unfortunately, documentation relating to private soldiers is must scarcer than the rich written testimonies left by officers.

Those volunteer soldiers who made it to the end of their designated five-year term of service – as shown in Chapter 2, this was probably not many more than two hundred – were demobilized from the Albion Battalion in Bogotá in 1823 and from the Carabobo Battalion in Maracaibo in 1824. A member of the latter group, a twenty-four year old carpenter called Matthew Macallister, travelled up to Bogotá and expressed his wish to

¹³³ Mackintosh testifying to the conduct of Charles W. Smith, [no date], Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.42, f.548

‘remind the civil and military authorities of the right that he now has to their protection and assistance’.¹³⁴ He argued that by virtue of having served the full-term for which he had been recruited, he had earned recognition and support from the Colombian state. His commanding officer John Ferriar agreed that ‘he has always been on active service, and has behaved with all possible honour’.¹³⁵

John Gardiner claimed that he had earned honour and the respect of his superiors through long campaigns.¹³⁶ He and others like him stressed above all the constancy of their service and their good conduct. They emphasised that they had not once left the service, neither for health reasons nor through desertion. They hoped that such achievements – when contrasted with the many volunteer soldiers who had either died or deserted – would be enough to warrant reward from the Colombian government.¹³⁷

This emphasis on constancy meant that those soldiers taken prisoner by the Loyalists had to labour for their services to be recognised. Private Francis Kean discovered this when applying for his *haberes militares* in Maracaibo in late 1826. His superior officers testified that in 1821 he had been granted eight months license from the service to recover from illness, and to spend some time with his new wife, during which time he was captured by Loyalists.¹³⁸ Kean only managed to escape two years later, and immediately rejoined his battalion. He required several years of petitioning to convince the Commission to grant his *haberes*.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Matthew Macallister, 9th February 1826, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db2248, f.2.

¹³⁵ Juan Ferriar, 2nd April 1826, Maracaibo, Casa de Moneda, Db2248, f.3.

¹³⁶ Juan Gardiner to Comandante de Armas, no date [1825], Caracas, Casa de Moneda, Db1150.

¹³⁷ As an example, see documents relating to Private Edward Madden, dated September 1827, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0469.

¹³⁸ Rupert Hand and Juan Ferriar, witnesses to the conduct of Francisco Kean, 11th/12th September 1825, Maracaibo, Casa de Moneda, Db0734, ff.2-3.

¹³⁹ Francisco Kean, 30th November 1826, Maracaibo, Casa de Moneda, Db0734, f.4. The Subaltern Commission in Caracas would not take his word for it, and Kean was only awarded his *haberes* after further documentation was provided by John Lannigan and Benjamin Hubble. The Principal Commission in Bogotá awarded Kean 295 pesos some eight months after his original submission.

Others soldiers emphasised the honourable wounds they had received on campaign.¹⁴⁰ Private James Flannigan lost his left leg, and petitioned the Venezuelan government for recompense.¹⁴¹ Thomas Scott directly linked his injuries to the rights he felt he was owed as a *vecino* in the new republic.¹⁴² When ‘the terrible condition of the archives’ meant that Scott waited over eight years for a response, he offered to persuade ‘an infinity of officers’ to vouch for him. He emphasised the selfless nature of his enlistment and his subsequent loyalty and constancy, claiming that he had ‘obeyed the orders of the Liberating Chiefs across the entire Colombian continent, and lent my services wherever they were needed, and wherever the Chiefs sent me’.¹⁴³ Like Thomas Scott, other soldiers tried to impress the authorities by stressing the ideological goals they had all shared during the wars. Private Juan Butcher was commended for ‘always behaving like a good soldier, and making clear his great enthusiasm for our cause’.¹⁴⁴

Many of the volunteer soldiers laid a much looser emphasis on honour than did the officers who commanded them. Wounds, constancy of service and selfless devotion to the cause were presented not only as honourable, but as earning them rights, and ‘deserving’ the recognition of the state. Indeed the main argument of the private soldiers was that they were owed recompense from the state because they had performed everything asked of them, in contrast to the majority of their colleagues who had died or left the service many years previously.

The submissions of commissioned officers were generally longer, more wordy and paid more attention to conduct, rather than constancy.¹⁴⁵ Volunteer officers regularly measured up their services against an ideal standard of honour, bravery and loyalty.¹⁴⁶ The operative verb was always *portarse* [‘to conduct oneself’] and emphasis was not so

¹⁴⁰ See the submission of *Sargento* John Davis, Casa de Moneda, Db1010.

¹⁴¹ Diego Flannigan, 15th June 1842, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.29, ff.137-41.

¹⁴² Thomas Scott to Alcalde Parroquial, [undated, unplaced, probably July 1830, Caracas], AGNV IP, Vol.85, f.324.

¹⁴³ Thomas Scott, 6th May 1839, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.85, f.331.

¹⁴⁴ Testimony of Pedro Brian, Bogotá, 17th April 1824, Casa de Moneda, Db0762, f.2.

¹⁴⁵ See for example Thomas Palmer, witness to the conduct of *Cabo* Julian Larkin, 3rd October, 1822, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0277.

¹⁴⁶ A good example of this ideal standard appears in documentation relating to the claim of the Hanoverian volunteer *Subteniente* Juan Meyer, Casa de Moneda, Db1271, ff.4-6.

much on where they had been, or what they had done (although these aspects were important because of the specifications of the law), but on how the individual had behaved whilst doing these things.¹⁴⁷ Because they were to an extent excluded from the patriotic discourse of the new state, volunteer officers chose to emphasise the nobility and honour of their original enlistment or ‘calling’, and their great sacrifice in its name. When this was not described in financial or physical terms (the sacrifice of property, health or even limbs), volunteers claimed to have given ‘the best times of my life’.¹⁴⁸ Others said that their ‘brilliant youth was consumed by the fight against oppression’.¹⁴⁹ Essential to the idea of sacrifice was that it had been given voluntarily and without complaint.¹⁵⁰

Because of the years spent campaigning together, officers built up strong relationships of trust and loyalty to each other. Like Venezuelan political leaders such as Monagas, Páez and Bermúdez, they employed the language of shared sacrifice in the name of the *patria*.¹⁵¹ When testifying to each others’ qualities, they used familiar tropes to cement bonds of shared experiences and interest.¹⁵² *Sargento Mayor* Edward Fitzpatrick took care to provide for *Capitán* Henry Hugo MacManus¹⁵³ upon his death, granting him all possessions, shares, rights and future grants, along with the obligation to request all wages and pensions ‘that I might be owed by whatever Government’ [‘*cualquier gobierno*’].¹⁵⁴ Just two years later however, the same *Capitán* Macmanus was accused of forfeiting his claim to honour by drinking and gaming with his subalterns, displaying ‘familiarity with his inferiors’, and abusing the trust and ‘fraternity’ of a fellow

¹⁴⁷ One of the best documented cases was that of a French officer serving with the Independents, *Capitán* Jacinto Martel, Casa de Moneda, Db0240, ff.2-4.

¹⁴⁸ Miller Hallowses, 13th September 1855, St. Mary’s, Georgia, USA, AGNC HDS, Vol.23, f.453.

¹⁴⁹ Juan Uslar, 14th November 1856, Valencia, AGNV IP, Vol.6, f.289.

¹⁵⁰ Daniel Malone, 7th November 1826, Maracaibo, Casa de Moneda, Db0530, f.5. See also Arthur Sandes to Comandante Jefe de la Escuadra Peruana, Guayaquil, 1st December 1828, reproduced in *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 6th December 1828.

¹⁵¹ Reuben Zahler, ‘Honor, Corruption, Legitimacy, and Liberalism in the Early Venezuelan Republic (1821-50)’, Chapter 4, ‘Secession and Rebellion’.

¹⁵² See for example John Ferriar, witness in support of *Capitán* Guillermo Ravenscroft, 16th February 1821, Achaguas, Casa de Moneda, Db0337.

¹⁵³ These awards helped McManus to settle in Bogotá, and to later become a subscriber to the Bogotá Horse Races in 1825. *El Constitucional*, 16th June 1825. For similar events in Caracas, see *El Colombiano*, 14th September 1824.

¹⁵⁴ Fitzpatrick’s Last Testament, 5th November 1824, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0676, f.10. For Fitzpatrick’s career in the Irish Legion see Santander, 13th December 1822, Bogotá, Casa de Moneda, Db0676, f.3.

volunteer.¹⁵⁵ This recalled the case against *Capitán* Gustavus Hippisley, of ‘dishonourable conduct unbecoming an officer’ in Angostura in 1819. The petitions analysed in this section show how volunteers reacted to the fact that honour was now increasingly seen as emanating from the state, but MacManus’ experiences demonstrate how individual conduct and showing respect for existing social hierarchies remained important. Non-commissioned officers occupied a middle-ground between those of commissioned officers and private soldiers. Like *Cabo* Jacob Teeson, with whom Macmanus squabbled and fought in Bogotá in 1826, they often defended their honour through physical prowess when challenged, at the same time as they petitioned the state for recognition of their service.¹⁵⁶

Mainly Independence and the State

Volunteers’ claims to honour and patriotism in the 1820s were always imposed on top of their previous identities and loyalties. As the Wars of Independence became more distant, their memories of the key battles of Carabobo and Pantano de Vargas (discussed in Chapter 3) developed their own structure and fluency, indicating that they were writing or dictating their narratives from hardened memories and according to an established pattern.¹⁵⁷ From the 1840s onwards, the focus of national memory in New Granada and Venezuela was increasingly emphasising the foundational period of the Wars of Independence, from 1818 to 1821, rather than the political situation of the late 1820s and early 1830s.¹⁵⁸ These individual and national processes of memory were often deeply interlinked, and were complicated at times when diplomatic relations between Britain and

¹⁵⁵ Testimony of Felipe Fernando in defence of Jacob Teeson, 9th August 1826, Bogotá, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 96, ff.965-8.

¹⁵⁶ For Teeson see AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 96, ff.965-8, and Casa de Moneda, Db0399.

¹⁵⁷ Comparatively, see Michael Roper, ‘Re-remembering the Soldier Hero: the Psychic and Social Construction of Memory in Personal Narratives of the Great War’, *History Workshop Journal*, 50 (Autumn 2000) pp.181-204.

¹⁵⁸ A law passed in Venezuela in 1848 meant that only officers who could verify that they had served constantly throughout that key period would merit any recompense or recognition from the state. ‘Resolución de la Secretaría de Guerra a favor de los oficiales que sirvieron en las campañas de la independencia’, 1st September 1848, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.11, pp.124-6. In 1853 this was extended to ‘alleviate the sad situation of the heirs of the *sargentos*, *cabos* and private soldiers who died whilst serving the *patria*, or after having served it’. ‘Recompensa en tierras baldías a las viudas, huérfanos, y padres de los sargentos, cabos y soldados fallecidos’, 10th April 1853, reproduced in *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela*, Vol.12, pp.159-62.

the republics were fraught.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the idea of a peculiarly 'British' bravery remained integral to the way that some volunteer officers considered their honour.¹⁶⁰ They remembered John Mackintosh's call at Pantano de Vargas that 'nothing is impossible for British bayonets'¹⁶¹ which was held to typify the mercenaries' courage, determination and uniquely British resolution. Correspondingly, the charge of cowardice was the ultimate insult for the active or retired soldier.¹⁶² Others recalled the heroism of individual officers, such as when John Mackintosh rode his horse over a precarious bridge on the way to the Battle of Pitayo, whilst all the troops and other officers watched and hoped that it would not collapse.¹⁶³

Stories of individual bravery were not sufficient to ensure recognition from the state. Retired volunteers increasingly saw that in a period of 'nation-building' in the new republics, they needed to stress the affective bonds that linked them to their 'adopted *patrias*'.¹⁶⁴ In 1834 Edward Brand wrote to the Secretary of War in Venezuela from his Bogotá home, emphasising that 'all my affections prefer Venezuela [to New Granada], under whose chiefs I have served, alongside whose warriors I have fought, and of where I have a thousand pleasant memories. It was to serve Venezuela that I left my native land: it was in Venezuela that I ruined my health, that I forever lost my hearing; it was for the Independence of Venezuela that I made such great sacrifices. It is true that in the final analysis, all my services were in the name of [Gran] Colombia, whose existence was the result of the allied efforts of free men to destroy tyranny'. It was only his 'broken health

¹⁵⁹ Lucio Pabón Nuñez, 'Colombia y Gran Bretaña al borde de la guerra', *Boletín cultural y bibliográfico*, 20:1 (1983), pp.236-44.

¹⁶⁰ See for example Eduardo Brand to the President of the Republic, 19th June 1850, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.6, f.706. John Mackintosh was one of several volunteers to remember that Simón Bolívar had recommended 'all the members of my company for their good discipline' at Pantano de Vargas. Mackintosh, 20th March 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.30, f.976.

¹⁶¹ Manby, 23rd March 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.30, f.979.

¹⁶² During their 1826 legal dispute, *Cabo Jacob Teeson* accused *Capitán Henry Macmanus* of being 'a coward who hid behind the rocks at the battle of Genoy'. Testimony of Macmanus, 7th March 1826, Bogotá, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 60, f.902.

¹⁶³ The bridge was almost 10m above the river. Francisco Urdaneta, 25th March 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.30, f.1001. Similarly, when Manby recalled crossing the Páramo de Pisba in 1819, it was 'under the fiercest rains ever seen by the eldest locals'. Manby to John Dover, 20th May 1836, Bogotá, cited by de Mier, 'Tomás Manby: Soldado en Europa y en América', p.11.

¹⁶⁴ Mary English to New Granadan Representatives and Senators, 1st April 1844, Pescadero, English Papers HA157/6/45.

and the lack of resources' that had previously prevented Brand from making the journey to Caracas.¹⁶⁵

Proclaiming their allegiance to a new adoptive *patria* was always problematic, and Creoles continued to be suspicious of those who tried to transfer their loyalties in response to political change or perceived advantage.¹⁶⁶ Edward Stopford was removed from the Venezuelan military list after several years resident in England and Spain, despite his frequent letters protesting his 'deep attachment to the *patria* ... and the ties and duties that bind me to my favourite *nación*. A *nación* that ... I contributed to founding, and to which I dedicated the best years of my life'.¹⁶⁷

Thomas Manby emphasised the affectionate bonds that tied him to 'the Colombian family'.¹⁶⁸ In 1832 he petitioned the New Granadan government to be re-instated into the military, from which he had been removed in the wake of the disturbances of 1830. Manby made an emotional plea to the Vice-President claiming that he had 'been the victim of injustice and error, my honour and reputation stained with a terrible mark' by recent events.¹⁶⁹ Being excluded from the *lista militar* was 'such a cruel blow, such an unexpected insult!' Putting his faith in his public reputation of individual honour, Manby stressed his honourable loyalty, his bravery during the Wars of Independence, and the nobility of his original calling to 'this country, this land that many years ago I adopted as my *patria*'. Manby resented being called a 'fugitive foreigner' ['*extranjero forajido* '] because for him, as for the other volunteers who had remained in Colombia, the *patria* was defined not by any topography or personal interest, but was a 'heroic family born out of the ruins of despotism', founded on its members 'love of liberty'.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Brand, 24th November 1834, Bogotá, AGNV IP, Vol.12, f.24.

¹⁶⁶ Richard Wright to Congress of Venezuela, 10th April 1869, London, AGNV IP, Vol.99, ff.235-6. See also Van Aken, *King of the Night: Juan José Flores and Ecuador*, pp.213-8.

¹⁶⁷ Stopford to President of the Republic, 30th April 1840, London, AGNV IP, Vol.89, f.107. See also Laura Margarita Stopford, 30th September 1844, [unplaced], AGNV IP, Vol.89, f.111. Stopford was finally removed from the military list in 'Resolución de Ministerio de Guerra', 20th November 1857, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.89, f.116.

¹⁶⁸ Tomás Manby, 21st November 1832, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, f.164.

¹⁶⁹ In 1823 Manby had been tried in a military court in Bogotá accused of having 'expressed indecorous words against the government of the Republic', but the case was dismissed because of lack of evidence. *El Colombiano*, 17th December 1823.

¹⁷⁰ Manby, 2nd May 1832, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, f.170.

Concluding his defence, Manby railed that being removed from the military list ‘has not only deprived me of property so justly acquired, and of the honest subsistence that relied upon it. It has taken from me what is most precious, the most sacred amongst men – my honour!!!’ Manby rhetorically contrasted his own situation with those of his comrades fallen in battle: ‘Sir, [this situation] has even taken my honour, simply because I had the misfortune not to die in battle like many other sons of Albion!!! Such misfortune condemned me to continue my military career, yet when I had only just reached the rank of *Coronel*, I lost it by the stroke of a pen. I lost my rank along with my reputation and my good name!!!’¹⁷¹

Manby’s letters bring to the fore the uncomfortable nature of the volunteers’ slow incorporation into Hispanic American society. He regretted that he ‘had the misfortune not to die’ for the *patria*, and that his carefully protected honour had been dashed by a charge of political partisanship which he saw as unfounded, and as unrelated to his individual honour.¹⁷² In 1840, when Manby left Bogotá amidst the disturbances of 1840, he worried that his military service could in the future be used against his honourable reputation. He therefore published a proclamation that demonstrated where defence of his political and public reputation intersected with his personal honour.¹⁷³ Manby made clear and public the key constituents of his honour at this time. They lay in his being a loving *padre de familia*, a loyal friend, and a patriotic officer in the service of New Granada, not any political faction. By printing and publishing the proclamation, Manby revealed the importance of his public reputation. He portrayed himself as honest, brave, and efficient, believing that these attributes were patriotic. He contrasted himself with those who disregarded the traditional merits of ‘old patriots and well-born men’.¹⁷⁴

The idea of manly independence was essential to Manby’s understanding of his honour. As argued in Chapter 1, many of the volunteers travelled to the New World in search of

¹⁷¹ Manby, 2nd May 1832, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, f.170.

¹⁷² See also Manby, 18th September 1833, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, f.124; Manby, 1st December 1835, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, ff.131; Joaquín Paris, 4th June 1833, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, f.155.

¹⁷³ Manby, *A Mis Apreciados Amigos de la Capital*, (Popayán, 1840), BNC, Fondo Pineda, Sala Primera 12.113, pza.104. The letter from La Plata was dated 16th September.

¹⁷⁴ Manby, *A Mis Apreciados Amigos de la Capital*.

their own financial independence, following a pattern set by migrants and travellers from Britain and Ireland in the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁵ Providing evidence for such a trend is however made difficult because men who strove to support themselves and their families without assistance from a patron or the state were only recorded in government archives when he or they turned to the authorities as a last resort. Those who had achieved the desired independence had no reason to petition the state and therefore only rarely left a trace in the archives. *Capitán* John Hands retired to 'earn his living on a small fishing boat' out of Turracas, near Puerto Cabello, and never once petitioned the state. It was only upon his death in the 1840s that his widow and children requested financial assistance.¹⁷⁶ Private John Gardiner worked as a tailor in Coro and only petitioned the government when he completely lost his sight, and could 'no longer work in his profession'.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, Private John Norton wrote in 1830 that 'I am now blind, invalid, and without human succour. In this terrible situation I am drawn to Your Excellency's notorious good-will, and beg you to assist me in the name of humanity, so that I can receive a pension', because he could no longer earn his own living.¹⁷⁸

Having retired from the army in 1825 upon the completion of his five years of service, Private John Hill lived in Coro. He did not petition the authorities until 1842, when he requested to be registered as invalid, claiming that his wounds 'prevent me from

¹⁷⁵ Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun*, pp.171-7.

¹⁷⁶ José Antonio Hands, 31st August 1847, Puerto Cabello, AGNV IP, Vol.40, f.32. See also Trinidad Páez de Hands to Guillermo Ashdown, 23rd February 1855, Valencia, AGNV IP, Vol.40, f.34.

¹⁷⁷ Rupert Hand, 18th May 1842, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.33, f.264.

¹⁷⁸ Juan Norton, 15th February 1830, Maracaibo, AGNV IP, Vol.60, ff.97-9. Norton had been one of the few men to serve with the Independents from Angostura on the Orinoco to all the way to Ayacucho in the Peruvian highlands, and apparently marched back to Bogotá alone. Norton left Lima in January 1825, and travelled by sea to Guayaquil. He left Guayaquil on foot in mid February. Although he was lent a mule for some sections of his journey, he did not arrive in Bogotá until late May. Documentation relating to Norton's service and journeys is in Casa de Moneda, Db1700, ff.1-11. According to comparison with Thibaud's databases of some of the soldiers of the Bolivarian armies, the only other volunteers to serve from Angostura to Ayacucho were *Capitán* Miller Hallowes, Dr Charles Moore, *Capitán* William Ferguson and *Coronel* John Needham. It is unclear how many Venezuelan or New Granadan soldiers could claim such an attendance record – even Bolívar was not present at Ayacucho. Twelve years later, completely blind by now, Norton again petitioned the government: his signature was scrawled to the point of illegibility. He explained that he was now 'reduced to a sad state', and wished only to 'return to his own country ['*pais natural*'] to be re-united with his family and to receive domestic comfort'. Juan Norton, 29th December 1836, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.60, f.101. Norton died in Valencia in 1847 while waiting to sort out the bureaucratic details for his pension to be paid to him in London. Comandancia de Armas, 2nd October 1847, Valencia, AGNV IP, Vol.60, f.115.

exercising any profession in order to sustain myself and my large family'.¹⁷⁹ He explained that he would much rather exercise an independent profession than live off the munificence of the state, but asked to be recognised as an invalid 'so as to buy a crust to feed myself and my wife and six tiny children'.¹⁸⁰ Other soldiers who had enjoyed pensions from the state also emphasised their need to 'assure the regular sustenance of [their] family'.¹⁸¹ Thomas Manby was exceptional amongst these men in that some of his extensive private correspondence survives, and because he resided in Bogotá and maintained contacts with government.

Like the fishermen, tailors and other retired volunteers, Thomas Manby's manly independence and honour were transformed when he married and had children. They were now conditional upon being able to provide for dependents, rather than just related to his political loyalty or military service. Once he decided to settle permanently in New Granada, Manby's thoughts soon turned to marriage. Reflecting that 'I dearly love women (not civil wars) and wine', Manby felt that becoming a *padre de familia* would best cement his position in post-colonial New Granadan society.¹⁸² Manby did not wish to compromise his manly independence, either by returning to England without riches, or by exercising a manual occupation in New Granada. When his family wrote to ask him what his plans were, he told them 'that my poverty will not allow me reside in England in the style I once did, and unless my income could be increased they would never see my once rather pretty face there' again.¹⁸³

Manby was concerned with a certain type of financial independence. 'I have neither the knowledge nor the Capital required to become a merchant, and I will never keep a Shop'.¹⁸⁴ He preferred to farm as a hobby, but not as a business: 'I should not at all

¹⁷⁹ John Hill, 22nd July 1842, Coro, AGNV IP, Vol.42, f.212. Whereas Hill marked his 1825 submission [Juan Gill, 21st September 1825, Maracaibo, AGNV IP, Vol.42, f.211] with an X, in 1842 he signed himself 'John Hill', indicating that he learnt to write in Coro after the wars had ended.

¹⁸⁰ John Hill to President of the Republic, 23rd July 1842, Coro, AGNV IP, Vol.42, f.214. See also the case of *Sargento* Harris, 28th October 1839, Angostura, AGNV IP, Vol.5, f.237 and Commander of Arms López to Minister of War and Marine, 26th May 1840, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.5, f.241.

¹⁸¹ George Cox, 23rd December 1844, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.22, f.70.

¹⁸² Manby to Mary English, 3rd March 1834, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/206.

¹⁸³ Manby to Mary English, 26th October 1835, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/210.

¹⁸⁴ Manby to Mary English, 21st December 1835, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/216.

dislike a voluntary country life with a snug independence, or to reside in the capital with public employment', and he turned down Juan Galindo's tentative proposal that he take up a provincial British consular position.¹⁸⁵ Although with his pension he could 'maintain himself with decency', he was not happy. In 1833 Manby told Mosquera that 'I am 34 years old and still single. I do not have enough to return to Europe, and here there are hardly any young women with money. I could not lower my standards and marry a penniless woman!'¹⁸⁶ Manby hoped that his dreams of financial security would be fulfilled with an honourable marriage to a upper-class Creole woman, but his hopes were shattered when 'the young lady broke off the match, and because some kind friends told her I was fond of Women – and what man of taste is not? – that I was a bad temper, and intended to cut the family altogether after our marriage'.¹⁸⁷ Manby was devastated by being turned down by the 'young lady', especially on the grounds that his reputation as a womaniser had reached his betrothed. Manby claimed that 'the damsel has fallen 100% in public opinion' but it seemed in fact that it was Manby himself whose public reputation was incompatible with marriage to a daughter of the Bogotá elite. Despite his white skin, unmistakable military honour and reputation for wealth, this was not enough for a Creole woman more concerned with his apparent reputation for womanising, temper, and disrespect for her family.¹⁸⁸ After this setback, Manby resolved not to rush into another engagement, but to live as an independent single man: 'a room to sling my hammock, the society of friends and a hearty welcome is all I desire'.¹⁸⁹ Manby remained convinced that his prime concern in any future marriage would be 'the cash ['*efectivo* '], if we can

¹⁸⁵ Manby to Mary English, 21st December 1835, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/216; Juan Galindo to Manby, 18th October 1836, Kingston, Jamaica, Archivo de Cartas del Coronel Tomás Manby, ff.3–4. The archive contains two versions of this letter – only the second includes mention of consular positions.

¹⁸⁶ Manby to Mosquera, 21st October 1833, Bogotá, ACC, Sala Mosquera 1832, d.6833.

¹⁸⁷ He concluded that 'what was worse than all, [I] had made up my mind to love her as much as is necessary in such cases'. Manby to Mary English, 26th October 1835, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/210. [Manby's emphasis]. On 3rd April 1824 Manby had requested permission from the military authorities to marry 'Señorita Manuelita Lozano' – a copy of his request is held in AGNC R GYM, Vol.56, f.328.

¹⁸⁸ Manby to Mary English, 26th October 1835, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/210. Unfortunately no correspondence from Srta. Lozano has yet been found to give her version of events.

¹⁸⁹ Manby to Mary English, 21st December 1835, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/216. Elsewhere he tacitly recognised that his public reputation contained an element of truth. His temper was bad, and he often scolded his servant for toasting the bread more on one side than the other. Manby to Mary English, 23rd November 1835, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/211.

ever get hold of it'.¹⁹⁰ Such a possibility arose when Mary English proposed *General* Pedro Fortoul's daughter as a potential bride. Manby made it clear that the marriage would have to be on his terms, and would be dependent on Fortoul 'meeting my wishes in a manner which I flatter myself I have an unquestionable right to expect, according to the true spirit and meaning of Rank, respectability, etc, etc conceded in cases of marriages'.¹⁹¹

Unmarried officers like James Whittle were able to provide for themselves financially and were even able to collect a substantial array of material possessions.¹⁹² Thomas Manby's prime aim in marrying was to assure his financial security, but he was anxious that his concern with the wealth of his bride's family should not be thought to be 'mercenary'. He saw his 'prudence' and 'caution' as 'certain English customs' which could only make him more attractive to a woman, doubting that he was 'the only Englishman who has ever made money a condition of a Matrimonial Connection'.¹⁹³

Considering his entry into married life, Manby commented on the fortunes of his friends and peers who had married Colombian women: 'I well remember that our friend Fraser's marriage was spoken of as an excellent match for him; and what has he gained by it? – a house full of children, a (now) ugly wife, and no real property'. Manby speculated that the contacts he would acquire through marriage to the Fortoul family would mean he could 'instantly obtain employment' in the capital.¹⁹⁴ The correspondence of the Fortoul family shows that, like Manby, they saw the marriage primarily as a business deal.¹⁹⁵ His new brother-in-law, Eduardo Fortoul, noted that now he was godfather ['*padrino* '] to one

¹⁹⁰ Manby to Mary English, 11th April 1836, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/214.

¹⁹¹ Manby to Mary English, 23rd November 1835, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/211.

¹⁹² 'Inventario de bienes del difunto General Diego Whittle', 14th October 1831, Quito, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 245, 1831, Expediente 20, ff.1-3. See also the list of the property of the late Matthew Macnamara in Bogotá, as it was prepared for auction, reproduced in *El Constitucional*, 20th October 1825.

¹⁹³ Manby to Mary English, 21st December 1835, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/216; Manby to Mary English, 8th May 1836, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/215.

¹⁹⁴ Manby to Mary English, 8th July 1836, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/212 [Manby's own emphasis]. In the months before the marriage, Manby asked his old military colleagues what they thought of his proposed bride. According to Manby, Santander (recently married himself) had told him that Srta. Fortoul was 'like an *inglesa*, well-educated and ideal for a wife'. Manby to Mary English, 6th March 1836, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/213.

¹⁹⁵ For business dealings see letters from Santiago Fortoul to Manby, February-November 1838, Rosario de Cúcuta, in Archivo de Cartas del Coronel Tomás Manby, f.12.

of the Manby children, ‘in this way our relationship is deepened further’.¹⁹⁶ Yet despite the close links between the Fortoul family and the Santander regime (Fortoul and Santander were themselves cousins), Manby stressed that his alliance with them was purely commercial and that in all matters he remained politically neutral.¹⁹⁷

This examination of Thomas Manby’s correspondence from the 1830s reveals the deep links between military honour, domestic marriage, public reputation and political allegiance. Similarly, interwoven textures of issues of individual honour and masculinity underlay the often superficial links between a soldier and the sacrifices he claimed to have made for the *patria*. This was certainly the case for Rupert Hand, who zealously traced all his physical ailments back to his travails in the service of the Venezuelan government, in particular a ‘severe groin strain’ he suffered while dragging heavy artillery in 1822.¹⁹⁸ A doctor noted in 1839 the ‘anxiety’ caused by the damage to Hand’s reproductive organs.¹⁹⁹ Hand himself hoped for assistance from ‘the anxieties of premature aging [that] have since plagued me. My incurable illness humiliates my spirit, and threatens my life’.²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, Figure 3.1 listed Rupert Hand being involved in a duel in 1820, which a chronicler recorded as resulting in a severe gunshot wound to his left testicle. It seems likely that such an injury could have contributed to his later condition in the same part of the body. An injury gained in a duel – the ultimate defence of individual honour, rather than a patriotic action on the battlefield – would not have gained Hand an invalid pension. He therefore skilfully marshalled evidence and

¹⁹⁶ Eduardo Fortoul to Manby, [undated], 1838, Rosario de Cúcuta, Archivo de Cartas del Coronel Tomás Manby, f.11. Other volunteers showed more patriotic pride in the *granadino* birth of their children, for example Juan Brigard to President of New Granada, 15th December 1837, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.6, f.686.

¹⁹⁷ Draft letter, Manby to Sr. José María Apavador, Rosario de Cúcuta, 24th December 1841, Archivo de Cartas del Coronel Tomás Manby, f.18; Manby to Ministerial Commission, 20th March 1839, Bogotá, Archivo de Cartas del Coronel Tomás Manby, f.20.

¹⁹⁸ Rupert Hand, [undated, but written but on sealed paper dated 1839], Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.40, f.5; Rupert Hand, 31st August 1839, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.40, f.3. See also the testimony of Hand’s assistant at the time, Bernardo Rasquin, 30th September 1839, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.40, f.6.

¹⁹⁹ Dr Antonio J. Rodríguez, 9th October 1839, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.40, f.9. For a discussion of the importance of the male sexual organs in the mentality of the soldier, see Goldstein, *War and Gender*, p.356.

²⁰⁰ Rupert Hand to José Antonio Páez, 18th October 1839, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.40, ff.11-3.

testimonies so as to make his condition appear the result of heroic labours in the service of the *patria*.²⁰¹

Where Rupert Hand's conceptions of masculinity, manly independence and patriotism were clearly intermeshed, other volunteers elaborated such concerns in new ways. Men like Charles James Minchin combined their previous concern with individual honour with their new positions as honourable *padres de familia*.²⁰² As Elías Pino Iturrieta has pointed out, the *padre de familia* was not a common Christian resident of a Hispanic American town, but rather a man who had wife, children, servants and often slaves.²⁰³ In other words, he had a multitude of dependents that consequently reinforced his masculinity and honour. In 1854 Minchin explained in detail exactly why he felt he deserved financial recompense from the Republic, having left his 'comfortable and important family' back in Ireland.²⁰⁴ In marked contrast to the accounts studied earlier, which exalted the role of officers like Brand in their brave leadership, Minchin stressed the collective honour of the Legion and his own 'manly character' and paternal role in looking after the younger soldiers. He presented himself as having always stayed true to the principles that had originally inspired him and had encouraged him to marry his wife in Coro, and resolve 'to never leave the country that I had bathed in my blood, and whose liberty had come at such a cost to me and my family'.²⁰⁵

There is also evidence to infer that some of the volunteers' dependents came to feel affection and loyalty towards those who had adopted their *patria*, although the sources are less numerous. Upon the death of Mary English in 1845 near Cúcuta, her servant José Manuel Sánchez lamented the loss of 'my always loved mistress, my good friend and

²⁰¹ Hand's case was probably not unique. *Coronel* Charles Moore remembered Carlos Smith's accidental injury in 'a weapons inspection in an Angostura warehouse' which had triggered the condition that justified his claims for an invalid pension, after 'many campaigns and actions' had worsened the injury. Carlos Moore, [no date], Cali, AGNC HDS, Vol.42, f.546.

²⁰² Charles James Minchin (b.1799 Tipperary, d.1879 Caracas) travelled with his brother William Milton Minchin. He settled in Coro in the late 1820s, and returned to military and political service in the 1850s. In the 1860s he moved to Caracas. Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries*, p.236, p.258, p.284-6; AGNC HDS Vol.31 ff.501-49.

²⁰³ Pino Iturrieta, 'Caballeros, clérigos y hombres de armas', p.46.

²⁰⁴ Carlos Diego Minchin to Congress, 1st February 1854, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, ff.504-7.

²⁰⁵ Carlos Diego Minchin to Congress, 1st February 1854, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, ff.504-7.

comadre', and described her passing-away 'surrounded by friends ... a mother could not have felt better loved had she been surrounded by a dozen children'. More than a hundred women were said to have accompanied the funeral procession.²⁰⁶

The testimonies of the many women widowed by the adventurers illustrate the extent to which the mercenaries had been assimilated into society. These women emphasised how their husbands' deaths endangered their own honour by threatening them with poverty.²⁰⁷ Francisca Granados told the New Granadan government that her husband's honour and reputation were worth nothing to her, as 'when my husband died he left me no more patrimony than the decorations on his chest. His titles as a 'Liberator of Colombia', a 'Victor in Junín' and a 'Victor in Ayacucho' have done nothing to offset my descent into misery and misfortune since his death – I have eight innocent children who ask me for bread to eat, and I have nothing'.²⁰⁸

Most widows stressed their economic dependence on their late husbands, and their subsequent impoverishment.²⁰⁹ Cumaná-born María Francisca Ruíz was widowed on the death of Thomas Brown in 1832 and was consequently 'reduced to a state of the most extreme poverty, almost blind because of my sufferings, only surviving because of the occasional beneficence of my aunt'.²¹⁰ Similarly, Laura Margarita Stopford claimed that she had been 'reduced to penury, loaded with the responsibility of caring for nine grandchildren'.²¹¹ Mary English described her life as a widow as 'one long

²⁰⁶ José Manuel Sánchez to O'Leary, 1st January 1846, San José de Cúcuta, English Papers, HA157/11/2.

²⁰⁷ The Casa de Moneda files contain few petitions from widows or daughters. This section therefore is primarily based on the *Hojas de Servicio* and *Ilustres Próceres* collections.

²⁰⁸ Francisca Díaz Granados, 24th March 1859, Cartagena, AGNC HDS, Vol.53, ff.5-9.

²⁰⁹ One widow hoped to imitate her husband's journey in her old age. 'Today, waving goodbye to life as an old, poor and unprotected woman, I should like to live the final few days that are left to me, in pilgrimages throughout the world'. Ana Salinas de Reimboldt, 10th June 1878, Maracaibo, AGNV IP, Vol.69, f.245.

²¹⁰ María Francesca Ruíz de Brown, 8th October 1845, Cumaná, AGNV IP, Vol.13, f.169. The law of Montepío, passed in 1845, granted financial recompense to widows of soldiers, conditional upon proof of their legitimate marriage. See also Ana María Salinas, 1st July 1845, Maracaibo, AGNV IP, Vol.69, f.238; Merced Vera Smith al Sr. Presidente de la Junta de Montepío Militar, 30th December 1857, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.69, f.105.

²¹¹ Laura Stopford, 25th February 1864, London, AGNV IP, Vol.89, f.128.

misadventure', a difficult and unhappy period and the exact opposite of her husband's 'adventure'.²¹²

As with the petitioners in Arequipa studied by Sarah Chambers, the principle of equality before the law was fully adopted by the new republican widows.²¹³ Once one widow had been awarded a discretionary amount, others claimed similar treatment. As Soledad Pérez, widow of *Sargento Mayor* Thomas Alexander, wrote with respect to the pension granted to the daughter of *Coronel* Richard Murphy, 'there is no reason at all why his daughter should be enjoying her pension, when I lack that identical right'.²¹⁴ Josefa María MacGregor sought the same recognition from the Venezuelan government 'as was given to the widow of *General* Robertson'.²¹⁵ Trinidad Páez was typical of many widows in appropriating much of the language of honour from her husband and laying heavy emphasis on the adventurers' decision to 'abandon their own *patria*', the blood they had nobly shed on Venezuelan battlefields, and her own right to the same treatment from the state as other widows.²¹⁶

The gradual transformation of adventurers' dreams of 'manly independence' into the honourable identity of a patriotic *padre de familia* illustrated the way that society was changing in the decades after the end of the Wars of Independence. The fact that in subsequent years it was the widows and children of these retired volunteers who

²¹² Mary English to New Granadan Representatives and Senators, 1st April 1844, Pescadero, English Papers, HA157/6/45. Other widows did assert their own honour when petitioning the authorities. Trinidad Páez, widowed upon the death of *Capitán* John Hands, submitted documents to prove that she had not re-married, and that she had 'maintained myself with honour, enjoying a good reputation as is public and well-known', Trinidad Páez de Hands, undated [1848], Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.40, f.19. María Vergara de Richards, widow of Thomas Richards who died in 1840, collected witnesses to testify that 'I live honourably with my thirteen children, who I support with my scarce resources, but with decency and honesty, giving them the best moral examples by which to live'. María Vergara de Richards to Sr. Alcalde Parroquial, undated [probably 1842], Ocumare, AGNV IP, Vol.74, f.24. Congress still focused its comments on *Coronel* Richards' own honour and respectability, and made no mention of his widow's reputation. Decree of Congress, 20th April 1842, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.74, f.38.

²¹³ Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*, p.181, pp.222-38.

²¹⁴ Soledad Pérez, 6th June 1845, Caracas, AGNV IP, Vol.2, f.262. See also Merced Vera Smith, AGNV IP, Vol.69, ff.107-23; Margarita Josefa Irwin, 17th December 1846, Maracaibo, AGNV IP, Vol.43, f.266, Documents relating to Irwin are ff.255-70; Rosana Fraser to Secretary of War and Marine, [no date, presumably 1877], AGNC HDS, Vol.53, f.848.

²¹⁵ Josefa María MacGregor, 12th December 1846, Edinburgh, AGNV IP, Vol.49, f.70. See also Carlos B. Rasch, 12th August 1873, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.53, f.2.

²¹⁶ Trinidad Páez, 1st October 1869, Valencia, AGNV IP, Vol.40, f.54.

petitioned the state for pensions and rewards such as the *Ilustres Próceres*, shows how the memory of foreign participation in the founding of the republics became integrated into a continual process of commemoration of the heroes of the Wars of Independence which continues to the present day.

Conclusions

Figure 6.8: When Named Volunteers were last recorded in Archives: 5 Year Periods

Five yearly intervals	Number of Volunteers
1822-1824	160
1825-1829	95
1830-1834	67
1835-1839	10
1840-1844	21
1845-1849	11
1850-1854	6
1855-1859	6
1860-1864	5
1865-1869	1
1870-1874	3
1875-1879	2
1880-1884	1
1885-1889	0
1890-1894	1
TOTAL	389

Figure 6.9: Ten-Yearly Intervals at which Named Volunteers were Last Recorded in Hispanic American Archives

Ten yearly intervals	Number of Volunteers
1822-1829	255
1830-1839	77
1840-1849	32
1850-1859	12
1860-1869	6
1870-1879	5
1880-1889	1
1890-1899	1
TOTAL	389

The foreign volunteers were far too few in number and too geographically dispersed to have caused all the changes in Hispanic American conceptions of honour in the immediate post-war period. They disappeared too readily into the dark recesses of the historical archives for such generalisations to be made with any confidence. But what this detailed study of their own representations does reveal, when taken in conjunction with

an examination of the way that societies received them, is that they were symptomatic of longer-term changes. They exemplified the manner that the Wars of Independence interrupted developments in the way that Hispanic Americans thought about themselves, which had their roots even before the Bourbon reforms of the latter half of the eighteenth century. By re-introducing the importance of military honour – glory, endurance, manly exertion and physical strength – to a continent that had for centuries witnessed a very limited military presence, the transition towards modern identities was irremediably influenced. The Wars of Independence gave a large number of people the experience of military service. When they returned to civil society – like the adventurers examined in this chapter – they struggled to re-align these concerns with the traditional respect given to *padres de familia*, and the new priority given to patriotism within conventional conceptions of honour.

In 1836, Thomas Manby commented on the implicit duality of his own desire for honour. When he was offered the rank of *General* to fight in the Ecuadorian army against Peru, he wrote that ‘I am fond of honour and glory, and if the said war were to be carried into effect, I shall march boldly on to Death and Victory’.²¹⁷ Nevertheless, he continued, he also wished for marriage and domesticity. ‘You remember the words ‘She sighed for love, and he sighed for glory’ – the truth is I sigh for them both ...’²¹⁸

Yet, with time, as the remaining volunteers became fewer and fewer, their very survival became part of their claim for honour and recognition.²¹⁹ Gradually excluded from the post-Independence discourse of patriotism and nation-building, volunteers themselves had relied on a language of individual honour based on their supposed military characteristics of bravery, endurance and loyalty. The new republics came to value them more for their decision to settle in America, to marry American wives and to establish themselves as patriarchal *padres de familia*. In fathering new generations of New Granadans, Venezuelans and Ecuadorians, they were finally acknowledged as performing

²¹⁷ Manby to Mary English, 8th May 1836, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/215.

²¹⁸ Manby to Mary English, 8th May 1836, Bogotá, English Papers, HA157/3/215.

²¹⁹ For the pension, death and funeral of ‘one of the few surviving British soldiers’, Private George Cox in Caracas in 1842, see AGNV IP, Vol.21, ff.73–85. For a similar emphasis on ‘survival’, see Hugo Hughes, 11th June 1855, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.23, f.408.

a collective (rather than individual) service. They could now present themselves, in old age at least, as both honourable and patriotic.

Chapter 7: Fictions: Changed Understandings of Citizenship, Patriotism and Honour

If the mere act of labouring for a salary be mercenary, – then the statesman – the judge – the churchman – the soldier fighting for his country ... all – all are mercenaries. But the charge is too contemptible for refutation. The mercenary we imagine is one who in any calling, is the agent of a dishonourable cause; who prostitutes his principles for hire; – is paid for supporting doctrines which he does not approve, and making himself a slave to the passions of others.

EDWARD STOPFORD (1824) ¹

This final chapter illustrates the changes that resulted from the encounter between adventurers and Hispanic Americans described in the preceding chapters. In order to address the difficult task of tracing subtle shifts in *mentalité*, perceptions of others, and identities, it presents something approaching a patchwork quilt of vignettes, each exploring a different aspect of these changes. They are divided roughly into five patches or sections. The first examines the subsequent careers of some of those adventurers who returned to Britain and Ireland. The incomplete nature of materials relating to returnees (even more fragmentary than the sources for the mercenaries who remained in Colombia) means that it is difficult to make anything more than superficial judgements. This calls for a change in emphasis. The second section discusses the fictions set in South America that were written by returned volunteers, and how these fictions can illustrate the ways in which Britain's 'imaginative geography' of South America was altered. Analysis of the novels of Richard Vowell and the poems of Gustavus Hippius shows that British perceptions of South America were by no means confined to the stereotypes of noble savages, slothful Indians and limited potential for investment. The third section looks at the way that religion underscored many of the encounters and perceptions described thus far. This leads into the fourth section, which discusses the debate in Gran Colombia over how a foreigner should be defined, and what consequences this had for understandings of

¹ *El Colombiano*, 24th March 1824.

patriotism, loyalty, and military service. The final section examines just one court case, from early 1830s Ecuador, to illustrate the subtle shifts in definitions of Colombian and other collective identities which were carried forward into the 1830s and merged into the nation-building projects in New Granada, Venezuela and Ecuador.

The Return Home

This section examines the fragmentary evidence available with regard to those volunteers who managed to return to Britain or Ireland. Besides those who wrote memoirs or who petitioned the Colombian governments, few references have been found. Occasionally a stray reference in a piece of correspondence or letter has warranted being chased, but most volunteers returned to the historical anonymity from which the majority had originated.

The journey home was often long and haphazard. Some were delayed, diverted or shipwrecked by bad weather.² Robert Young endured the ‘most tedious and disastrous passage’.³ On 2nd May 1820 a boat was washed up at the Loyalist port of Santa Marta carrying two North Americans [*ingleses americanos*], three men who were probably Irish [here they were described as *ingleses europeos*] and Manuel Berde, a young man from Campeche, further along the coast. As none of the others spoke Spanish, the Governor interrogated Berde, who explained that they were all refugees from the Irish Legion’s attack on Riohacha.⁴ He pledged that they all ‘hated the Insurgent party, and wished to be allowed home’. The Governor requested that the Viceroy give him permission to allow the prisoners to board a boat for ‘Jamaica, or indeed, anywhere’, as they were fearful of remaining on the coast, and they were expensive for him to maintain.⁵

² See the evocative description of Robert Young’s return to Britain in ‘Diary of the Journey of Robert James Young’, ff.19-43; for Morgan O’Connell’s shipwreck see Daniel O’Connell to Hunting Cap O’Connell, 5th January 1822, Cork, in *The Correspondence of Daniel O’Connell*, Vol.3, pp.344-7.

³ Young, ‘Diary of the Journey of Robert James Young’, f.37.

⁴ Pedro Ruiz de Porras to Viceroy Sámano, 5th May 1820, Santa Marta, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745.

⁵ Ruiz de Porras to Viceroy Sámano, postscript, 5th May 1820, Santa Marta, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745.

Nothing further is known of the three Irish soldiers who were washed up in Santa Marta, John Cassidy, Patrick Cannon and Thomas Burke. It was very rare that any private soldiers who returned home, rather than officers, were mentioned in any surviving documentation. Private Jack Langan was one of these instances. Langan was just nineteen years old when he joined the Irish Legion to travel to Venezuela in late 1819, and he returned to Ireland after the rebellion at Riohacha.⁶ In Belfast he gained a reputation as a fist-fighter and was contracted to an agent who took him to London, where he fought several times for the Championship title.⁷ Other private soldiers known to have returned were Alexander Alexander (who, his editor claimed, had spent a short spell in jail before disappearing into poverty within a few years of his return to Edinburgh), Benjamin M'Mahon (who spent eighteen years in Jamaica before returning to London in 1838), and Nicholas Devine, a private soldier who returned to his home town, Limerick, in the mid 1840s.⁸ Some soldiers seemed to have enlisted in the British Army on their return from South America, although given that mercenary service did not appear on soldiers' service records, the evidence is fragmentary and uncertain. For example, a tentative argument can be made for Private James Donohue, a butcher from Kilhogan in Co. Cork, who served in the British Legion from 1819 until he was invalided in Caracas in 1822. British Army records give a James Donohue of the same age, place of birth and profession, enlisting into the 17th Foot in York in April 1824, and deserting soon thereafter. After receiving corporal punishment, he served nine years in the East Indies and five in New South Wales, and retired in 1845.⁹

⁶ C.S. Cochrane, *Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia*, p.462 mentioned 'Langan the pugilist' as one of the Irish soldiers who left for Jamaica. Cochrane was not present at Riohacha, so Langan's fame must have remained for Cochrane to be told the story some three years later when he arrived in Colombia, or the following year when he returned to London.

⁷ Langan eventually retired, his manager complaining that the English crowd regularly tried to trip the Irishman up from outside the ring while he was fighting. Langan's manager alleged that his boxer had received even worse abuse from the crowds than a previous challenger, the black boxer Tom Molineaux. Langan's later career can be traced in Thomas Reynolds, *History of the Great Fight Between Spring and Langan, for the Championship of England, and One Thousand Sovereigns, on Tuesday, June 8, 1824: To Which is Added, The Whole of the Correspondence relative to the disputed points on their first battle; with their lives and portraits*, (London, 1824).

⁸ James Ryan to Lord Aberdeen, 26th December 1846, Limerick, PRO FO 80/36 f.151; *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, Vol.2, p.323; M'Mahon, *Jamaica Plantership*, p.214.

⁹ Information on Donohue comes from Lambert, *Carabobo*, p.33; AGNC R GYM Vol.16, f.576; PRO WO 97/378/30. Private 'Miguel Cunninham', who requested his *haberes militares* in Bogotá in December 1823, was probably also Michael Cunningham who enlisted in the British Army upon his return to Ireland two

Documentation regarding those officers who returned home is slightly less sparse. Many volunteers received passports or permission to leave, although none of these individuals has been traced in archives in Britain or Ireland.¹⁰ Many officers returned to Dublin where they publicly contested the conditions of their recruitment.¹¹ Upon his return from South America, Morgan O'Connell spent several years in the Austrian army, before becoming Member of Parliament for Meath. He died in old age and in his surviving correspondence made no reference to his experiences in South America.¹²

Those who returned to Britain and Ireland may well have been motivated by homesickness or the search for better opportunities than those encountered in Colombia. Belford Wilson was one of these in 1828, writing that 'I have long been thinking of returning to my own country, and the current crisis seems to be the ideal moment. No one can accuse me of being ungrateful to the Liberator and Colombia, to whom I owe so much. But nevertheless, I am also a son, a brother and a citizen of England'.¹³

The return home was often traumatic. Upon his arrival in England in late 1819, Robert Young noted that 'the people were very attentive to us, from seeing we were strangers.

years later. Information on Cunningham comes from Casa de Moneda, Db3093, Db4714; PRO WO 97/250/36.

¹⁰ Passports: Thomas Jackson leaving Cúcuta in 1832; Dr Taylor leaving Angostura 1820; Phillip Griffith leaving Bogotá 1825; William Hughes leaving Angostura 1819; Thomas Maniard leaving Angostura 1819; Private John Flaherty leaving Angostura 1820; *Sargento* Basilio Ivanoff leaving Angostura 1820; Charles Cavendish leaving Angostura 1820; William Shearman leaving Angostura 1820; James Vickery leaving Angostura 1821; Gustavo Schiller leaving Angostura 1820; John Mell leaving Angostura 1820; Hugh Muze leaving Angostura 1820; James Maxwell leaving Angostura 1820; Private John Duffy leaving Angostura 1820; Joseph Johnston leaving Angostura 1820. Angostura passports are in AGNV GDG, Vol.4 f.182; Vol.9, ff.88-101; Vol.12, ff.60-124. Griffith expressed his intention to return to England in a letter to *El Constitucional*, 2nd June 1825. Jackson's expulsion from Colombia in 1832 by Antonio Obando, and his passport to leave via Cúcuta, was reproduced in Duarte French, *América del Norte a Sur*, p.520. All the other volunteers featured on this list – Thomas Manby, Daniel O'Leary, Walter Chitty, John Johnson, Richard Crofton, Carlos Castelli, John Mackintosh, Frederick Rasch, Gilmore Gregg, George Talbot and William Brown later re-appeared elsewhere in Colombia. This was the last reference found to Jackson.

¹¹ As in *Reply to the Letter of Adjutant General Kenny and the pamphlet of Mr Francis Hall, by the gentlemen who have returned from the Expedition to Margaritta*, (Dublin, 1820).

¹² For Morgan O'Connell's later career, see '14 Letters and 1 copy to Daniel and Mary O'Connell from Morgan O'Connell 1816-1846', NLI, MSS 13645 (1); for Minchin see Charles Minchin, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, ff.533-41.

¹³ Belford Hinton Wilson to Mosquera, 15th August 1828, Bogotá, ACC, Sala Mosquera 1828, Carpeta 52, d.5148.

Our names, and the misfortunes of the voyage, and the different occurrences which had passed on board, the sailors were keen in circulating ...to my great surprise the first thing I saw in this morning's paper, was the death of General English at Margarita [sic], of fever. How fortunate I was to escape. I suppose the remains of the troop I left there are all swept off'.¹⁴

Many volunteers remained only a short time back in Britain or Ireland, and continued their travels elsewhere. Several found status and an income through returning to South America in a diplomatic capacity, such as Daniel O'Leary in Bogotá, Richard Wright in Quito, and Friederich Aldercreutz as the Swedish representative in Caracas.¹⁵ Mayor John Minchin also entered the diplomatic corps, but did not return to South America.¹⁶

A handful of volunteers settled in France, British North America, and the United States of America,¹⁷ but most is known about the group of returnees who published their memoirs in London, Edinburgh or Dublin. Even these normally revealed little about their post-Colombia careers beyond their return to Britain and the subsequent publication of their memoirs to earn some money. There were some exceptions: George Laval Chesterton published *A Narrative of Proceedings in Venezuela and South America* in 1820. Over thirty years later he released *Peace, War and Adventure: An Autobiographical Memoir* (1853), a more stylised reflection which recalled his joy upon returning home from Venezuela, when 'my lips once more smacked the flavour of an English cup of tea'.¹⁸ Back in Britain, Chesterton had worked for a short time as a translator before taking employment as a prison governor in 1829. This work was reflected upon in his two volumes of *Revelations of Prison Life* (1856). Aside from one reference to a female

¹⁴ Young, 'Diary of the Voyage of Robert James Young', ff.44-5.

¹⁵ See the documents collected in Aldercreutz, *Cartera del Coronel Conde de Aldercreutz*.

¹⁶ Carlos Diego Minchin to Congress, 1st February 1854, Bogotá, AGNC HDS, Vol.31, f.507.

¹⁷ Examples of these were: for France, *Coronel Borrell* who served Gregor MacGregor and settled, by 1839, in Paris (*Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.448); and *Coronel* Matthew Sutton of the Irish Legion, who had left Dublin for France by 1824 (Thomas Sutton to Daniel O'Connell, 31st January 1824, Dublin, O'Connell Papers, UCD, P12/3/147). For British North America, see the cases of Officers Budd and Roberts, in Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.201. For the USA, Miller Hallows maintained a correspondence with Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera from his farm in Georgia (ACC, Sala Mosquera 1832, d.6531). Thomas Plumard returned to Caracas from New York in 1858, (AGNV IP, Vol.69, ff.165-80).

¹⁸ Chesterton, *Peace, War and Adventure*, p.234.

prisoner as 'of real Amazonian form and stature', he showed no sign of the impact that his South American adventures might have had upon him.¹⁹ Another chronicler, Michael Rafter, wrote a fictionalised account of British involvement in the Iberian Peninsula during the Napoleonic Wars, published in 1855.²⁰

Several of the volunteers continued to pursue their claims on the new states after they had returned home. They invoked similar languages of honour, service and patriotism to their *compadres* who remained in Colombia. By claiming to love the *patria* without having been born there, and not even residing there, volunteers who petitioned from abroad were faced with many difficulties.²¹ In trying to square this circle of patriotic loyalty from afar, they laid even greater stress on personal sacrifice, selfless dedication to the cause, and individual heroism. Without doubt, their principal interest was financial recompense, and they were especially susceptible to hyperbole in their attempts to obtain it. In 1858 James Duff Paterson, writing from his home in Co. Kerry, claimed that 'when we entered Bogotá I was literally naked', and that in all his time in the army he did not receive 'any pay, not a single farthing'.²² He had apparently overcome suffering and privation that had 'no parallel in the annals of history'.²³

Despite rapid developments in transatlantic communication throughout the nineteenth century, those retired volunteers and widows who petitioned from Britain and Ireland

¹⁹ Chesterton, *Revelations of Prison Life*, Vol.1, (London, 1856), p.40. A doctor on Gregor MacGregor's expedition, W. Davidson Weatherhead, published a follow-up to his *Account of the Late Expedition against the Isthmus of Darien under the Command of Sir Gregor McGregor* (1820), indicating that he had returned to his original profession: *A Medical and Philosophical Essay, on the Influence of Custom and Habit on the Human Economy*, (London, 1828).

²⁰ Michael Rafter, [author of *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*], *Percy Blake, or the Young Rifleman*, 3 Vols., (London, 1855).

²¹ The British representative Turner referred to the continuing claims of Mary Skeene, John Mackintosh and a Mr Hodginson in a letter to Palmerston, 14th January 1836, Bogotá, PRO FO 55/4 ff.16-8, reproduced in Deas and Sánchez, eds., *Santander y los ingleses*, Vol.1, p.405. See also the case of Thomas Plumer, who left Colombia in 1827 and returned to Venezuela in 1858, as described in José Antonio Pérez, 2nd December 1857, New York, AGNV IP, Vol.69, f.170; Fernando Bolívar, 24th December 1858, Valencia, AGNV IP, Vol.69, f.173; Fernando Bolívar, 29th December 1858, Valencia, AGNV IP, Vol.69, f.175. For the case of Gregor MacGregor, see *Exposición documentada*, p.1, pp.7-8.

²² Paterson, 8th February 1858, Jarbert, Co. Kerry, AGNC HDS, Vol.36, f.549.

²³ Paterson, 8th February 1868, Queenstown, AGNC HDS, Vol.36, f.567. Translated by V.S. Manrique. Once he had been awarded a pension from New Granada, Paterson turned his attention to Venezuela, Paterson, 8th August 1876, Plymouth, AGNV IP, Vol.24, f.194.

often found the lengthy process increasingly difficult because of the ‘uncertain conveyance’ of letters.²⁴ Widows like Katherine Robertson, who lived in Edinburgh, relied on personal ties to Independent leaders, and enlisted the assistance of men they thought could be influential in supporting their claims. This was just as true for those at the distance of a long terrestrial journey from the Caracas or Bogotá. As James Fraser wrote from his coffee plantation in the north of New Granada, ‘it is evident that nothing can make up for our absence from the spot where anything interesting is to be done. McGregor [sic] and Devereux knew that well, and certainly had they applied from a distance for the pensions, neither of them would have obtained anything’.²⁵

As well as being concerned with financial matters and emphasising privations and suffering, long-distance petitions were highly ambitious. Gregor MacGregor’s daughter Josefa María MacGregor requested the Venezuelan government to inform her of ‘any inheritance in Venezuela, or any other part of the American continent and its adjacent islands that might be mine’, for example ‘houses, lands, haciendas, inheritance and other effects or furniture’.²⁶ Similar was the letter sent by James Ryan of Tipperary, the brother of a private soldier of the Irish Legion, who hoped to inherit the estate of his brother ‘who had remained in South America where he is supposed to have died, possessed of considerable property in Grenada’.²⁷

Documents like these show that the distance that separated petitioners from the authorities whose assistance they requested tended to proportionally increase the

²⁴ Robertson to Bolívar, 7th November 1817, Edinburgh, FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-825, f.0058. See also General Thomas Maitland to Bolívar, 12th January 1822, London, AL, Vol.14, f.88. Katherine Robertson (née Austen) was a distant cousin of Gregor MacGregor, and MacGregor assisted her with her applications in the early 1820s. ‘Extract from Information as to Miss Josefa MacGregor’s Succession, April 1872’, John MacGregor Papers, NAS, GD50/184/104/24.

²⁵ Fraser to Mary English, 18th April 1845, Salazar, English Papers, HA157/3/177.

²⁶ Josefa María MacGregor, 24th February 1846, Edinburgh, AGNV IP, Vol.49, f.63.

²⁷ James Ryan to Aberdeen, 26th December 1845, Limerick, PRO, FO 80/36 ff.151-2. This letter apparently went unanswered, but is enlightening for the perceptions held by the volunteers’ families. James Ryan had not seen his brother in the twenty-five years since he joined the Irish Legion, but believed that his brother had satisfied his desires to acquire land and riches in South America. It is uncertain whether the stories James Ryan heard were true or not (or indeed whether ‘Grenada’ was the British West Indian island, or New Granada), and the British Government made no further reference to the case in its collected correspondence. But the document – unique in voicing the concerns of an illiterate brother of one of the lowest-ranked volunteers, reveals that the passage of time did not dim the hopes of a pecuniary return on adventure.

ambition of their claim and, for some officers, the exaggeration of their services. Their claims and the manner of their presentation, cast into sharp relief the way the volunteers who remained in Colombia had adapted and changed their demands and requests in tune with local conditions. A case in point is that of *Coronel* Joseph Albert Gillmore, who in 1845 asked the Foreign Office to pursue his claim 'for the great sacrifices that I was induced to make for Venezuela'.²⁸ The consequence of these expenses for the liberation of Venezuela had been 'numerous hardships and pecuniary embarrassments to himself and family'.²⁹ In a subsequent letter, Gillmore wrote that he had served under Wellington in the Peninsula, and that he would have had great chances of promotion had he remained in the British Army.³⁰ His correspondence exudes regret that he ever went to Venezuela at all.

In the same year John Shaw, a former *teniente* in the Irish Legion, and now working as a policeman in the City of London, petitioned the British government for the first time to request assistance in his claim on Venezuela.³¹ Shaw described how his service under José Antonio Páez came to an end 'in consequence of incessant exposure to the climate, the great privations endured, and frequent attacks of fever, his health [becoming] quite shattered'.³² Shaw's claim, like Gillmore's, was unsuccessful.

Despite the many returnees, Colombia was not essential to the 'constitution' or 'imagination' of metropolitan British or Irish identities in this period. Numbers were relatively small, and the perceived importance of South America equally so. Those who did return to Britain or Ireland had often spent less than two years away, and their

²⁸ Gillmore to Aberdeen, 26th February 1845, Glasgow, PRO FO 80/36 f.47; 'Joseph Albert Gillmore's Claim on the Venezuelan Government', 16th July 1845, Glasgow, PRO FO 80/36 f.117.

²⁹ Gillmore to Alejo Fortique, 16th July 1845, Glasgow, PRO FO 80/36 f.118.

³⁰ Gillmore to Aberdeen, 1st August 1845, Glasgow, PRO FO 80/36 f.123. The Venezuelan representative in London, Alejo Fortique, noted that several former volunteer officers had addressed him on the same subject, and that Gillmore 'has probably done rather better out of it than many others'. Fortique to Gillmore, 28th July 1845, London, PRO FO 80/36 f.125.

³¹ Shaw to Viscount Canning, 26th May 1845, London, PRO FO 80/36 ff.67-74.

³² Shaw claimed to have served in the British Legion raised to fight in the Carlist wars in Spain in the 1830s. These volunteer expeditions provoked similar debates to those from the South America volunteer expeditions of the late 1810s. See for example Captain Martin, *The Dissolution of the British Legion of Spain and the Manly Spirited Conduct of General O'Connell on that occasion contrasted with that of his predecessor, Col Evans, MP for Westminster*, (London, 1838), and Edward Costello, *The Adventures of a Soldier*.

adventures were quickly dismissed from the newspapers to be replaced with more pressing matters, such as the Queen Caroline affair, Catholic Emancipation and the agitation for parliamentary reform. Volunteers' encounters with South America were perceived of and experienced as primarily individual, rather than national or communal events. However, through an examination of the fictionalised re-creations of South America from this period, the next section argues that there were substantial modifications in the way that South America was imagined in Britain and Ireland as a land suitable for adventure.

Fictionalising Venezuela

Richard Vowell and Gustavus Hippisley's perspective as writers of fiction was a little different from that of influential writers such as Alexander von Humboldt.³³ As in the case of Humboldt, the developments in attitudes and conceptions which may have come from these readings were based on the actual experiences in Venezuela of their authors. Nevertheless, unlike some of the writers often taken to be typical of the British traveller in South America, they had no clear 'sense of moral purpose [as] missionaries of capitalism whose aim was nothing less than the informal colonisation of the continent'.³⁴ The writers had taken part in the Wars of Independence, and they chose fiction as the means to pass on to their readers some understanding of the significance of the events they had been involved in. A Trinidadian author, E.L. Joseph, undertook a similar project in the 1830s. Having originally intended 'to write a history of the War of the Independence of Colombia, México, Peru, Chili and Buenos Ayres ... [he came up against] the paucity of materials' which meant that in order to write a 'history' he would have to

visit all the principal cities on the great South American continent; in order to inspect such few scattered records as were preserved during this most sanguinary civil war, and to consult with all the surviving chiefs who figured in the contest, whether living in the New World or in Europe. To do this required leisure and a

³³ For the profound influence of Humboldt's writing, see for example Deas and R.A. McNeil, ed., *Europeans in Latin America from Humboldt to Hudson*, (Oxford, 1980), pp.1-23, and Jason Wilson's introduction to Alexander Von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*, (London, 1995), pp.i-xxxiv.

³⁴ Franco, 'Not-So-Romantic Journey: British Travellers to South America, 1818-1828', in Pratt and Kathleen Newman, eds., *Critical Passions: Selected Essays*, (Durham, N.C., 1999), pp.133-4.

fortune, neither of which I possessed. Hence, I was obliged to abandon my project – certainly for the present, probably for ever.³⁵

It was thus that Joseph invented the character of Warner Arundell in order to tell the story of Independence through fiction. Probably based on a composite of several volunteers encountered by Joseph, Arundell recalled many of their experiences, disputes and achievements. This perspective gave Joseph, like Vowell and Hippiisley, the license to indulge in lengthy anecdotes, descriptions of contemporary figures, and picaresque digressions, and to mould events in South America into a form that diverged from the norm of travel writing or history. Because of the foreign origins of their authors, these works have been ignored by conventional studies of post-Independence Hispanic American literature.³⁶ A consideration of the changing ways that British and Irish authors fictionalised Venezuela in this period may prove useful for comparison with the ways that Hispanic American nineteenth-century writers set about their ‘national project ... [because] by fictionalising history, they were also interpreting it in the new light of Independence’.³⁷

The test case for the subsequent examination of Vowell and Hippiisley’s fictions is *Soldiers of Venezuela* (1818). With this publication date, and the circumstantial evidence provided by analysis of the narrative, it seems certain that the anonymous author did not travel to South America. Instead, the novel was written to capitalise on the popularity of the Independent cause in this period, when the very first groups of volunteers were recruited.³⁸ *Soldiers of Venezuela* followed the career of a fictional English officer,

³⁵ Joseph, *Warner Arundell*, p.viii. Joseph is excluded from the subsequent discussion on the basis that his position far from Great Britain provides a further perspective on the Colombian Wars of Independence which is outside of the scope of this thesis.

³⁶ Here I am presuming that the anonymous author of *Soldiers of Venezuela* was not Hispanic American. The standard account is Franco, *Spanish American Literature Since Independence*, (London and New York, 1973). Tom Jones, *South America Rediscovered*, (Minneapolis, Minn., 1949) dissected writing about South America in the period 1810-1910, arguing that (p.6) ‘If we wish to see Latin America as they saw it, we must read their books’. Despite the title of Jones’ work, his gaze was primarily focused on Southern South America, and did not refer to any of the books examined in this study. Fisher, in his ‘Britons and South America’ in Fisher and John Higgins, eds., *Understanding Latin America*, (Liverpool, 1989), relied largely on Jones’ interpretation, but acknowledged that (p.18) ‘such literature is a valuable source for understanding British attitudes towards religion, race, politics and society rather than actual conditions in the sub-continent’.

³⁷ Franco, *Spanish American Literature Since Independence*, p.56.

³⁸ [Anon], *The Soldiers of Venezuela: A Tale, in Two Volumes*, (London, 1818). As far as I am aware, the only library to hold a copy in Britain is the Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, SD810.

‘gallant, energetic, Eugene Bouverie’, who joined the Independent army and became ‘trusted by Bolivar, loved by his comrades, and dreaded by the royalists’.³⁹ After performing several heroic feats, Bouverie fell in love and returned to England to live happily ever after. A principal concern of the text was to show that, despite leaving England for South America, Bouverie’s patriotism was not diminished. His nostalgia for home was often expressed.⁴⁰ Before the protagonist’s departure for Venezuela he returned to his ‘native hills’, where he was able to ‘inhale new life’ and revitalise his ‘youth’s energies’.⁴¹ Like the classic Walter Scott hero the author clearly intended him to be, his patriotism was grounded in the natural environment (in his case, the south of England).

Anxious not to be an ‘idle voyager on the vast ocean of life’, Bouverie’s travels were said to present him with the opportunity to prove ‘his manhood, that would enable him to stand forth the protector, and the friend of his sisters; the shield, the solace of his mother; and the advocate of the oppressed, wherever suffering humanity might groan’.⁴²

Bouverie’s nobility of purpose was contrasted with another volunteer, Hayward, who was said to be travelling to South America as a determined attempt to regain, ‘in the new world, a part of the happiness he had sacrificed in this’.⁴³ The South American Wars of Independence were presented in *Soldiers of Venezuela* as a ‘very fair field for exertion’, an ideal proving ground for Englishmen, and a place where those who had lost wealth or honour could regain it:

‘I wish’, said Eugene to Emily, as he closed the port-folio, ‘that it were consistent with the feelings of humanity to desire the renewal of war. Peace consigns many to the pen and the ploughshare, to indigence

Waddell re-produced a short section of *Soldiers of Venezuela* in his ‘Los británicos y la política británica frente a Bolívar’ in Filippi, ed., *Bolívar y Europa*, Vol.2, pp.32-3. Luis López Méndez sent Bolívar a copy in 1818, according to the undated accompanying letter reproduced in Street and Pérez Vila, ‘El aporte británico’, f.128.

³⁹ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.1.

⁴⁰ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.3.

⁴¹ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.1, p.144. For a discussion of how Walter Scott’s novels created a prototype for the chivalric British hero in this period, see Girouard, *The Return to Camelot*, pp.29-38.

⁴² *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.1, p.3, p.50.

⁴³ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.1, pp.55-7, p.68. Another volunteer enlisted (Vol.1, p.113) because he was ‘tired of inactivity’.

and to obscurity, who might otherwise have found opportunities to ascend in the scale of life, and, by an honourable career of service, have enrolled their names among the proud chieftains of their country.⁴⁴

In a letter to his mother, Bouverie presented his decision to join the South American Independents as the best of several options. He felt that, when contrasted to the Indian sub-continent, its cultural similarities to Britain (that is, the 'civilisation' of its Creoles) made South America a more attractive destination. Perhaps the author was influenced by a celebrated contemporary traveller to both continents, who had described Hindustan as a land of 'degradation and depravity ... and wretchedness'.⁴⁵ Alongside this cultural distinction was a pragmatic reason – Bouverie did not expect to be condemned to a 'long and painful exile' in South America, as he would in India, and he hoped instead to soon be home with renewed glory and honour.⁴⁶ Mrs Bouverie's response revealed the perceived distance between London and South America both for her, and for the (non-travelling) author behind her words:

Oh! my son, when you are exiled beyond the western ocean, when the sun that gilds your morn leaves his evening beams on yonder hill – when months must revolve 'ere a line from you can cheer my lonely life – these, Eugene, these are harrowing anticipations, and I sink beneath their weight. Imagination will be gloomily exercised in beholding you sick, wounded, shipwrecked or a captive! Deprived of every tender care, exposed to all the dangers and difficulties of hostile operations in another quarter of the globe. Perhaps, without a friend to cheer, or a voice to whisper consolation. Oh! my son, reflect yet again 'ere you embark in a service so replete with dangers and with difficulties.⁴⁷

Before Bouverie actually left England, the author inserted a long digression on the merits of domestic life and female companionship. Bouverie was repeatedly reminded that 'the most endearing and felicitous hours of a good man's life are given to his home'.⁴⁸ His expedition to South America was presented as a short-term adventure, from which he could return more manly, more experienced and more honourable, and therefore better able to retire to domestic life.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.1, p.128, p.89.

⁴⁵ James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: selected and abridged from a Series of Familiar Letters written during Seventeen Years' Residence in India: including Observations on Parts of Africa and South America, and a Narrative of Occurrences in four India Voyages. Illustrated by Engravings from Original Drawings*, (London, 1813), p.195.

⁴⁶ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.1, p.189.

⁴⁷ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.1, p.193.

⁴⁸ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.1, pp.240-6.

⁴⁹ When Eugene Bouverie finally left his family at Portsmouth, 'this moment of separation was among the bitterest that either Mrs Bouverie or her children had ever experienced. The manly heart throbbed even to

It was only at the start of the second volume that Bouverie finally looked back upon ‘the white cliffs of Albion’.⁵⁰ As his protagonist left England, the author embarked on another lengthy prelude, situating still-distant South America within a context of conventional legends such as the terrestrial Paradise.⁵¹ At this stage, Bouverie’s enlistment with the Independents was contrasted with experiences of those men who had served in the Napoleonic Wars. His idealism at what he could expect from participation in warfare was explained by one character by the fact that ‘you saw not the cemeteries crowded with the demolished bloom of youth, and the premature prostration of strength’.⁵² For this reason, other characters surrounding the volunteers were often employed to emphasise the manliness of voluntary enlistment in someone else’s war. The wife of one volunteer was given the following speech to praise her husband’s participation in the expedition:

If he can aid the cause of liberty, or contribute to the happiness of the human race by submitting to the evil of a temporary separation from me, rejoice in being the wife of a man whose courage cannot degenerate into tameness, nor the lion-heart of valour contract itself to the dimensions of mere domestication.⁵³

Explicitly then, *Soldiers of Venezuela* presented adventuring in South America as a necessary preliminary to the kind of manly domesticity described by Tosh as increasingly prevalent in nineteenth-century England.⁵⁴ A man not capable of such adventuring was described as a ‘disgrace to manhood’.⁵⁵ Bouverie himself was shown stoically suppressing his feelings towards a London love affair and crushing them under activity and strength of mind.⁵⁶

Soldiers of Venezuela reflected the probable experience of its author, spending a disproportionate amount of time discussing the feelings and commentaries of those left behind in England (generally, mothers, lovers and friends) rather than the activities of

convulsion; while the utmost fortitude that female bosoms could command was replete with every feeling that affection, regret, and agony could combine. Language was denied to all; but the expressive looks of each spoke volumes’. *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.1, p.254.

⁵⁰ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.1.

⁵¹ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.20.

⁵² *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.49.

⁵³ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.63.

⁵⁴ Tosh, *A Man’s Place*, pp.108-11.

⁵⁵ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.87.

⁵⁶ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.99.

those who left for Venezuela. The novel included minimal description of events in South America. Whenever Venezuelans were mentioned, they tended to be hostile or threatening.⁵⁷ This perspective was also transliterated onto the faraway travellers.

Bouverie was described as ‘philosophically examining, and attentively considering, the blessings dispensed to all lands, [and in doing so] he felt every tie strengthened that attached him to his own ... [exclaiming] “what have we yet seen ... that an Englishman need sigh for?”’⁵⁸ *Soldiers of Venezuela* showed little interest in the details of Independent campaigning and events were glossed over with reports of Bouverie setting ‘the noblest example of personal bravery’, just as John Mackintosh and other volunteer officers later claimed to have done.⁵⁹ The manly bearing of the volunteers was often demonstrated with regard to the care they took of the women accompanying them. A *Capitán* M’Andrew was described as having allowed his wife to accompany him to South America because ‘with the most irresistible feeling and affection, she described how desolate her state would be deprived of him’.⁶⁰ When *Capitán* M’Andrew received a mortal wound on the battlefield, his last words were ‘Caroline, my only love’. The narrator saw this as closing ‘an honourable life by a heroic death’ – very different from *Coronel* James Rooke’s mythical death at Pantano de Vargas (one year after the publication of *Soldiers of Venezuela*) with ‘*Viva la patria*’ on his lips.⁶¹

Having achieved some military glory and then fallen in love with the recently widowed Caroline M’Andrew, Bouverie had achieved the goals of his expedition. He now determined to ‘return immediately to England, in pursuit of those rational delights, resulting from domestic felicity’.⁶² As new reinforcements were joining the service every

⁵⁷ In this way the novel shared the attitude of Tory newspapers such as the *British Monitor* (formerly known as the *Anti-Gallician*) which published versions of the ‘letters the Editor has seen’ from adventurers, claiming that ‘they thanked God every morning when they woke, because on retiring to bed at night they expect to be murdered by the natives – by those very persons whose cause they are defending, but who in fact would be glad to be rid of them’. *British Monitor*, 1st August 1819.

⁵⁸ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, pp.117-9.

⁵⁹ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.130, p.153.

⁶⁰ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.149.

⁶¹ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.152. When Bouverie learnt that Bolívar had given financial support to M’Andrew’s widow (p.175), ‘it ensured Eugene’s devotion to the Patriot cause and his personal attachment to General Bolivar more than all the splendid victories of the latter, or the philanthropic estimation of the former’.

⁶² *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.252.

day, he felt that he could honourably leave in the knowledge that ‘there could be no danger of his departure in the least affecting the interest of the service’.⁶³ He again crossed paths with his friend Hayward who exclaimed that as a result of his South American experiences, ‘I have enjoyed more true happiness, and have become conscious of possessing more strength of mind and a greater capacity of exertion than a course of uninterrupted posterity would ever have taught me to discover’.⁶⁴

For Bouverie himself, Venezuela was presented as the land where he had gained individual honour through his military exploits, and where ‘the desire of further distinction had only yielded to a stronger and more rational passion. The impulse that first led to his exile had faded into oblivion.’⁶⁵ His desire for domesticated love was finally triumphant, but manly adventuring had been an essential obstacle, even a rite of passage, that first needed to be overcome. In *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Venezuela itself was a land where adventures were had and heroic lives lived – but integration into Venezuelan society was out of the question. Simón Bolívar appeared as a Prester John figure – aloof from his society, governing benignly and in accordance with the rules of honour – and he was the only South American who featured in the novel in any meaningful way.⁶⁶ There was no recognition of regional or social diversity. Venezuela was no more than a blank page upon which white male Europeans could prove their manliness. As the narrator commented, until Eugene fell in love with Caroline M’Andrew, ‘every thing he found in the country to which he had removed [Venezuela] only tended to torture him with the remembrance of what he had left in his own’.⁶⁷ He

⁶³ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.252. Eugene’s honourable return home, with Bolívar’s blessing, was contrasted (p.312) with the dishonourable desertion of a French officer, Donnereau.

⁶⁴ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.257.

⁶⁵ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.258.

⁶⁶ Prester John was the mythical Christian King of the East, linked to the St. Thomas shrine on the Indian subcontinent, and unsuccessfully sought by generations of travellers (including Marco Polo) from the twelfth century. He was finally identified in the fifteenth century as the Christian King of Ethiopia, but the myth survived in popular travel literature such as the *Travels of John Mandeville*. In the twentieth century, he provided the central motif for John Buchan’s novel *Prester John* (London, 1910) and the inspiration for much valuable scholarship on travel writing, for example Charles Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton, eds., *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, (Aldershot, 1996).

⁶⁷ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.282.

had survived only because of ‘the presence of one charming English woman in that distant soil’.⁶⁸

In contrast to the author of *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Richard Vowell had an intimate knowledge of South America. His first published volume, *Campaigns and Cruises*, is regarded by historians as one of the most reliable sources for the history of the Wars of Independence. His two novels, *The Earthquake of Caraccas* and *The Savannas of Varinas* have been largely ignored, except by social historians of the llanos like Miguel Izard who have raided them for ethnographic detail.⁶⁹ Vowell served with the Independents from 1818 to the early 1820s, as an officer campaigning from Angostura to Quito under the command of *Coronel* John Mackintosh. At an early stage he was separated from his colleagues, and lived for several months with a group of llanero guerrilla-bandits nominally associated with the Independent cause. This experience provided him with much of the material for his memoirs and the two novels that, in his own words, were put together from the ‘stray anecdotes, and waste sketches of scenery and manners’, that had not fitted into *Campaigns and Cruises*.⁷⁰ *The Earthquake of Caraccas* (1831) told a love story against the backdrop of the warfare associated with the First Venezuelan Republic (1810-1813). *The Savannas of Varinas* (1831) re-counted a similar tale, although the action had moved on to the late 1810s, and the setting was now the Venezuelan llanos, with regular ethnographic descriptions punctuating the love story, in which Vowell appeared to have less and less interest as the novel moved to its conclusion.

Gustavus Butler Hippiusley was discussed in some detail in Chapter 3; in Angostura in 1820 he was tried by a court of his peers for ‘ungentlemanly conduct’, and soon afterwards he left the Independent service and returned to England. With *The Siege of Barcelona* (1842), he hoped to gain recognition for acts of honour and glory performed in South America. He contrasted Great Britain (a land ‘where public virtue or private

⁶⁸ *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.2, p.282.

⁶⁹ Izard, ‘Ni cuatreros ni montoneros; llaneros’, *Boletín americanista*, 23 (1981), p.99, p.121. For llanero popular songs, see for example Vowell, *The Savannas of Varinas*, pp.108-9, and for hunting practices, p.202.

⁷⁰ Vowell, *Campaigns and Cruises*, p.1.

heroism is certain of attaining due notice and honourable reward') with the ungrateful and unappreciative republican governments of South America.⁷¹ Yet although Hippisley railed against the 'tyranny of the many' that now ruled in South America, he still presented the continent as a learning-ground, from which he had returned a better (if not wiser) person.⁷² *Siege of Barcelona* presented an idealised field of masculine warriors, confronting danger 'with manly brow serene'.⁷³ It told the story of a Loyalist attack on Barcelona on the Venezuelan coast in 1816 which culminated in the deaths of many Independent soldiers and civilians. As Hippisley related the events (at the time of which he was still in England), the attack was inspired by the Loyalist *General Morales*' need for revenge on Bolívar's English aide-de-camp *Coronel Chamberlain* (the hero of the poem), who had married the woman Morales loved.⁷⁴ By having Morales engage in a public attack out of slighted personal pride, Hippisley presented him as having 'no sense of honour'.⁷⁵ Such a technique enabled him to present this military operation as part of a wider network of private feelings, emotions and attachments.

One of the prime concerns of the first two of Hippisley's three cantos was to show the Loyalist troops and officers in a dishonourable light. The Spanish flag was described as 'dishonour'd' by merciless Loyalist practises:

Could these, O Spain! Derive from thee descent?
Had thy proud chivalry, so fam'd of yore,
Lost ev'ry virtue on Colombia's shore? ⁷⁶

In contrast to dishonourable Spain, Hippisley portrayed the Independents as manly heroes. This applied not only to the British volunteers and Bolívar, but also many other Creoles. Hippisley's hero Alonso was praised for avoiding 'the fatal influence of a woman's tears' before a crucial engagement. (Women could only diminish manly

⁷¹ Gustavus Butler Hippisley, *The Siege of Barcelona, A Poem in Three Cantos*, (London, 1842), p.3. The poem was dedicated to 'Those Gallant Officers, The Survivors of the 'British Legion' in the Service of 'Colombia', As a Sincere, Though Inadequate Tribute of Admiration For Their Dauntless Courage in the Field, And Unwearied Patience Under the Most Afflictive Privation'.

⁷² *Siege of Barcelona*, p.4.

⁷³ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.12.

⁷⁴ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.17.

⁷⁵ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.23.

⁷⁶ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.44.

dedication to duty, according to the poet).⁷⁷ Hippisley even compared Colombian soldiers favourably against British troops:

Colombia's sons, whose temperance merits promise.
Rarely is seen among her hardy race
The vice of drunkenness, which oft disgrace
The well-trained soldiers of our hemisphere.⁷⁸

As in *Soldiers of Venezuela* and *Siege of Barcelona*, Richard Vowell's novels also presented Venezuela as a land where adventurous deeds could earn a brave man honour and glory. What was new was that in *Earthquake of Caraccas* a wide array of non-English characters was described as displaying great chivalry and honour.⁷⁹ The people of Margarita were held to have a 'reckless daring and love of adventure, added [to] a thorough hatred and contempt for the Spanish government'.⁸⁰ When describing the llaneros, Vowell used a quotation from Walter Scott to illustrate their bravery, strength and heroism.⁸¹ The most notable example of this technique was Vowell's descriptions of José Antonio Páez, who was portrayed as much more than just a brave and heroic leader.⁸² A leader who habitually led his men into battle, Páez was also depicted showing generosity and kindness to unfortunate Indians, and making sure that his men continued to show good humour despite their many privations.⁸³

Where *Soldiers of Venezuela* neglected Venezuelan indigenous groups, Vowell noted how manly honour codes could even extend to the 'untaught honour of the native tribes, and more especially by those which are commonly reputed least civilised' such as the

⁷⁷ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.52.

⁷⁸ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.114. Note that during the events analysed in Chapter 3, Hippisley himself was accused of being drunk.

⁷⁹ A Colonel Bolívar was mentioned showing dashing bravery in battle, *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, pp.65-6. One of the novel's heroes, Carlos, was described (p.69) as 'having the opportunity of signalling [his] knight-errantry' by rescuing his lover just before she took her vows to enter a convent (on her Loyalist father's instructions).

⁸⁰ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, p.282.

⁸¹ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, epigram to Chapter 10, p.108. Vowell did not mention which of Scott's work he had taken this quote from. Like Vowell, Hippisley praised the simplicity of the llanero soldiers, independent men who needed nothing more than good food and cigars, horses and hammocks: 'Betwixt two trees, he next his hammock slings,/ Seeks his repose, nor envies crowned kings'. *Siege of Barcelona*, pp.116-7

⁸² In many ways this description prefigures that of Cunninghame Graham in *José Antonio Páez*.

⁸³ Vowell, *The Savannas of Varinas*, p.159, pp.204-5, pp.217-9.

Cachirí.⁸⁴ He went on to describe the Cachirí Indians as the most warrior-like and ‘the most noble of all the Venezuelan tribes’. In *The Savannas of Varinas*, a guerrilla chief, Zaraza, explained how he had been surprised at the friendship and hospitality shown to him by the Indians of Cumaná, where he had been seriously injured in battle.⁸⁵ On occasions, the narrator peddled conventional stereotypes about lazy and slothful Indians, but generally, where there was criticism of Indians, it came from unsympathetic characters and Spaniards.⁸⁶ At one point, a Creole character expressed his fear that his Cachirí Indian companions would abandon him in crossing the Páramo de Pisba, so as to steal his clothes.⁸⁷ But even such a comment was made in terms that were largely positive – the speaker noted that these Indians were individually independent, and therefore to be admired, despite their latent demon-worship and idolatry. *The Earthquake of Caraccas* also contained praise of the Cachirí Indians for their sincerity, honesty and knowledge. In the words of La Chinganera, an old Indian woman whom Carlos (a Creole) consulted when ill, ‘no one trusts the word of an Indian, though even the wisest of you come to us immediately when you get fever or ulcers, to see if we can treat it’.⁸⁸ Vowell described a picture of a functioning social hierarchy of masculinities, in which ‘genuine Indians’ looked down on the *gitanos* (gypsies) and compared *chinganeros* (travelling Indians) to monkeys.⁸⁹ Even lower were the dishonourable *rotos*, the criminals and cowards of which the Loyalist forces were supposed to be composed.⁹⁰ They completed Vowell’s picture of

⁸⁴ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, p.30.

⁸⁵ *The Savannas of Varinas*, pp.243-5. Yet comparison with the author’s own career, as documented in *Campaigns and Cruises*, pp.100-5, reveals the problematic nature of the technique – this experience voiced by Zaraza was based entirely on Vowell’s own experiences.

⁸⁶ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, p.100, p.49.

⁸⁷ *The Savannas of Varinas*, p.76-8. Later (p.159) Vowell wrote that if a group of Creoles saw some Indians drowning, they ‘would not have thought it worth while to pull an oar to save them’.

⁸⁸ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, pp.136-7. On a later occasion (p.201), Don Beltrán’s fever was described as worsening considerably when he stopped taking the treatment prescribed to him by an Indian doctor, and took the pills of a Creole doctor instead. Like Vowell, Hippisley allowed a place in his narrative for indigenous soldiers to take an active part in events. Chamberlain, referred to throughout the poem as Don Carlos, Governor of Barcelona, was described sending out an Indian to entice the Loyalists into combat. The man in question was ‘Antonio Pérez (since baptism) nam’d, / For deadly hatred to the Spaniards fam’d, - / Faithful and brave, and full of vig’rous grace, / With all the cunning of his tribe and race’. *Siege of Barcelona*, p.96.

⁸⁹ *The Savannas of Varinas*, p.163.

⁹⁰ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, p.133-4. This applied to blacks as well as indigenous people – see for example pp.160-2.

Venezuelan society, one which was much more sympathetic to its diversity and complexity than any of the volunteer chronicles.

Richard Vowell positioned himself in his novels as an impartial observer of the Wars of Independence and the individual stories within them, unlike the many partisan chronicles written by other adventurers. Vowell adopted a neutral tone in *The Savannas of Varinas*, often quoting his characters directly.⁹¹ In *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, each episode was placed within the context of European literature, beginning with an epigram in some way related to the story which followed. The derivation of these quotes reveals Vowell's literary direction and aspirations. There were six from Shakespeare and six from Walter Scott, and four each from Thomas More and Lord Byron.⁹² Like Hippiusley, Vowell attempted to give his fictions an air of authenticity by regularly leaving Spanish words untranslated. In this way, both authors displayed the European erudition which they believed qualified them to describe events from a neutral distance. Vowell described some Spanish merchants as *merca-chifles*, and referred to an unnamed character as *Don Fulano de Tal*, the equivalent of the English 'Mr Bloggs'.⁹³ Hippiusley often left in Spanish words he associated with the llaneros, such as *tasso*, *lasso*, *cuchillos*, and *viande*.⁹⁴

The South American setting allowed Vowell to employ techniques closer in resemblance to Cervantes' experiments with unreliable narrators than Walter Scott's Romanticism. On one occasion the reader followed some thirsty characters to a lake, only then to discover moments later that it was in fact a mirage.⁹⁵ On another, one of the character's stories was described by the narrator as unreliable 'tough yarn' – the reader was left doubting whether the narrator was trustworthy at all.⁹⁶ In *The Savannas of Varinas*, Vowell took

⁹¹ See for example *The Savannas of Varinas*, pp.115-22.

⁹² The Shakespeare plays referenced were *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Midsummer's Night Dream*, *Othello*, *Henry IV* and *Romeo and Juliet*. The Walter Scott works were *Marmion* (three times), *Lady of the Lake* (twice), and one un-sourced quotation. The Byron poems were *Don Juan*, *The Siege of Corinth*, *Beppo* and *The Corsair*.

⁹³ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, p.13, pp.227-8.

⁹⁴ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.116.

⁹⁵ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, pp.97-100. Cervantes played the same trick in *Don Quixote Part Two*.

⁹⁶ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, p.142.

his appropriation of the Venezuelan landscape so far as to speak directly for its inhabitants. Where in *Soldiers of Venezuela* locally-born characters were so silent as to be virtually anonymous throughout the text, in *The Savannas of Varinas*, whole chapters were presented as being told by the characters themselves. There were narratives spoken by a Loyalist Creole officer (Chapter 3), an Orinoco fisherman (Chapter 11), a freed slave hacienda worker (Chapter 18), and a guerrilla chief (Chapter 19). Vowell's style and literary techniques, as well as his subject matter and sympathies, were all influenced by his time in Hispanic America.

Vowell's perspective on the Wars of Independence was therefore far removed from the simple moral of *Soldiers of Venezuela*. The anonymous author had argued that because of the superiority of his values, an Englishman's bravery, ambition and spirit would always be rewarded. This was perhaps in keeping with some of the rhetoric surrounding the recruitment of the volunteer expeditions in 1817. In contrast, Vowell's *The Earthquake in Caraccas* proposed that good works and intentions were dependent on fate, and that an Englishman had no God-given entitlement to the rewards of adventure in foreign lands. In a cumbersome dénouement, Carlos, the principal character, reaped what he had sown. At a crucial moment, an Indian woman, to whom Carlos had regularly given alms in the street, appeared as if by magic to enable his escape from Loyalists.⁹⁷ The final chapter hurried along at great speed in an attempt to tie up several loose ends, until concluding in a conventional (arranged) marriage. Rather than an exercise in demonstrating the superiority of English values, *The Earthquake of Caraccas* was a more complicated novel, much more interested in Venezuela and Venezuelans.⁹⁸ It demonstrated the degree to which the author's experiences in Venezuela had changed his perceptions of distant lands – perhaps making a simple happy ending that much more difficult. What is not known is how the novel's readers received such ideas. The very rarity of the novels

⁹⁷ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, pp.138-9.

⁹⁸ *The Earthquake of Caraccas*, p.317.

today, and the fact that no second editions were printed at the time, indicates that their circulation was not large. Moreover, they did not inspire legions of imitators.⁹⁹

Perhaps one reason for the novels' limited popularity was that they subverted the themes and interests of early nineteenth-century imperial literature. In *Imperial Eyes* Mary Louise Pratt analysed the relationship between sex and slavery in the sentimental travel literature to which Vowell's novels, especially, could have related. The texts analysed by Pratt delighted in descriptions of Dutch, French and Spanish cruelty to slaves, yet counter-pointed them with idealised romances between white men and black or mulatto women.¹⁰⁰ Pratt argued that

the legitimisation crisis provoked by abolitionism and American Wars of Independence called for imagining worlds beyond slavery and military conquest. It is easy to see transracial love plots as imaginings in which European supremacy is guaranteed by affective and social bonding; in which sex replaces slavery as the way others are seen to belong to the white man; in which romantic love rather than filial servitude or force guarantees the wilful submission of the colonised ... the allegory of romantic love mystifies exploitation out of the picture.¹⁰¹

Consistent with Pratt's argument, in the fictions studied here women repeatedly occupied a passive, subordinate position. In *Siege of Barcelona* the town's women sheltered from the fighting in the church. Those who had previously demonstrated signs of heroism were portrayed as returning to their natural condition, as 'traces of tears are on those lovely cheeks —/ The heroine ... is woman now'.¹⁰² Vowell was similarly emphatic. He wrote that 'even the women among the uncivilised Indians, seldom fail to remember what they owe to the honour of their husbands and their tribe; and struggle in silence against the most fearful calamities, rather than disgrace the wives and mothers of warriors, by tears and lamentations'.¹⁰³

Whilst in a footnote Hippiusley admitted that going into battle was 'not an unusual thing with the South American women', even then their position in battle was said to be

⁹⁹ The next British fictionalisations of Latin America concentrated on the Caribbean islands, perpetuating stories of pirates, slavery and shipwreck. See for example, Michael Scott, *Tom Cringle's Log*, (Edinburgh, 1833), and Wilkie Collins and Charles Dickens, *The Perils of Certain English Prisoners*, (London, 1857).

¹⁰⁰ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp.89-90.

¹⁰¹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p.96.

¹⁰² *Siege of Barcelona*, p.120.

¹⁰³ *The Savannas of Varinas*, p.290.

confined to 'cheering on the men'.¹⁰⁴ Hippiusley presented these conventional gender roles as being passed down from more heroic times. He described how Chamberlain would pass an evening with his Venezuelan wife,

... and from a book
A tale of ancient chivalry [he] would read,
In which some noble paladin did bleed
For love of damsel in th' unequal fight;
And much such tales would Isabel delight;
Nor dreamt she then, the fiction that she priz'd
Was doomed to be so fully realis'd!¹⁰⁵

The relationship between Charles Chamberlain and his wife Eulalia Ramos described in Hippiusley's *Siege of Barcelona* could be interpreted along the lines set out by Pratt.¹⁰⁶ Yet the other works considered here do not fit Pratt's analysis. *Soldiers of Venezuela* presented the only fulfilling love interest possible as being between Englishmen and Englishwomen, and *The Savannas of Barinas* and *The Earthquake of Caraccas* both told stories of love between male and female Creoles. For Vowell, during the Wars of Independence, race was not a barrier to be overcome through literary love. Instead, both his novels dealt with the escapades associated with love between men and women who found themselves on opposing sides of the divide between Independents and Loyalists.¹⁰⁷ The novels hence avoided what Pratt termed the inevitable dénouement of 'cultural harmony through romance', in which 'the lovers are separated, the European is re-absorbed by Europe, and the non-European dies an early death'.¹⁰⁸ In the more optimistic spirit of Vowell's novels, reconciliation was possible, and a peaceful future beckoned for both couples. The novels seem to fit more easily into Franco's analysis of nineteenth-century Hispanic American literature, in which the reader 'discover[s] a repeated plot pattern – that of love thwarted by class or racial divisions', although in Vowell's fictions,

¹⁰⁴ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.121.

¹⁰⁵ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.123.

¹⁰⁶ For a standard eulogy to Eulalia Ramos, see General José Dolores Monsalve, *Las mujeres de la revolución de la independencia*, (Bogotá, 1926), p.78, echoed in Claire Brewster, 'Women of Revolutionary Spanish America: Engendering Independence Working Paper 1', www.art.man.ac.uk/Lacs/research/genderworkone.pdf, footnote 153.

¹⁰⁷ Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America*, (Berkeley, Calif., 1991).

¹⁰⁸ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p.97.

the division was marked by ideology (the taking of sides in civil war) rather than strict class or race lines.¹⁰⁹

Other affectionate relationships described in Vowell and Hippiisley's fictionalised re-imaginings of South America dealt with Pratt's second concern, slavery. Again, the authors' experiences in the Wars of Independence meant that they subverted the conventional tropes analysed by Pratt. Male slaves who chose to continue serving their former masters out of loyalty, friendship and gratitude featured in both *The Savannas of Varinas* and *Siege of Barcelona*. The former contained two such examples. The first was a minor character, an unnamed slave who offered to follow his master and mistress 'all over the world, without a salary or any recompense, rather than stay here to work on the hacienda'.¹¹⁰ The second was 'Perucho', a freed slave modelled on the historical figure of Negro Primero, who became the manager of a llano estate and later the loyal right-hand-man of José Antonio Páez.¹¹¹ *Siege of Barcelona* featured two slaves remaining loyal to their masters after being granted freedom. One of them, Gomez, was one of the poem's principal characters, a 'swarthy Afric' who Hippiisley noted had been a 'typically' humanely treated Spanish American slave. So much so, that when his 'kind' master had died, 'the freedom he bequeathed no joy supplied' and Gomez continued to serve his master's daughter (who subsequently became Chamberlain's wife and was called 'Isabel' throughout the poem).¹¹² The third and final canto focused in some detail on Gomez, in which he was describing as fighting

like the rous'd lion of his native clime,
With mane erect, and jaws distilling slime,
That onwards bounds, regardless of each foe ...¹¹³

While the black man was shown fighting like an animal, Chamberlain in contrast stood amidst his 'gallant band' of men, exhorting them to keep their courage and hope alive.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Franco, *Spanish American Literature Since Independence*, p.61.

¹¹⁰ Vowell, *The Savannas of Varinas*, p.130

¹¹¹ Vowell, *The Savannas of Varinas*, pp.223-4. For the soldier known as Negro Primero see Páez, *Autobiografía*, pp.249-51. For the role of black slaves in Venezuelan Independence, see Lombardi, 'Los esclavos negros en las guerras venezolanas de la independencia', pp.153-66.

¹¹² *Siege of Barcelona*, p.135.

¹¹³ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.137.

In the last instance, Chamberlain and Gomez joined the civilians and women sheltered in the church. A death here 'at the altar's base' was depicted as being an end fit for 'patriots, worthy of the sacred place'.¹¹⁵ Inspired by the religious scene, Chamberlain's men were encouraged to fight to the last. The Englishman handed 'Colombia's standard' to Gomez, who was said to 'receive the charge with pride'. Once again, Gomez' bravery was contrasted with the cowardice of many white soldiers:

Within that sable breast there beats a heart
That well could act the gallant Roman's part,
Tho' pale-fac'd scions of less ardent skies
Too oft his colour and his race despise.¹¹⁶

In contrast to Gomez' heroic and patriotic exertions, Isabel's honour was only seen in passive terms. For her, 't'were better though to fall by friendly hands,/ Than wait for the advent of those rabid bands'.¹¹⁷ Chamberlain therefore shot Isabel, then himself, and their servant Gomez lay down to die of his wounds beside them. These deaths were portrayed as ultimately honourable:

Her love of honour, dearer than life,
She dies in purity – a spotless wife!
He, by whose hand the sacrifice is wrought,
Bereav'd of her, esteems existence nought!¹¹⁸

While each of the trio displayed honour in this episode, Isabel was allowing herself to be killed to protect her honour, and Gomez' honour was that of a brave and loyal servant. Both of their identities were defined by Hippisley in relation to that of the honourable Englishman, Chamberlain. In particular, Gomez' patriotic death (like Perucho's in *The Savannas of Varinas*) subverted the conventions of the romantic stories studied by Pratt. Both Chamberlain and Gomez were presented as fundamental to 'sustaining the standard'

¹¹⁴ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.146.

¹¹⁵ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.148.

¹¹⁶ *Siege of Barcelona*, pp.156-7. The battle's conclusion brought a bloody picture of savagery, in which (p.162) '... scattered brains bespread the marble floor/ Already slippery with human gore'. So when Hippisley emphasised the free black man's agency and his free status, he did so in colourful fashion. With an axe-blow Gomez killed a Spaniard attempting to murder Chamberlain's wife, and (p.163) 'the sever'd head its ghastly eye-balls roll,/ As if still seeking the enfranchis'd soul'.

¹¹⁷ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.158.

¹¹⁸ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.165.

of national emancipation.¹¹⁹ This was a considerable development from *Soldiers of Venezuela*. While Venezuela was still seen as a 'landscape for adventure', the possibility that Venezuelans could also be adventurous was acknowledged, and on occasions celebrated. The experiences of the authors meant that their fictions, when contrasted with *Soldiers of Venezuela* and the texts discussed in *Imperial Eyes*, showed a distinct separation from the conventional concepts and resolutions of contemporary travel literature and sentimental fiction. Whilst the impact on a wider reading public was therefore limited, these fictions reveal how the encounter between British and Irish volunteers and Venezuelan society, in this case, caused substantial transformation of race, class and gendered identities.

Religion

In *Siege of Barcelona*, the manly white hero Chamberlain was presented as having made the ultimate sacrifice, by killing his wife and then himself in order to save their honour. This image of Chamberlain and Eulalia Ramos was one of the most popular myths from the early period of the Wars of Independence amongst Creoles and volunteers alike. It appealed to the imagination of Catholics and Protestants, Spaniards and Hispanic Americans, and Britons and Irishmen.¹²⁰ The persistence of the legend supports Benedict Anderson's argument that sacrifice could be the centrepiece of nationalist sentiment largely because it was able to inherit diverse religious traditions.¹²¹ Hippisley's use of the story harked back to the retired volunteers' concern with having 'sacrificed their youth' in Colombia. The language of 'sacrifice' had deep religious roots, and the 'clash' of religious denominations may have seemed an obvious interpretative tool to use in Chapters 2-6, given that the volunteers came from across Britain and Ireland, to a predominantly Catholic continent that previously had only limited interaction with Protestant men. But of the 3,013 records on the database, only 195 had their religious denomination recorded in the documentation: 150 as Catholics, 45 as Protestants. This

¹¹⁹ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.163.

¹²⁰ See for example James Mudie Spence, *The Land of Bolivar; or War, Peace and Adventure in the Republic of Venezuela*, (London, 1878), pp.85-7; José Dolores Monsalve, *Las mujeres de la revolución de la independencia*, p.78.

¹²¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp.144-8. For further discussion of this section of the poem, see Matthew Brown, 'Inca, Sailor, Soldier, King'.

information largely came from the AGI in the form of Loyalist interrogations of Independent prisoners. Some doubt was therefore cast upon the reliability of this information, in that volunteers may have simply claimed to be Catholic in order to avoid the wrath of the feared Spanish Inquisition. Similarly, in the early stages of the Wars of Independence volunteer officers stressed their Catholic background in order to join the Independents. John Devereux claimed to be ‘a member of one of the British empire’s oldest and most noble Catholic families’ who had left Ireland because of ‘religious persecution’.¹²² The only priest recorded as accompanying the volunteers was Devereux’s friend Father O’Mullan. Pastoral care was even less accessible for the Protestant volunteers, who had to manage with just the ministrations of their officers.¹²³ Subsequent evangelists who reached Colombia in the mid 1820s had no concern for the religious needs of the volunteer soldiers, concentrating instead on selling Bibles for the education of the Catholic population.¹²⁴

Yet far from being ‘impious adventurers’, religion underscored most of the activities described thus far.¹²⁵ British private soldiers and non-commissioned officers swore to tell the truth in court by placing their hand on the bible – interpreters noted that this was ‘the manner accustomed by those of their nation’.¹²⁶ Others kissed the Bible before beginning their testimony. In contrast, officers like Rupert Hand showed where their loyalties lay, by swearing their oaths with one hand on their sword, not the Bible.¹²⁷ The practicalities of burying dead volunteers brought many of these issues into the open.¹²⁸ While Catholic volunteers could be buried in the same places as their Venezuelan counterparts, the

¹²² Devereux to Crisanto Valenzuela, Secretary of State of the United Provinces of New Granada, 16th June 1815, Bogotá, in *Memorias de O’Leary*, Vol.14, pp.257-9.

¹²³ See Hippisley’s reluctant involvement in religious ceremonies, see *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.309.

¹²⁴ James Thompson, *Letters on the moral and religious state of South America, written during a residence of nearly seven years in Buenos Aires, Chile, Peru and Colombia*, (London, 1827).

¹²⁵ It is a topic that has also eluded much of the historiography, as in Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, pp.235-7. For the Church, see Lynch, ‘Revolution as a Sin’, pp.109-33. For the post-war period, see essays in Austen Ivereigh, ed., *The Politics of Religion in an Age of Revival*, (London, 2000).

¹²⁶ As in AGNV GDG, Vol.12, ff.167-184.

¹²⁷ Testimony of Rupert Hand, 6th October 1820, Angostura, AGNV GDG, Vol.12, f.179.

¹²⁸ This was also the case later in the nineteenth century, see Luis Martínez Fernández, ‘Crypto-Protestants and Pseudo-Catholics in the nineteenth century Hispanic Caribbean’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical Studies*, 51:2 (April 2000), pp.360-4.

corpses of Protestant men were often thrown into the river or sea.¹²⁹ At Angostura, many of the British and Irish who died from yellow fever were buried in outlying fields well away from the churchyard where Catholics were buried, and their deaths were not officially recorded by the local authorities.¹³⁰ Protestant officers often fared better in death, especially high-ranking ones like *General English*, who was buried with great ceremony at Juan Griego.¹³¹ But burial was not just contentious for Protestants. In 1827, the authorities in Bogotá declined to bury the Catholic Dutch consul Von Steurs, who had been killed in the irreligious activity of duelling. His friends eventually retrieved his corpse at midnight, seven hours after his death, and arranged a private burial.¹³²

The multifarious religious affiliations of the volunteers have often confounded attempts to categorise them. The officers killed in the reconquest of Riohacha on 4th November 1819 had formed part of Gregor MacGregor's expedition. Because he had been informed that most of MacGregor's men were Catholic, the Loyalist officer charged with detailing the dead presumed that they were French.¹³³ Comparing the approximations to the names of the prisoners given by this officer with the database of volunteers, shows that all of those who can be traced were actually Scottish or Irish, and not French.

¹²⁹ For the case of *Teniente* Michael Plunkett see Hippisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.261.

¹³⁰ Brown, *Narrative of the Expedition to South America*, pp.148-55. The surviving records for the government of the Guayana region in this period (AGNV GDG, Vols.1-13) make no reference whatsoever to the burial of Protestant volunteers, despite the large amounts of documentation created in relation to their many illnesses.

¹³¹ Lambert, 'La Muerte y Entierro del General English', pp.355-76.

¹³² See Scott, *Mary English*, pp.178-82, and Posada, *Apostillas*, p.198.

¹³³ José Solís, 'N.1º. Lista de los que se han podido alberguar murieron quemados y de balas en el Castillo de San Jorge en día once del pasado de octubre', Riohacha, 21st October 1819, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745. The document is published, with some transcription errors, in Friede, 'La expedición de Mac-Gregor a Riohacha', pp.71-4, and Elías Ortiz, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Colombia*, pp.272-3. I have been unable to find a positive match for *Mayor Blequincel*, *Mayor Margar*, *Capitán Borne*, *Capitán Estendin*, *Capitán Quibencen*, and *Tenientes Witertorn*, *Marga*, *Gelpent*, *Jul*, *Jatorne*, *Martin*, and *Carchets*.

Figure 7.1: Ascertaining the Identity of MacGregor's 'French' Volunteers

Name	Rank	<i>Patria</i> in AGI Cuba 745	Probable Identity	Source
Er	<i>General</i>	"	<i>General</i> Thomas Eyre, from Co. Galway.	Rafter, <i>Memoirs</i> , p.421.
Borel	<i>Coronel</i>	France	<i>Coronel</i> Burrell, Scottish.	According to the <i>Dublin Evening Post</i> , 28 th December 1819, Burrell was able to escape to Jamaica.
Adquicon	<i>Mayor</i>	"	<i>Mayor</i> Atkinson, Scottish.	Rafter, <i>Memoirs</i> , p.323.
Grande	<i>Capitán</i>	"	<i>Capitán</i> Grant, Scottish.	Rafter, <i>Memoirs</i> , p.421.
Bruin	<i>Capitán</i>	"	Commissary-Clerk Brown, Irish.	Rafter, <i>Memoirs</i> , p.421.
Gol	<i>Capitán</i>	"	<i>Teniente</i> Hull, British.	Rafter, <i>Memoirs</i> , p.421.
Parmar	<i>Teniente</i>	"	<i>Teniente</i> Christopher Palmer, Irish.	Rafter, <i>Memoirs</i> , p.422 noted that Palmer escaped. Palmer was recorded serving on 'La Venezuela' throughout 1824 in AGNC R GYM Vol.363, ff.850-936.

The substantial gaps in the archival record mean that it is impossible to state with any accuracy the proportion of Catholics and Protestants in the volunteer expeditions as a whole. Neither is there any record of the variety of Protestant denominations and evangelicalism that prospered in Britain at this time, and which scholarship has shown to have caused tensions in other British armed forces.¹³⁴ Only occasionally did these issues enter the documentation, usually in scarce private correspondence. In the officers' drinking club attended by Robert Young, the only taboos were 'religious and political questions'.¹³⁵ Later, *Coronel* George Augustus Lowe wrote that Rafael Urdaneta had a 'Quakerish tongue', and Mariano Montilla accused John Devereux of being a 'vain Methodist'.¹³⁶ In a drunken dispute over a card game in a Bogotá bar in 1826, *Capitán* Henry Macmanus accused *Cabo* Jacob Teeson of being 'a cheating Jew'.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Olive Anderson, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *English Historical Review*, 86 (1971) pp.46-72; H.J. Hanham, 'Religion and Nationality in the mid-Victorian army', in M.R.D. Foot, ed., *War and Society: Historical Essays in Honour and Memory of J.R. Western 1928-71*, (London, 1973), pp.159-81; Bartlett, 'A weapon of war as yet untried', pp.66-85; C.A Bayley, 'Ireland, India and the Empire 1780-1914', *TRHS*, 6th Series, Vol.10 (2000), pp.377-98.

¹³⁵ Young, 'Diary of the Voyage of Robert James Young', p.8.

¹³⁶ [Lowe], 'A brief sketch of operations', *English Papers*, HA157/6/28; Montilla to Bolívar, 20th August 1820, Soledad, reproduced in *General de División Mariano de Montilla*, Vol.1, p.572. See also the sardonic

Returned volunteers' memoirs often described a large religious divide that separated them from local populations. One complained that 'the priesthood in Barcelona ... had taught that we English were ... savages, cannibals ... that nature had been so bountiful as to furnish us with tails like monkeys'.¹³⁸ These stories owed much to conventional travel narratives and to the so-called Black Legend of Spanish cruelty. Anglican officers' 'residual hostility to popery' was blamed for the many 'cultural problems' that marred the Peninsular War.¹³⁹ The fictionalised accounts examined above also fell back on these conventions – Hippiusley had Morales describe Chamberlain as a 'craven heretic'.¹⁴⁰ Similar denominational antagonism was revealed in Vowell's comments on the Capuchin missionaries of the Orinoco, whom he consistently described as '*conquistadores de almas*' [conquerors of souls].¹⁴¹ Hispanic American documentary sources and chroniclers provide little evidence to illuminate the issue, perhaps because the actual Protestants who joined the volunteer expeditions did little to offend their religious sensibilities beyond the pillaging and looting that was common to soldiers of all denominations.

Perhaps because of the influence of Hispanic American society on its author, Richard Vowell gave *The Savannas of Varinas* a markedly (unifying) religious tone to its ending, accepting the stabilising effect that the Catholic Church could have on Venezuelan society. Upon the confirmation of an Independent victory, the church bells began to chime once more, and the 'old priest took up his position with all the pomp and pride of a town mayor'. The priest then invited all the returned *emigrados* to celebrate mass with

references to prospective immigrants who might be '*quakercitos, irlandesitos*' in a letter signed by 'El Anti-Mago', 24th September 1821, Bogotá, published in *Gazeta de Santafé de Bogotá*, 7th October 1820.

¹³⁷ Testimony of Macmanus, 7th March 1826, Bogotá, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 60, f.902.

¹³⁸ [Cowley], *Recollections of a Service of Three Years*, p.80. See also Vowell, *Campaigns and Cruises*, p.20. Vowell was often scathing and ironic towards Roman Catholicism. In a footnote to *Campaigns and Cruises* (pp.466-7) he revealed that 'I found on one occasion, in the library, of the *Cura de Zipaquirá*, a Spanish edition of 'Gulliver's Travels'. An *Aviso al Lector* is prefixed, in which the Catholic reader is reminded, that the work was written by a heretic Dean, which, the editor gravely observes, accounts for the many glaring and wilful deviations from truth to be found in these travels. He also apologises for having substituted another name for that given by Swift to the flying island; that in the original English being, as he justly observes, highly indelicate, and unfit for Spanish readers. Qu[estion]: Did Swift know the meaning of Lapúta?'

¹³⁹ Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p.156, p.200.

¹⁴⁰ *Siege of Barcelona*, p.46. The author of *Soldiers of Venezuela*, Vol.1, p.115, presented the volunteer expeditions as above religion, 'unbiased by sects and independent of prejudices'.

¹⁴¹ *The Savannas of Varinas*, p.295.

him to formalise the happy ending of their journey.¹⁴² Vowell's sympathies may have been revealed by the preceding section, in which Páez rewarded the distinguished Independent officer Andrés with the lands that had previously belonged to his Loyalist father. The plains of Venezuela were hence restored to the same peace and order that Vowell imagined they had enjoyed before the wars. Patrilineal property ownership was maintained, lances were put away, and the *patria* could enjoy the liberty and Independence sealed at Carabobo. The Church formed a part of that stability, and Vowell did not object.

Other sources support the conclusion that volunteers overlooked their denominational differences in order not to undermine social and racial hierarchies. In 1819 the *Correo del Orinoco* reproduced a report from Trinidad of a Catholic mass in honour of the Protestant British Queen. The editor noted that such religious tolerance and approximation had also occurred in the Peninsular War in Spanish/British armies, and was to be admired.¹⁴³ Soon afterwards, the *Correo del Orinoco* reported the presence of British Officers at a *Misa de Gracias* and *Te Deum* to celebrate the anniversary of Venezuelan Independence, which they seem to have continued to do throughout the wars.¹⁴⁴

The possibility that such religious ceremonies were often more for prestige than prayer was illustrated in a caricature (Figure 7.2), presumably sketched by a British officer.¹⁴⁵ In this rare visual depiction of life with the Independents, Simón Bolívar was drawn on his knees at a pew in a church, reading a newspaper. Behind him sat Daniel O'Leary, sipping a cup of coffee. O'Leary's black servant attended in case his master should require further assistance during the service. Another of Bolívar's aides-de-camp, Diego Ibarra, was shown as more devoted in his worship.

¹⁴² *The Savannas of Varinas*, p.365.

¹⁴³ *Correo del Orinoco*, 20th February 1819.

¹⁴⁴ *Correo del Orinoco*, 24th April 1819. See for example Morgan O'Connell to Daniel O'Connell, 25th August 1820, Barranquilla, reproduced in *Dublin Evening Post*, 28th November 1820.

¹⁴⁵ Anonymous sketch of Bolívar, O'Leary, Ibarra and servant, undated, FJB. A comment hand-written above the scene, in English and in the same hand as the name-captions, reads: 'This was the attitude in which they were seen at mass one day in Guayaquil. The Liberator reading a newspaper, O'Leary taking a cup of coffee which his servant had brought him, and Ibarra striking the *mea culpa* on his heart from behind'. The presence of all three in Guayaquil makes 1822 the likely date of composition, around the time of Bolívar's interview with José de San Martín.

Figure 7.2: At Prayer in Guayaquil



Consistent with this indifference to religious sensibilities, in March 1821, the *Correo del Orinoco* featured its first (and only) piece of fictionalised religious satire:

Our Father, who are in Madrid, detested be thy name; let your reign end soon, and that your will may not be done, nor in this land nor in any other. Leave us our daily bread, forgive us the desires we have to be free, just as we forgive those who have sacrificed themselves in your name, and do not make us bear your oppression any longer. But free us Lord, for the good of you and yours – Amen.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ *Correo del Orinoco*, 14th April 1821. The Spanish original was 'ORACIÓN: Padre nuestro, que estás en Madrid, bien detestado sea tu nombre; acábese mui pronto tu reinado, no se haga tu voluntad ni en esta tierra ni en otra ninguna. Déjanos nuestro pan cotidiano, perdónanos los deseos que tenemos de ser libres, asi como nosotros perdonamos a los que nos han sacrificado en tu nombre, y no nos hagas sentir más tu opresión; mas librános, Señor, para siempre de ti y de los tuyos – Amen'. This satirical prayer could have been written by one of the British volunteers present in Angostura at the time. The explicit association of excessive religion with Spain later recurred in the Colombian bilingual press in the 1820s. Religious tolerance was presented as an essential tool in demonstrating to the world how tolerant Colombia was. An editorial in *El Constitucional* – itself closely linked to the Colombian Bible Society – proposed that if the Bible Society's plan to distribute copies of the Bible should evoke opposition, 'then we will be under the necessity of classing the people of Colombia with the most uncivilised people of the world'. *El*

In 1826 Gregor MacGregor claimed that his intention had always been to ‘convert the numerous indigenous tribes of the plains to our sacred Catholic faith’.¹⁴⁷ The experiences of the volunteers showed that, despite MacGregor’s rhetoric, for most adventurers religious differences were neither insurmountable nor of great concern. Tolerance was based more on a lack of enthusiasm to enforce distinctions than any genuine commitment to a doctrine of tolerance. Although it was seldom made explicit, conceptions of honour, service, sacrifice, belonging and loyalty were all suffused with a non-denominational Christian sentiment.¹⁴⁸

The Foreigner-Citizen Debate

At the same time that Vowell and Hippisley were back in Britain and Ireland composing their fictions, there was a debate in Colombia over the place to be occupied by foreigners within the new republic. This was part of a wider evaluation of the scope of citizenship in the republic.¹⁴⁹ At no time were issues of religion brought into the discussion. Before there could be any full-scale consideration of the desirability of the integration of foreigners in the republic, or the emulation of their ways of life, as traced by Frédéric Martínez, the Bogotá and Caracas elites needed to decide who those foreigners were.¹⁵⁰ Examination of this debate helps to clarify some of the longer-term developments examined in the previous two chapters involving themes of belonging, origin, race, military service, manliness and honour. While Chapter 4 examined the period leading up to 1822, patriotic and republican identities had markedly changed upon the completion of

Constitucional, 31st March 1825. Generally supportive of Vice-President Santander’s moves to diminish the power of the Catholic Church, *El Constitucional* was later (25th August 1825) critical of clergymen continuing to be involved in political life as congressmen.

¹⁴⁷ MacGregor to Bolívar, 24th December 1826, London, in *Memorias de O’Leary*, Vol.12, pp.240-2.

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion of the way religious feeling ‘permeated all aspects of thought’ in Britain in the period, see Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought 1785-1865*, (Oxford, 1988), p.ix.

¹⁴⁹ For this debate see Hebrard, ‘Patricio o soldado: ¿qué uniforme para el ciudadano? El hombre de armas en la construcción de la nación (Venezuela, primera mitad del siglo XIX)’, *Revista de Indias*, 225:62 (2002), pp.429-62, particularly p.443, p.450, and Armando Martínez Garnica, ‘El debate legislativo por las calidades ciudadanas en el regimen representativo del Estado de la Nueva Granada (1821-1853)’, *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, 90:821 (April-May-June 2003) pp.241-63.

¹⁵⁰ Martínez, ‘Apogeo y decadencia del ideal de la inmigración europea en Colombia’, pp.3-45, and at greater length, in Martínez, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita*. The principal source on the first immigration schemes is ‘Colección de documentos sobre inmigración de extranjeros, reimpresos de la *Gaceta de la Nueva Granada*, no.611, del 13 de septiembre de 1847’, (Bogotá, 1847).

the Wars of Independence. Thus began a process in which ‘foreigners’ attempted to hold on to their position as ‘Colombians’, in which they were contested by other sectors in society who wished to exclude them.

This section is largely based upon a close study of Colombian newspapers, and especially those whose readership included foreigners. From its inception in 1818, Bolívar’s *Correo del Orinoco* (published in Angostura) regularly featured English translations of its principal reports and editorials. In 1822 the bilingual newspaper *El Anglo-Colombiano* was published in Caracas under the editorship of an adventurer, Francis Hall. Hall later edited *El Quiteño Libre* in 1833.¹⁵¹ Within a few months of Hall leaving Caracas *El Anglo-Colombiano* had become *El Venezolano* and its editorial policy correspondingly less accommodating towards foreigners. Between 1823 and 1826 Edward Stopford edited *El Colombiano* in Caracas, another bilingual paper. From 1825 Leandro Miranda (the English-born friend of many volunteers, and son of Francisco de Miranda) edited *El Constitucional* in Bogotá, devoting one-third of each issue to material in English.¹⁵²

The Colombian press had long printed criticism of individual foreigners where it saw fit. This did not just apply to major figures such as Devereux and MacGregor – the *Correo del Orinoco* reported in March 1821 that a *Mayor Powell* had left Angostura because he was a ‘useless coward’.¹⁵³ Just over a year later, and not long after it lost its British editor, *El Anglo-Colombiano* published a ‘Description of England’. Whilst re-iterating contemporary praise of this ‘paradise of liberty’, it was by no means uncritical. It argued that *ingleses* had excessive confidence in their perceived rights, were over-enthusiastic in proclaiming those rights overseas, and that this exuberance had led to unjustified wars and unnecessary conflicts in foreign lands. This article marked a turning-point in attitudes towards foreigners in Colombia. It was the first wholesale criticism of Anglophone foreigners as a group, rather than as individuals, since the rebellion of the Irish Legion at

¹⁵¹ *El Quiteño Libre* has been excellently analysed in Diego Pérez Ordóñez, ‘*El Quiteño Libre*’: *El más espectacular periódico de oposición de la República*, (Quito, 1999).

¹⁵² The standard introduction to the Colombian press is Bushnell, ‘The Development of the Press in Great Colombia’, *HAHR*, 30:3 (1950) pp.432-452, which built on Gustavo Otero Muñoz, *Historia del periodismo en Colombia* (no date), BNC, Fondo José María Quijano Otero.

¹⁵³ *Correo del Orinoco*, 3rd March 1821.

Riohacha in 1820.¹⁵⁴ Here, rather than blaming one ‘national’ grouping (the Irish), it was ‘foreign’ characteristics that were seen as potentially negative, and this by a newspaper aimed at the commercial sectors of society that included foreign residents.

High-ranking military officials withstood this change. In late 1822, in response to a Loyalist decree threatening all foreigners in the Independent forces with the death penalty, Pedro Briceño Méndez ridiculed anyone making a distinction between ‘Colombian’ and ‘foreign’ troops. He claimed that ‘either they are foreigners, or they are Colombians. There is no middle way between these two’.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, Briceño Méndez accused Morales of trying to start another War to the Death on ethnic grounds.

One year later, the press debated the rights that foreigners could expect in Colombia. In an editorial *El Colombiano* responded to its rival *El Iris*, which had claimed that whilst a citizen of Colombia could not be forced to leave the country, a foreigner had no intrinsic right to stay. *El Colombiano* argued that foreigners and citizens had ‘equal protection’ under the law for their ‘persons and properties’.¹⁵⁶ Sensing that it may have lost the legal argument, in its next issue *El Colombiano* asked ‘what is it to us, under what name the foreigner benefits the state, provided he does benefit it? – does he not pay his taxes, grant contributions, serve in our militia, submit to our laws equally with the citizen?’¹⁵⁷

The foreigner was thus not implicitly imagined as part of the community, but rather contingently upon his perceived utility. The foreigners’ motivations for being in Colombia were not to be questioned: ‘If he gives us but the benefit of his hands and head, let us not examine matters too closely, nor dispute about his heart’.¹⁵⁸ In response to *El Iris*’ allegations of a lack of patriotism amongst men willing to live and work thousands

¹⁵⁴ *El Anglo-Colombiano*, 20th July 1822. In 1826 Andrés Bello wrote a similar article in *El repertorio americano*, in which he stressed that although England may have admirable political institutions, they were the product of very distinctive historical circumstances, and could not be exported to South America. Andrés Bello, *El repertorio americano*, ed. Pedro Grases, Vol.3, (Caracas, 1973), p.255.

¹⁵⁵ Briceño Méndez to Morales, 28th November 1822, Bogotá, reproduced in *Gaceta de Colombia*, 10th November 1822.

¹⁵⁶ *El Colombiano*, 8th October 1823. *El Colombiano* argued that such an expulsion would violate the very law (article 183 of the Constitution) that had ‘already brought thousands of foreigners to our country, and the infringement of which will speedily frighten them out of it. ...’

¹⁵⁷ *El Colombiano*, 15th October 1823.

¹⁵⁸ *El Colombiano*, 15th October 1823.

of miles from their homes (and the alarm and distrust such lack of sentiment should cause), *El Colombiano* hoped that all foreigners would be tied affectionately to Colombia. It held that 'it is the property of human nature to be more attached to the scenes around one, to the immediate objects of ones hopes and affections, than to a distant country, from whence the foreigner may be supposed to have withdrawn all his interests and sympathies'.¹⁵⁹ Returning to its preference for utility over patriotism, it asked,

Where is the mighty danger to the state from his cherishing in secret the love of his native country? Does it render his benefits to ours less substantial? His taxes any less welcome? His services in our militia, and in the hour of common danger less zealous? Or his industry, capital and example less profitable to the state? If there be even cause for alarm or mistrust, it dies with the object of it, whilst the fruits of his industry still continue to enrich our country, and his children are incorporated with the family of Colombia.¹⁶⁰

As argued in Chapter 6, this last point was absolutely fundamental. The incorporation of foreigners' offspring into the Colombian 'family' was seen as useful to Colombian development, on racial, social and cultural grounds, although this was nowhere made explicit. The children of such foreigners would by birth become citizens, and the American environment would make them patriots so that they would henceforth contribute to 'improving' the nation's racial and moral composition. Those remaining volunteers who did not marry into Colombian families were still open to criticism. In 1824, the editor of *El Colombiano* (the ex-volunteer Edward Stopford) was openly attacked for not being a sincere Colombian. His response revealed the heart of the dilemma, arguing that he could 'produce proofs enough were they necessary, of his being as sincere a Colombian as the best of those who have defended the cause; and more so than many, who with few or no claims, are silly enough to boast'.¹⁶¹

Stopford felt that his 'risks' in 'defending the cause' had made him a good Colombian, regardless of his birth or political sympathies. Perhaps his aloofness prompted further allegations of arrogance and lack of patriotism, because the next week, *El Colombiano* published a letter in its English section which expanded further upon some of these

¹⁵⁹ *El Colombiano*, 15th October 1823.

¹⁶⁰ *El Colombiano*, 15th October 1823.

¹⁶¹ *El Colombiano*, 10th March 1824.

themes.¹⁶² Although beginning by purporting to record a conversation with a soldier, this pretence was soon discarded, and the letter was signed – provocatively, as ‘A Citizen’ – by the fictional soldier himself. Because the letter appeared only in the English section, it seems that it was authored by an English speaker, probably Edward Stopford. It contrasted his own services among ‘those who came from Guayana’ against those who served the Loyalists or sought refuge in the Caribbean. Choosing to position patriotism as the result of a journey – from Guayana to Caracas – enabled the author to side-step questions of birth, race, culture and language, while consistently claiming not to be one of ‘those newcomers’. This is consistent with Thibaud’s conclusions on the evolution of a national ‘Colombian’ identity based primarily upon territorial expansion grounded in military success. The author robustly defended his right to consider himself, and to be considered by others, as ‘Colombian’.

But he did not convince. After this intervention, the debate extended so as to reveal some of the fundamental tensions in this period, and *El Venezolano* accused Stopford of being ‘the tool of a faction – [a] mercenary writer’. The charge of being a mercenary seemed laughable to Stopford – who after all had come to Colombia in such a capacity. He ridiculed the claims, arguing that anyone working for pay could be called a mercenary. A mercenary was ‘the agent of a dishonourable cause; who prostitutes his principles for hire; – is paid for supporting doctrines which he does not approve, and making himself a slave to the passions of others’.¹⁶³

For Stopford, the operative part of being a mercenary lay not in the payment of money for services, but rather in whether or not the cause was honourable. The mercenary prostituted not his body, but his principles, and therefore honour was at the centre of the debate, not money. A similar dispute took place in Bogotá. As part of an increasingly

¹⁶² *El Colombiano*, 17th March 1824.

¹⁶³ *El Colombiano*, 24th March 1824. When the Colombian government terminated the contract that the House of Herring, Graham and Powles had to represent it in London (in June 1824), *El Colombiano* could no longer pretend any impartiality. It regretted the decision ‘on account of the general interests of Colombia; [and] we regret it on the score of gratitude. *El Colombiano*, 16th June 1824. The consequences of alliances with foreign businessmen were a recurring theme in opposition discourse in Latin America and the Caribbean. See for example, Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the Great Powers, 1902-1915*, (Baton Rouge, Louis., 1988) for French/German creditors in early twentieth-century Haiti

bitter discussion over the Colombian union of New Granada and Venezuela, Leandro Miranda responded to the accusation that he was ‘paid by a foreign house, and that his opinions are not, therefore, free’. Miranda claimed that his attacker, the editor of *El Conductor*, ‘accepted an engagement with the same parties, relative to this very same paper, and he knows no stipulation whatever was made about the politics he was to advocate’. Beyond such point-scoring, Miranda argued that it did not follow ‘that receiving salaries from a foreign house obliges a man of honour to renounce his duties to his country; for many of unimpeachable integrity do receive salaries from the very same foreign house, who we believe would scorn to lend their assistance to any measure that might even remotely be prejudicial to the Republic’.¹⁶⁴

While the debates discussed up to now were largely between newspaper editors, other volunteers were also occupied with these issues. Having travelled from Quito to Bogotá in June 1825, *Teniente* Phillip Griffith wrote to *El Constitucional* describing himself as ‘a Citizen of London and a servant and a faithful one to the Republic of Colombia’.¹⁶⁵ He named himself as one of the ‘Englishmen ... who have been necessary to the Liberty of South America, a Liberty that I hope will flourish to the end of time’. He asked for clarification as to whether, upon his return to England, men like himself were to be treated as ‘citizen[s] of Colombia free from your enlistments either in the Army or Navy’, or ‘are we to be considered as Englishmen and treated as such?’¹⁶⁶ A year later in a military court in Bogotá, a Creole officer, Felipe Fernando, argued that the remaining foreign volunteers were ‘neither citizens nor full soldiers’, based on the limited paperwork verifying their previous service.¹⁶⁷ Ironically, such an interpretation was aimed at securing the liberty of his client, Jacob Teeson, imprisoned for striking a superior officer, on the grounds that he was not bound by the same military laws as Colombian soldiers.

¹⁶⁴ *El Constitucional*, 9th August 1827. The paragraph discussed here appeared only in the English language section of the paper. No explanation was offered for its non-appearance in the Spanish edition.

¹⁶⁵ *El Constitucional*, 2nd June 1825. Griffith’s passport from Quito to Bogotá, dated March 1825, is preserved in AGNC R GYM, Vol.1447, f.299.

¹⁶⁶ *El Constitucional*, 2nd June 1825.

¹⁶⁷ Testimony of Felipe Fernando in defence of Jacob Teeson, 16th September 1826, Bogotá, AGNC R, Asuntos Criminales, Legajo 96, f.815.

In the first half of the 1820s, the likes of Edward Stopford and Phillip Griffith endeavoured to establish where they stood with regard to the debates about foreigners and citizens. In June 1827, this debate was taken several steps further by Leandro Miranda. In a startling *El Constitucional* editorial, Miranda responded to what he called ‘accusations of servility’, in which sections of the press had criticised his support of Bolívar. Miranda claimed that faith in the ability of Bolívar was the only thing that united many sections of the Colombian population. Turning to the attacks on his own person, he launched a ferocious defence.¹⁶⁸ Miranda claimed that his patriotism was completely unaffected by the coincidence of his English birth. He believed and felt himself to be Colombian, and was astounded that such a thing could be disputed. Unlike Stopford and Griffith, he could point to his father’s disinterested actions in the cause of Independence. His own honourable efforts to cement the Independence of Colombia were buttressed by his patriotic family honour, made most evident by his father’s sacrifices in the cause of Independence, albeit in Caracas. This patriarchal link to the struggle against Spain was completely unavailable to Stopford and Griffith in their claims.

Contemporary events and commentaries revealed a common theme; that even fervent patriots who had fought in the Wars of Independence, and who had been born in the territory of Colombia (let alone English-born officers like Stopford) could no longer be assured that their patriotism would be trusted. Newspapers with links to Bolívar’s government, such as the *Colombiano de Guayas*, began to describe rebellious soldiers as ‘de-naturalised’, questioning the patriotism and inner sentiments of loyalty behind their insubordination.¹⁶⁹ *El Colombiano de Guayas* explained that the uprising of 25th September 1828 against Bolívar had been caused by ‘new men in the American Revolution’, men without talent, intelligence or patriotism.¹⁷⁰ These men were not newly-arrived foreigners, but rather lower-class men, usually military officers who had been brought to national prominence by the upheavals of the period. Foreigners were no longer

¹⁶⁸ *El Constitucional*, 14th June 1827.

¹⁶⁹ *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 9th February 1828. The phrase used was ‘unos pocos militares desnaturalizados’. Complicating matters still further, in this period *El Colombiano de Guayas* was often written by Daniel O’Leary, according to O’Leary’s letter to Rafael Urdaneta, dated Guayaquil, 29th November 1828, reproduced in *Narración*, Vol.3, pp.427-8.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Han sido promovidos por hombres nuevos en la revolución Americana’, *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 25th October 1828.

perceived as the prime threat to the integrity of the new republic. The involvement of 'some foreigners' in rebellions against the government was portrayed as much less dangerous than the insubordination of lower-class men. They were accused of 'having forgotten that they are foreigners in this land, and what they owe this country. Every foreigner who enters a foreign land contracts the obligation to obey the local laws'.¹⁷¹ Nonetheless, as part of the wider reaction to these rebellions, Colombian-ness began to be more aggressively asserted in some sections of the press. 'Foreigners' were therefore an ideal target against which to measure this self-definition. *El Colombiano de Guayas*, for example, was relaunched, stressing that its editors were 'Colombians in origin and in heart', which was an implicit contrast with 'foreign' Colombians like Francis Hall, Daniel O'Leary, and even Leandro Miranda.¹⁷²

Paradoxically, at the same time the idea of the territorial integrity of Colombia was being used to give a firmer base to ideas of patriotism. In March 1824 *El Colombiano* had urged Bolívar and his men not to fight as 'auxiliaries' in Peru, claiming that the gigantic task of carrying war into a 'foreign country' was unnecessary and potentially ruinous. The Peruvians' cause should be fought by Peruvians alone, not Colombians.¹⁷³ Just as Colombians began to question the position of the British and Irish foreigners in their midst, and the generosity or gratitude they were or were not owed by the Colombian state, Colombians found themselves in a similar situation with regard to Peru. Arguing that the victories of Junín and Ayacucho in 1824 had been achieved by Colombian armies, the Colombian government expected gratitude from Peruvians for the 'liberty that they only enjoy because of foreign [i.e., Colombian] generosity'.¹⁷⁴ *El Patriota de Guayaquil* took an opposing perspective due to its view of the 'liberation' of Guayaquil in 1822. It saw the 'Colombian' troops who had entered the city as 'unpatriotic adventurers', and argued that Guayaquil should join the war, but on the side of the Peruvians.¹⁷⁵ Important groups of guayaquileños saw the Colombians as conquerors, not

¹⁷¹ *Gaceta de Colombia* no.379, reproduced in *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 3rd January 1829.

¹⁷² *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 6th August 1829.

¹⁷³ *El Colombiano*, 5th March 1824.

¹⁷⁴ *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 28th June 1828.

¹⁷⁵ *El Patriota de Guayaquil*, 16th May 1829.

liberators, and they resented the forcible annexation of the region to Colombian rule.¹⁷⁶ The conflict represented a first stage of the increasing application in Gran Colombia of the term ‘foreigner’ [*extranjero*] to other Americans, rather than just to Europeans.

One of the most prominent Colombian military officers in the conflict with Peru in the late 1820s was Daniel O’Leary, Bolívar’s loyal friend and ally. On his return from Peru, O’Leary wrote to Bolívar throughout 1829 and 1830, and his letters give an insight into the way one adventurer saw the changes that had occurred in definitions of patriotism, honour and belonging.¹⁷⁷ O’Leary was acutely conscious of their contentious content, begging Bolívar ‘not to let anyone read my letters, and to destroy them when you have read them’.¹⁷⁸ Throughout the letters ran a fear of the loss of manly honour – O’Leary’s own, that of other individuals, and that of Colombia as a nation. Reflecting on Juan José Flores’ ‘solid, strong, vigorous and stable’ government in the South, O’Leary told Carlos Soublette that Flores was ‘a man through and through’ [*es todo un hombre*].¹⁷⁹ Such manly qualities were held to be lacking in other Colombians. O’Leary felt that Flores’ vigorous authority and strong masculinity were a model for Colombia, where ‘everything ... must be reformed, starting with its men’.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ A similar development occurred in Sevilla in 1812 when *General Ballesteros* led a revolt to defend Spanish independence from the domination of its British ‘liberators’. See Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, pp.422-6.

¹⁷⁷ Excluded from the original nineteenth century publication of the *Memorias de O’Leary*, these letters are held in the FJB. According to Pérez Vila’s notes (dated 3rd November 1990) that accompany the manuscripts in the Sección Manuel Antonio Matos, these letters were taken out of the original collection on the orders of Antonio Guzmán Blanco, for fear that they would dirty the image and myth of Bolívar. They subsequently became known as the ‘Lost Appendix’. The FJB took possession of them in the late 1980s. These letters are the ones Pérez Vila referred to not having seen in his original research for *Vida de Daniel Florencio O’Leary*, pp.420-4, basing his interpretation of the Bolívar-O’Leary relationship in this period on Bolívar’s regular replies instead, which are reproduced in Lecuna, *Cartas del Libertador*, Vol.9, pp.47, pp.70-1, pp.81-2, pp.91-2, pp.109-10, p.119, p.144, pp.156-8, pp.184, p.194, p.219, p.220, p.226, p.232.

¹⁷⁸ O’Leary to Bolívar, 5th May 1829, Pasto, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C509.

¹⁷⁹ O’Leary to Soublette, 1st May 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C512. O’Leary’s own emphasis.

¹⁸⁰ O’Leary to Bolívar, 29th June 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C516. Such depreciation of things Colombian was reflected in O’Leary’s continual use of Britain as a standard point of comparison for Colombia’s situation. Such comparison was not always positive. Comparing General La Mar’s presidency in Peru to that of Britain under George III (both were ‘governed by a mad man’) was just one example, O’Leary to Soublette, 1st May 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C512. Worried at seemingly continual civil wars in which ‘Colombians are enemies of Colombians’ he urged reflection and caution, ‘so that Colombia will be respected by the whole world’. O’Leary to Bolívar, 21st June 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Navarro, f.5. See also O’Leary to Bolívar, 28th April 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C511.

These secret letters cast further light on the role that O'Leary played in privately promoting monarchical schemes in Colombia.¹⁸¹ In them, O'Leary demonstrated not an ideological attachment to the monarchical system, but a concern with securing order and stability from the threat of new ideas and new men. He told Bolívar that 'republican forms should be conserved as far as is prudent. But let us secure reality, and not worry about abstractions. If we have a strong and eminently vigorous government, its name is not important'.¹⁸² O'Leary's own masculinity and identity were founded on the established order, his military service and continued loyalty to Simón Bolívar. O'Leary told Bolívar that he felt himself 'embarrassed and dishonoured' when not on active service.¹⁸³ Like the many of the other adventurers, O'Leary claimed to have sacrificed his youth and life for Colombia. He wished to spend 'the few years left to me' at Bolívar's side, 'where I passed a good part of my childhood and my youth – I am now an old man'.¹⁸⁴ O'Leary's whiteness was also an unacknowledged but fundamental constituent of his identity as a Colombian officer. He expressed no sympathy for non-white Colombians, and indeed when referring to rumours of rebellion in the Chocó, O'Leary told Bolívar that 'we need to slit the throats of all those vile blacks'.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ In his unsighted discussion of these letters, Pérez Vila denied that 'O'Leary would ever have spoken to Bolívar about the plan for a monarchy', *Vida de Daniel Florencio O'Leary*, p.420. On suspicions of O'Leary's efforts in favour of monarchy, relied upon by subsequent historians, see Pérez Vila, *Vida de Daniel Florencio O'Leary*, p.423. A wider study of monarchism amongst the Independence leaders, especially Flores, is Van Aken, *King of the Night, Juan José Flores and Ecuador*. For an updated discussion of Bolívar's monarchism, see Reuben Zahler, 'Honor, Corruption, Legitimacy, and Liberalism in the Early Venezuelan Republic (1821-50)', Ph.D thesis, University of Chicago, expected 2005, Chapter 4, 'Secession and Rebellion'.

¹⁸² O'Leary to Bolívar, 7th May 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C513. See also O'Leary to Bolívar, 9th September 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Navarro, f.12.

¹⁸³ O'Leary to Bolívar, 21st June 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Navarro, f.5.

¹⁸⁴ O'Leary to Bolívar, 23rd October 1829, Medellín, FJB AOL, Sección Navarro, f.16.

¹⁸⁵ O'Leary to Bolívar, 31st October 1829, Medellín, FJB AOL, Sección Navarro, f.17: '*... a esos infames negros es preciso degollarlos a todos*'. These concerns – and a marked lack of sympathy towards any South Americans beyond Bolívar, and his own family – are equally apparent when the original manuscript versions of O'Leary's *Narración* are compared with the printed versions. Careful translating and editing enabled much of the barbed bitterness and resentment of the original version to be removed. O'Leary's two autobiographical volumes – which are in part a biography of Simón Bolívar and history of America – were written in Jamaica in the 1830s. While the first two notebooks were written in English, subsequent sections were written in Spanish and then sent to O'Leary's brother-in-law Carlos Soubllette. The original manuscripts survive for eight of O'Leary's notebooks, corresponding to the Preface, Chapters 1, 15, 16, 18, 20 and 52. In the early 1990s, these manuscripts were transferred from the BNC to the AGNC, where they are archived under Sección Colecciones, Fondo Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, Caja 82, Serie Generales y

The relation between his own masculinity and Bolívar's honour (and, by extension, Colombia's) was a regular theme in the correspondence. O'Leary assured Bolívar that 'I wish to spend my entire life at your side – I hope I never have to leave you'.¹⁸⁶ He hoped to die 'defending your glory'.¹⁸⁷ The rebellion of José María Córdoba in 1829 provided O'Leary with exactly the opportunity he wished for. When charged with the mission of suppressing the Antioqueño revolt, O'Leary wrote that 'I have gratefully accepted, because I will have the opportunity to expose my life in vindication of your insulted honour'.¹⁸⁸

After the battle of El Santuario, which ended both Córdoba's rebellion and his life, O'Leary described 'the honour of having defeated the ungrateful wretch who insulted [Bolívar's] name'.¹⁸⁹ O'Leary was keen to emphasise that the battle had been fought honourably, according to the rules of engagement. He claimed that he and Córdoba had addressed each other by name through the smoke and gunfire. O'Leary recognised that his adversary had 'fought with a valour that was more than just heroic'.¹⁹⁰ When he found Córdoba at the end of the battle, he claimed to have 'pitied him, because I have a compassionate heart'.¹⁹¹ Upon Córdoba's death, O'Leary informed Bolívar that 'my heart told me that I had fulfilled my duty. I would have died if I had not been able to revenge the insults to your honour. Truthfully, when it seemed that the battle went in Córdoba's

Civiles, Carpetas 299-300. The comments that Soublette wrote in the margin were largely incorporated into the first published version, published as part of the 32 volume *Memorias de O'Leary*.

¹⁸⁶ O'Leary to Bolívar, 29th June 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C516. In another letter O'Leary wrote of his '*amor a la persona y a la gloria de Vuestra Excelencia*'. O'Leary to Bolívar, 29th December 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C525.

¹⁸⁷ O'Leary to Bolívar, 29th December 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C525. Pérez Vila dealt with this episode in *Vida de Daniel Florencio O'Leary*, pp.428-442, and relied upon previous interpretations rather than advancing his own theory – in this way he provided a useful bibliography of commentaries on O'Leary's role at El Santuario. For the subsequent twenty years of speculation, see Jo Ann Rayfield, 'O'Leary y Córdoba: Un resumen historiográfico y nuevos documentos', *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, 57:663-5 (January – March 1970), pp.162-75.

¹⁸⁸ O'Leary to Bolívar, 28th September 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C521.

¹⁸⁹ O'Leary to Coronel Andrade, 23rd October 1829, Medellín, FJB AOL, Sección Navarro, f.15.

¹⁹⁰ O'Leary to Bolívar, 17th October 1829, Marinilla, FJB AOL, Sección Navarro, f.14.

¹⁹¹ O'Leary to Bolívar, 17th October 1829, Marinilla, FJB AOL, Sección Navarro, f.14.

favour, I sought the death that he received, so as not to present myself before you dishonoured'.¹⁹²

Having risked his life to protect Bolívar's honour, O'Leary found himself widely criticised by his enemies. Anxious about his position in Colombia, O'Leary believed that his foreign-ness was still an issue with other Colombians. He referred to Judas Tadeo Piñango having called him 'a youngster who only yesterday arrived in Colombia to seek his fortune'.¹⁹³ O'Leary claimed that he and other foreigners had been scapegoated for the death of Córdoba, and reminded Bolívar that 'all your orders will be obeyed, and whether I am held to be a foreigner or not a foreigner, I will always be your most faithful friend'.¹⁹⁴ In attempting to use his foreign origin to explain the criticism he received, O'Leary showed how far he had misunderstood the changes that had taken place in Colombia in past decade. As he had noted himself, O'Leary's personal and political identity was defined by the land of his birth, but was founded in his individual honour, and secured by his loyalty to Bolívar.

As Colombia disintegrated with rebellion in Venezuela, O'Leary requested that Bolívar allow him to leave, telling him 'I would rather go to China than stay here in the midst of this anarchy. I do not want to die stupidly, pointlessly. I would rather die killing, than for death's sake'.¹⁹⁵ Despite the rhetorical flourish, this statement shows that O'Leary was not harbouring a dream of home. After twelve years in Colombia, circumstances encouraged him to move on, because he no longer enjoyed life in New Granada. He told Bolívar that 'I hate this country so much that I can no longer remain here'. He asked to be allowed to retire to 'some place in the South where things are cheap' and he could afford

¹⁹² O'Leary to Bolívar, 17th October 1829, Marinilla, FJB AOL, Sección Navarro, f.14.

¹⁹³ Judas Tadeo Piñango, (b.1789 Caracas, d.1848 Coro) was a military officer who later occupied an important position in the civilian life of independent Venezuela. O'Leary to Bolívar, 17th March 1830, Rosario, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C531.

¹⁹⁴ O'Leary to Bolívar, 22nd March 1830, Rosario, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C532. '... *extranjero o no extranjero, siempre seré el más fiel amigo de VE ...*'. On Crofton, O'Leary wrote that he had 'completely reformed himself', and that his conduct in Antioquia had been 'irreproachable ... I have not heard a word against him'. Rupert Hand was 'an excellent officer. It is unfair that he should be punished for fulfilling his duty'.

¹⁹⁵ O'Leary to Bolívar, 15th March 1830, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C530: '*morir por morir más vale morir matando*'.

to support his family. Winning honour through military service had been complicated by the political changes of the 1820s, and by his own marriage in 1828. O'Leary had little residual sympathy for those arguing for the spread of liberty and happiness across the American continent. He urged Bolívar to 'conquer [Peru] and loot it and sell it to a foreign power, or give it back to Spain in exchange for recognition [of Colombia]'.¹⁹⁶

In 1830, O'Leary began to reflect on the civilisation-barbarism dichotomy that would so concern later Latin American intellectuals. Receiving news of revolution from Paris, he wrote to Bolívar agonising that South Americans would not learn from history or their own experiences: 'And if this can happen in civilised Paris? If France cannot succeed with a Constitution, how can it be possible for the semi-barbarians [*semi-bárbaros*] on this side of the Atlantic to prosper with their semi-anarchic institutions?'¹⁹⁷ It was this concern to escape from uncivilised and dishonourable men, and to provide a secure and honourable livelihood for his family, that caused O'Leary to contemplate leaving Colombia, which he eventually did upon Bolívar's death later that year. Like Richard Vowell and Gustavus Butler Hippisley, he dedicated himself to writing about the Colombian Wars of Independence. His *Memorias* and *Narración* secured his honourable reputation for posterity. Ironically, a decade later when he finally found a remunerative and regular employment in the British diplomatic service, he would return to New Granada to exercise his new authority as a representative of the British Crown.

Analysis of Daniel O'Leary's correspondence from the late 1820s reveals the extent to which military service continued to cast a shadow over issues of national identity, masculinity and citizenship in the years immediately following Independence from Spain. Criticisms of foreigners in Colombia were complicated when attention turned back to those adventurers still loyally serving in the armed forces. Regardless of origin, loyal military service maintained its earlier connotations of patriotism. The most honourable

¹⁹⁶ O'Leary to Bolívar, 15th May 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C514. O'Leary expressed similar sentiments in a letter to Soublotte, 21st May 1829, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C515.

¹⁹⁷ O'Leary to Bolívar, 9th January 1830, Bogotá, FJB AOL, Sección Matos, M21-A02-E1-C526. The manuscript of this letter revealed O'Leary's three separate attempts to clarify his expression of these thoughts.

death in the new republic continued to be self-sacrifice on the battlefield.¹⁹⁸ The presence of men of foreign birth in new ‘national’ armies was therefore an ongoing cause of difficulty in Colombia in the 1820s, and in the republics that seceded from it, precisely because theoretically anyone could die for the *patria* regardless of their place of birth. For this reason perhaps, foreigners were often the victims of rebellious troops – as in the case of the rebellion of the Rifles Battalion under *Coronel* José Bustamente in 1827 which captured several foreign officers, and in the death of *General* James Whittle.¹⁹⁹

When three companies of the Vargas Battalion rebelled in Quito in late 1831, *El Colombiano de Guayas* saw it as the result of a few ‘evil’ men taking advantage of demoralised soldiers. No amount of education could control such ‘villains’. An editorial expressed the view that ‘a handful of bad men are enough to corrupt the multitude, if one is not careful to prevent its contagion’.²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, it was content to note that even ‘in the midst of this disaster, the battalion’s officers have emerged without a stain on their honour, having honourably resisted this infamy’.²⁰¹ A volunteer who had served in Colombia (and now Ecuador) since 1820, James Whittle was in command of the Vargas Battalion. Upon receiving news of the uprising he left Quito to negotiate with his rebellious men, and he was subsequently ambushed by them, killed, and thrown over a bridge. The official newspaper said that Ecuador had ‘lost a pillar of its military, and a fine servant of the nation. The President has lost a faithful and consistent friend’. Whittle was described as ‘an honourable *General*, brave and controlled’.²⁰² Another obituary noted that Whittle ‘sacrificed himself for a *patria* which he served with honour and constancy ... In this way, the valiant General Whittle ended his illustrious career, but the *patria* will forever remember his name.’²⁰³ Whittle’s loyalty to the government of Juan José Flores was commended, and his ‘enlightened’ character and bravery were all noted. Yet although the *patria* was exhorted to remember his name, he was not once referred to as ‘patriotic’. His death was a splendid example to set for other men in military service,

¹⁹⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p.6.

¹⁹⁹ For a discussion of the rebellion of *Coronel* José Bustamente and the Rifles Battalion, see *El Conductor*, 10th March 1827 and *El Constitucional*, 15th March 1827.

²⁰⁰ *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 20th October 1831.

²⁰¹ *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 20th October 1831.

²⁰² *Gaceta de Gobierno de Ecuador*, 13th October 1831.

²⁰³ Taken from *El Colombiano de Guayas*, 24th November 1831.

but Whittle did not move into Ecuadorian *historia patria* in the same way that James Rooke did in New Granada. Whittle's death came at the end of an extended period during which, as analysed in this section, notions of foreign-ness had been extensively debated. Colombia, the republic which Whittle had loyally served for a decade, no longer existed. The weakness of any sense of Ecuadorian national identity in this period meant that honourable men were defined in terms other than their patriotism.

This discussion also conditioned the death and subsequent commemoration of *Coronel* Francis Hall, the English volunteer who was killed while plotting a coup in Quito in 1833. Hall was a regular correspondent of Jeremy Bentham and had acted as a bridge between Bentham and Bolívar in the early 1820s. He became disillusioned with the way his efforts were thwarted by the demands of institutionalisation, and lamented that 'whenever I quit Colombia I shall scarcely leave behind me any other trophies than the sepulchres of my friends'.²⁰⁴ Hall was one of the founders, editors and writers of *El Quiteño Libre*, a radical newspaper that attacked Flores' government throughout 1833. Diego Pérez Ordóñez has stressed the importance of this 'most spectacular opposition newspaper in Ecuador's political history', which became the focus of opposition to Flores' authority.²⁰⁵ The co-editors of *El Quiteño Libre* were a mixture of Ecuadorian, English and Irish birth, and presented themselves as pragmatic realists who felt that Flores' patriotic rhetoric got in the way of the duties of government.²⁰⁶

El Quiteño Libre triggered a wave of attacks by the official newspapers. As Flores had been born in Venezuela, it was impossible to define patriotism or national identity in terms of ethnicity or birth – and even more so because the population of Ecuador was overwhelmingly of indigenous roots, and still unrepresented in the Ecuadorian government. According to an editorial in the *Gaceta de Gobierno de Ecuador*,

²⁰⁴ Hall to Bentham, 24th February 1824, Bogotá, in Catherine Fuller, ed., *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*, Vol. 11, (Oxford, 2000), p.347. More generally on Bentham see Miriam Williford, *Jeremy Bentham and Spanish America*, (Baton Rouge, Louis., 1980), and the comprehensive correspondence collected in Pedro Schwartz, ed., 'The Iberian Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham', unpublished manuscript held at The Bentham Project, University College London.

²⁰⁵ Pérez Ordóñez, 'El Quiteño Libre': *El más espectacular periódico de oposición de la República*.

²⁰⁶ *El Quiteño Libre*, 4th August 1833.

patriotism is a virtue for which a man will sacrifice all his personal interests for the wider good without limit. Patriotism is the cooperation of the individual with the well-being and prosperity of the society to which he belongs. It is one of man's most sacred duties, indeed without patriotism there is neither probity nor virtue in the whole world. A man who does not love the *patria* is ignorant of the duties of society, and natural feelings. ... he is inhuman because his heart does not contain the sweet sensations produced by loving one's fellow man. ... There is no greater danger in the world than a man dispossessed of feelings of patriotism. ... It is also necessary to distinguish the true from the false patriot. A man who serves society so as to be personally rewarded is not a patriot. A soldier who fights in order to be promoted above others, without feeling for the public good, is not a patriot. A man who has served the *patria*, but then becomes offended by some perceived injustice caused by its leaders, is not a patriot. A man who complains that the government favours the merit and virtue of others instead of recognising his own nobility or greatness, is not a patriot. ...²⁰⁷

The way that Flores defined patriotism only in terms of virtue meant the foreigners' individual honour could only be expressed through loyalty to his own government, or else it was unpatriotic. As in Venezuela and New Granada, honour and patriotism closely related to political loyalty, which in Flores' eyes equated to civic virtue. His friends, like Whittle, were therefore commemorated as honourable and heroic servants. Political enemies like Francis Hall, who had accused Flores of pursuing personal gain at the expense of the state, died unlamented. The patriotism claimed by the editors of *El Quiteño Libre* was denied them by the Head of State, who was now the fountain of justice and the embodiment of the law.²⁰⁸ In the chaotic and uncertain times following the break-up of Gran Colombia, political loyalty to the dominant party was one sure way of safeguarding honour. Foreigners had to either learn to adapt to this reality or they were excluded from the patriotic and honourable communities.

Honour, Insubordination and Foreignness

Political loyalty, however, was only one aspect of honour and patriotism in 1830s Ecuador. Issues of race, subordination and age were all important in mapping honour in the post-war, post-colonial period. This final section uses a case study in honour from the early 1830s to highlight some of the changes outlined in this chapter, which, whilst taking place in Ecuador, reflect upon the Gran Colombia as a whole.

In late 1832, a twenty-four year old Caracas-born officer, *Comandante* Pascual Guedes, was accused of striking a naval officer, *Capitán* James Williams, on the frigate

²⁰⁷ *Gaceta de Gobierno de Ecuador*, 1st June 1833.

²⁰⁸ My thanks to Reuben Zahler for his comments on an earlier draft of this section.

‘Colombia’ anchored off Guayaquil. Both Guedes and Williams were in the pay of the Ecuadorian state, and the case was heard by the Ecuadorian authorities. As in the cases of honour examined in Chapter 3, the Guedes-Williams dispute was rare in that it was recorded, and that it has survived in the archives. This reflects the general dearth of criminal proceedings brought by or against foreigners. Whilst it cannot be representative of the undocumented disputes, it can be employed to reveal some of the issues and disputes which triggered conflict between foreign- and American-born officers, and the ground upon which their honour was negotiated.

Pascual Guedes had begun his military career only in 1827, as a twenty-year old *aspirante* (a junior officer); long after most of the British and Irish volunteers had returned home. He was a member of the new generation of Colombian officers, traced by Thibaud, who advanced quickly through the ranks during the 1820s.²⁰⁹ In 1832 Guedes was still relatively young, recently promoted to the rank of *Comandante*, and anxious for his position to be recognised by older men.²¹⁰ He found himself billeted on the ‘Colombia’, commanding several units of terrestrial troops. The ‘Colombia’ was not moving anywhere – it was being used as a floating garrison to prevent troops from deserting. *Capitán* James Williams was five years older, one of the principal naval officers on board, and had served in the Independent navy since 1822. The trial documents began with James Williams’ testimony:

At 4.30pm I was supervising the distribution of rum to the men, when *Capitán* Salinas asked me to provide a boat to convey him to land. I told him that he could have the boat, and he asked me to prepare it for him. In response to this I told him that I was nobody’s slave, that the boat did not have its own crew, and that he would have to fill it with soldiers just as in the old days. Immediately Salinas went and informed *Comandante* Guedes of our discussion, and that person quickly came to me on deck, shouting at me in the most humiliating way, and with the help of the officers of the guard, he arrested me; with the most furious gesture he lifted his hand and smacked me [*‘me dio de cachetadas’*] in the face. Determined not be provoked, and careful not to act insubordinately, or to be disrespectful to the place where we found ourselves, I said simply, that the only reason that I did not kill him there and then was my respect for the rules of service. ... At that moment four soldiers led me below deck, some of them taking my arms and others my legs, performing the arrest with the most scandalous disorganisation which caused a full riot.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, pp.381-2.

²¹⁰ Guedes served as *Cabo*, *Sargento*, *Subteniente*, and *Capitán*, and had been a *Comandante* only since February 1831. Hoja de Servicio de Comandante Pascual Guedes, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 247, (1832-3), Expediente 14, f.24.

²¹¹ Jayme Williams, on the Frigate ‘Colombia’, at Guayaquil, 27th December 1832, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 247, (1832-3), Expediente 14, f.1. An 1828 service record for *alférez* James Williams

Two aspects of this statement are particularly pertinent. Firstly, all the sailors had witnessed the alleged assault, because it took place at the distribution of rum when all were on deck.²¹² Secondly, Williams believed that Guedes' actions could have caused insubordination and riot amongst the lower ranks – an immediate case of contagious indiscipline, such as that feared by those who witnessed the rebellion of the British troops under Rupert Hand at Soledad and the Irish Legion at Riohacha in 1820.

In his initial comments, the ship's chief officer Leonardo Stagg described the events as 'a scandal' and noted that it involved 'two honourable officers' and had been just a '*disgusto del momento*' rather than a long standing grudge.²¹³ Yet it was Williams and Guedes' reluctance to recognise each other as honourable that gave rise to a court-case lasting several months and several dozen pages of testimony. In the words of *Cirujano Mayor* (Surgeon-Major) James Parsons, it all boiled down to 'whether Williams would recognise Guedes as his chief or not'.²¹⁴ This was based on confusion as to whether Guedes' terrestrial rank of *Comandante* was in fact superior to Williams' naval rank of *Capitán*. Guedes stated that he was well aware of their respective ranks, and 'knew himself to be superior'. Williams believed the opposite, asserting that he 'was nobody's slave' [*que no era su esclavo*]. When Guedes told Williams that this was no way to speak to a superior, Williams responded that he did not recognise him as his superior [*jefe suyo*] anyway.²¹⁵ Another witness said that Williams' reasons for not crewing the boat were that 'he could not be bothered, and was nobody's servant' [*porque no le daba las ganas, y que no era criado de nadie*]. In addition to disagreements over military rank and hierarchy, the terms used indicate that also at issue was a simple ranking of masculinities. After the physical confrontation, Williams was alleged by several

(presumably the same person) named his nationality as 'North American', AGNC HDS, Vol.48, f.728. For the purpose of this section (which focuses more on the Ecuadorian and Venezuelan elements of the court records) Williams' 'foreign-ness' is taken to be more relevant than the specific location of his North Atlantic origin.

²¹² Jayme Williams, on the Frigate 'Colombia', at Guayaquil, 27th December 1832, f.9.

²¹³ Leonardo Stagg, on the Frigate 'Colombia', at Guayaquil, 27th December 1832, f.10.

²¹⁴ James Parsons, on the Frigate 'Colombia', at Guayaquil, 27th December 1832, f.15.

²¹⁵ *Capitán* Diego Salinas, on the Frigate 'Colombia', at Guayaquil, 27th December 1832, f.12.

witnesses to have shouted that ‘I could have killed you or broken your balls, but I chose not to’ [*que no lo matava o le quebrava los huevos por que no quería*].²¹⁶

Pascual Guedes’ declaration revealed all these themes. When he had asked Williams for the boat, he had received ‘a dry NO. This showed a lack of respect, respect that cannot be denied me, respect that I always show towards (and encourage my men to show towards) even the lowest person on board’.²¹⁷ Guedes claimed that his own message to Williams was ‘moderate and pacific’ and that he received the reply that Williams ‘could not be bothered’.²¹⁸ Guedes felt that ‘such an outrageous insult to my authority in front of all my subordinates and the sailors’ caused him to take action. He reacted against Williams ‘speaking in such a tone as though he were my superior’.²¹⁹ He recalled the following encounter:

(Guedes) *Señor Williams, are you not aware that I am a Jefe and superior to yourself in all parts?*
(Williams) I do not recognise you in any way, because for me, you are no one, nowhere.²²⁰

Guedes accused Williams of unleashing

a flood of insults, using words that clearly revealed his primitive condition [*primitiva condición*], and then, and it was only then, that I lifted my hand, and I slapped him on the face [*le di en la cara un bofetón*]. I then stood in front of my accuser, who launched into a verbal artillery assault on me [*vyendo una descarga serrada de artillería sin bala, con que me saludava de nuevo mi baleroso antagonista*] telling me that he would break my bones if he did not feel such pity for me, that the only reason he didn’t throw me into the sea was I don’t remember why, equally laudable no doubt. Seeing as his crude language and sarcasm was only getting worse, I ordered him arrested again, and once more he disobeyed. This was when I ordered four soldiers to arrest him forcibly.²²¹

The General Commander of the Maritime Department (Guayaquil) was an Irishman, Thomas Wright. His initial response to the events was to side with Williams, his fellow foreigner, and to reduce Guedes from active service by abolishing his position. Guedes was left without *fuero* or uniform, and Wright proposed that he be tried in a civilian

²¹⁶ *Capitán* Enrique Medina, on the Frigate ‘Colombia’, at Guayaquil, 27th December 1832, f.14.

²¹⁷ Guedes, on the Frigate ‘Colombia’, at Guayaquil, 27th December 1832, f.17. [Original emphasis].

²¹⁸ Guedes, on the Frigate ‘Colombia’, at Guayaquil, 27th December 1832, f.17. [Original emphasis].

²¹⁹ Similarly, Manuel María Cotes described Williams’ previous dealings with Guedes as ‘using a tone and words that were not appropriate to his subordinate position’. Cotes, 8th February 1833, Guayaquil, f.47.

²²⁰ Guedes, on the Frigate ‘Colombia’, at Guayaquil, 27th December 1832, f.17.

²²¹ Guedes, on the Frigate ‘Colombia’, at Guayaquil, 27th December 1832, f.17.

court, which he believed would be more likely to convict.²²² Nevertheless, the authorities in Quito under President Flores considered that Wright had ‘greatly misunderstood’ the law, and that Guedes was entitled to be judged by a military court.²²³ This exchange between the authorities in Quito and Guayaquil revealed marked continuity with the colonial era, and the importance still attached to corporate *fueros*.²²⁴ Here, the colonial military *fuero* became the site upon which new republican understandings of honour and collective identity were negotiated. Guedes was taken to Guayaquil, where he was formally charged. His interrogation took two days. He recognised that he had used force to arrest Williams, but denied charges of assault [*‘atropello’*]. As a matter of honour, Guedes claimed that he could not consider Williams as a *capitán* in the light of his previously disgraceful conduct. In all the time he had known Williams, he said, the latter had never acted like a *capitán*, had been inconsistent in his duties, and had passed time with the common sailors: the latter being the same charge as had been made against *Capitán* Hippisley in Angostura in 1820.²²⁵ In this way Guedes expanded upon his previous concerns about Williams’ honour and conduct. Superimposed upon them, he claimed that he had long suspected that justice would not be done, which caused him to seek physical retribution.

As a result of his actions, Guedes was accused of ‘complete loss of respect’, manifested by having struck ‘an Officer, a Captain of the State Navy, an honourable man’.²²⁶ He had committed ‘a terrible example of insubordination and immorality to give to the troops, which could have been so prejudicial to their discipline, good order, loyalty, and to the tranquillity of the frigate’. Guedes claimed that he had not hit Williams, but only ‘grabbed him round the neck’. It was at this stage that Guedes chose to attack Williams’

²²² Wright to Sr General Comandante de Armas y Director de Marina, 5th January 1833, Guayaquil, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 247, (1832-3), Expediente 14, f.29.

²²³ Juan Antonio Ferrán [Chief of Staff] to Wright, 14th January 1833, Quito, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 247 (1832-3), Expediente 14, f.31.

²²⁴ For the continuing relevance of the concept of the *fuero* in early republican Colombia and particularly Venezuela, see Pino Iturrieta, *Fueros, civilización y ciudadanía*, pp.41-70. See also Joseph Sánchez, ‘African Freedmen and the *Fuero Militar*: A Historical Overview of Pardo and Moreno Militiamen in the Late Spanish Empire’, *Colonial Latin American Review*, 3:2 (Spring 1994) pp.165-83.

²²⁵ Guedes, 5th February 1833, Guayaquil, ff.33-42.

²²⁶ Guedes, 5th February 1833, Guayaquil, f.38. He cited the example of another officer, Rojas. When Rojas had reported to Stagg an instance of his being hit by another officer, Stagg arrested Rojas himself for a fortnight.

private affairs as affecting his honour as a military man, because ‘as far as any honour that he is supposed to have, I do not recognize any in a man who uses the resources of the navy to build himself a house on the land’. Guedes accused Williams of employing soldiers and sailors to construct dwellings on the shore for his own personal benefit. He claimed that Williams encouraged soldiers to desert the service in order to join his private employment, and that he had even tried to encourage Guedes himself to encourage such desertion.²²⁷

Guedes’ legal defence rested on the provocation he had received. Guedes’ advocate *General* Juan Ignacio Pareja noted the ‘depressive and violent state’ in which Guedes found himself on the ‘Colombia’.²²⁸ Pareja criticised the original decision to give Guedes a seat at the officer’s table that was ‘inferior’ to that of another foreigner, Surgeon James Parsons. This was a ‘remarkable decision’, given that ‘surgeons are not even listed as war officers’. Such a decision ‘provoked complaint and resentment’, which was further deepened by the ship’s commanding officer [Stagg] expelling the ‘insulted’ Guedes from the table altogether. This was the only time during the whole case that anyone might have implied that the foreigners on board the ship were acting collectively, and discriminating against Guedes. Nonetheless, Pareja did not make such an allegation – instead, he focused attention on Williams’ personal conduct. Pareja admitted that the confrontation would have been serious had Williams been wearing the insignia of his rank, and the fact that he was not doing so was a fundamental omission. These symbols represented ‘a part of the Sovereign Government, and therefore each man who wears them must be respected, but only as long as he does not commit any delinquent crimes’.²²⁹ Pareja’s argument was that Guedes should receive the same punishment as if he had struck a private soldier, indicating that it was only the insignia of rank that made the officer

²²⁷ Guedes, 6th February 1833, f.42. In justifying his actions, Guedes argued that for similar reasons Leonard Stagg was prejudiced against him. He accused Stagg of using the ship’s carpenter and other sailors for his own private tasks. On one occasion he remembered Stagg’s anger at this ruse being discovered, although Guedes admitted that ‘I couldn’t understand most of his fury, as he said those words in English, but soon after I was told that he had unleashed some terrible threats against the unfortunate carpenter’. Guedes also claimed that Stagg and Williams were complicit in claiming pay from the government for men who had many years previously died or deserted.

²²⁸ Juan Ignacio Pareja, undated [probably early March 1833], Guayaquil, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 243 (1832-3), Expediente 14, ff.79-97.

²²⁹ Pareja, undated [probably early March 1833], ff.79-97.

worthy of greater respect, regardless of individual status or honour. Rather than being ‘a mere formality’ or aristocratic adornment, belts and swords were ‘a requisite to denote rank’. Once one such marker had been neglected, Pareja argued, all others would lose meaning, ‘and we are therefore better described as bandits than a regular army’.²³⁰ Pareja argued that although Guedes may well have known that Williams was an Officer of the Guard, he had the ‘right to not recognise that’ because of the lack of insignia. Because Williams had lost honour through his own poor conduct, Pareja concluded that all Guedes could be accused of was ‘having put his hand on Williams’ neck to oblige him to obey the order of arrest’. He recognised that such an action deserved reprimand, as no chief should ever be allowed to strike a subaltern, no matter what his rank. He stressed that Guedes’ ‘services to the *patria* [were] publicly known’, and that the abuse directed at him could not have been resisted even by stoics or monks. He should therefore be freed.²³¹

Thomas Charles Wright was in charge of the four Hispanic American officers who sat as *vocales* to try Guedes.²³² As with many colonial debates over honour, much of the debate focused on the detail.²³³ For many hours they discussed whether Guedes had inflicted a slap, strangle, neck-grip, smack, or whack on Williams [*trompetada, agarrón, pescuezo, porrazo, bofetón*].²³⁴ The eventual compromise was that it had been a ‘*golpe en el rostro*’, a blow in the face.²³⁵ In March 1833, the *vocales* recorded their decisions. They agreed that the type of injury inflicted on Williams could not be proven, and that with his arrest Guedes had ‘suffered enough’. Crucial in their deliberations was the fact that Williams had been wearing neither his sword nor his insignia during the confrontation.²³⁶ Having served seventy-two days of confinement, Guedes was released, and admonished

²³⁰ Pareja, undated, f.83.

²³¹ Pareja, undated, f.96.

²³² The identity of the other four *vocales* changed several times over the course of the trial, apparently because of the ill-health or business commitments of those called to serve. They included: *General* León Febres Cordero, *Coronel* Juan Francisco Elizalde, *Capitán* Juan H. Poulin, *Comandantes* Pedro Meza, José María Indaurro, Ignacio Hernández, Francisco Casanova, Doctor Bernabé Cornejo, and Don Manuel Roca (auditor of the War Ministry).

²³³ Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets*, pp.28-33.

²³⁴ Enrique Medina, 9th February 1833, Guayaquil, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 243 (1832-3), Expediente 14, f.55.

²³⁵ Supreme Court Martial Verdict, 25th February 1834, Quito, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 243 (1832-3), Expediente 14, f.109.

²³⁶ ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 243 (1832-3), Expediente 14, ff.68-9

for having physically assaulted a subaltern.²³⁷ At no point was the non-Colombian origin of Williams, Stagg or Wright, nor Guedes' Venezuelan origin, mentioned by anyone at all. Given the influence of foreigners amongst the authorities (even the Supreme Court Martial in Quito, which pronounced the final verdict, contained a foreign member, John Lannigan) perhaps this was tactical reserve. More likely, concerns with *honra*, individual conduct and rank, were now more important, more honourable, to Creole officers like Guedes, Pareja, and indeed volunteers like Wright, than issues concerning *honor*, race, national origin, or blood.

The presiding Judge, Domingo Agustín Gómez, concluded that 'hitting a man in the face, in whatever circumstance, is itself a serious offence'. Regardless of the ranks of those involved, the final decision rested on the protagonists being men who took their responsibilities seriously. Gómez stressed the location of the events, on the frigate's main deck, in full view of all the sailors and all the troops. He reminded the interested parties that in exactly the same place, several months ago, rebellious sailors had mutinied and attempted to capture a *General*, a *Coronel* and many other officers.²³⁸ In order to maintain discipline amongst the servants of the state (and thus, the state itself), officers needed to behave with exemplary conduct. Both Williams and Guedes had therefore failed in their duty. Because of his previous good service, it was recommended that Guedes be dismissed from the army, even though the punishments available included the death penalty. The allegations against Stagg and Williams – described by the Presiding Judge in Guayaquil as 'such an ugly stain on the honour and finesse of officers of distinction' – were ordered to be followed up.²³⁹

²³⁷ Upon appeal, the Supreme Court Martial in Quito also found Guedes guilty of striking Williams in the face, concluding that the substantial provocation diminished the seriousness of Guedes' action. The previous verdict was confirmed. Supreme Court Martial Verdict, 25th February 1833, Guayaquil, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 243 (1832-3), Expediente 14, ff.97-103.

²³⁸ Juez Fiscal Domingo Agustín Gómez, 9th March 1833, Guayaquil, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 243 (1832-3), Expediente 14, ff.97-103.

²³⁹ Juez Fiscal Gomez, 7th February 1833, Guayaquil, f.74. An investigation was ordered into the accusations against Stagg and Williams, and a volunteer officer, Dr Charles Moore, requested a prompt response to the 'dangerous rumours at the expense of an officer who merited the especial deference of the highest authorities in his own country, for his loyalty in danger, his selflessness, and dedication to his duty'. He hoped that Stagg's reputation (earned in the particularly honourable sphere of the British – rather than the Ecuadorian – service) would be enough to see him absolved of these accusations. Carlos Moore, 3rd February 1833, Guayaquil, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 243 (1832-3), Expediente 14, f.72. In response,

Conclusions

The trial and conviction of Pascual Guedes demonstrated the extent to which conceptions of foreign-ness were losing importance in the post-colonial era. To some extent, this was because foreigners like Tomás Wright, Juan Illingworth and Juan Lannigan had been assimilated into the Creole elite. On no occasion throughout a heated and often aggressive confrontation and subsequent legal battle, were any national or regional origins used against (or in favour of) the contenders. Just as the fictionalised representations of Venezuela produced by Vowell and Hippiisley had begun to imagine (in the 1820s and 1830s) that Venezuelans were as capable of acts of heroism and adventure as Englishmen, so similar processes had been at work in Colombia. Newspaper debates, the correspondence of principal figures like Daniel O'Leary, and the official record of the death of a loyal foreign soldier like James Whittle, all demonstrate that in the years that followed the volunteer expeditions, profound changes were taking place as to what it meant to be Colombian, to be patriotic and to be an honourable man. By the early 1830s, Guayaquil was part of the Republic of Ecuador, presided over by a military officer of Venezuelan birth, Juan José Flores. Men were still concerned with their individual actions, and how their conduct was perceived by society. They disputed hierarchies of masculinity based on authority, conduct and physical force, using the rhetoric of slavery and possession familiar to Creoles and volunteers alike. In the absence of a successfully-forged Colombian identity, men retreated to conventional ideas of honour, based on respect for social hierarchies and personal loyalties. Men like Daniel O'Leary and James Whittle were as much a part of these American processes as Pascual Guedes and Domingo Agustín Gómez. It would be over a decade before, in the 1840s, Ecuadorian, New Granadan and Venezuelan nationalisms would have the foundations to move off in their own distinct directions.²⁴⁰

Leonard Stagg addressed the General Commander of the Department of Ecuador (Thomas Wright), beginning 'I hoped that the sacrifices I have made for the cause would have merited, if not gratitude from my superiors, then at least consideration of my desire to have a residence on land. ...'. Leonard Stagg, 18th January 1833, Guayaquil, ANE Causas Criminales, Caja 243 (1832-3), Expediente 14, f.73.

²⁴⁰ A process explored in Luis Castro Leiva, *La Gran Colombia. Una ilusión ilustrada*, (Caracas, 1985), pp.99-144.

Conclusions

The exploration of the encounter between British and Irish adventurers and Hispanic Americans has ramifications for several historiographies. This conclusion draws out the broad themes of thesis and summarises the findings in six sections. Firstly, it argues that the experiences of British and Irish adventurers outside of the conventional area of empire have important comparative consequences for the study of British imperial activity in the nineteenth century. Secondly, it explains that the involvement of foreigners in a key stage of national identity formation catalysed thinking about allegiance and belonging, and contributed to political and national identities being constructed against the 'others' of blacks and indigenous Hispanic Americans, rather than white outsiders. Thirdly, it explores how this process influenced understandings of liberty and patriotism in Hispanic America, not least because many of the adventurers became settlers. Fourthly, it explains how adventurers and Creole elites shared concerns with honour and social order, and how their different understandings of these terms, negotiated and constructed during the upheaval of warfare, profoundly shaped post-war relations. Fifthly, it critiques the existing literature on mercenaries, and argues that understandings of what it meant to be a 'mercenary' were of great importance in determining the adventurers' roles in the Wars of Independence. Finally, it proposes that the participation of British and Irish adventurers in the Hispanic American Wars of Independence contributed to the development of diplomatic and geopolitical relations between Britain and the Gran Colombian republics based on conflicting understandings of what it meant to be a nation.

Analysis of the adventurers' encounters, relationships and writings opens up space for consideration of the comparative context that is crucial to a full understanding of the volunteer expeditions, in which protagonists openly anticipated their place in history and explicitly compared themselves with antecedents from previous revolutionary struggles. To numerous observers, Bolívar was 'the Washington of South America'.¹ John

¹ For example Dermot Clinton to Bolívar, 25th April 1825, Albany, AL, Vol.14, f.153; Hippisley to Bolívar, 29th October 1826, Guernsey, *Memorias de O'Leary*, Vol.12, p.69. The comparison was re-visited in an

Devereux's feat in raising an Irish Legion was compared to Lafayette's endeavours in organising French involvement in the Wars of Independence in the North.² A writer in Santa Marta in 1825 proclaimed that 'France was the factory that produced the first link in our inter-connected revolutionary chain'.³ Even critics noted these comparisons, with one expressing outrage that 'anyone dares to put on a level the illustrious names of a Kosciusko, a Lafayette or a Rochambeau, with those of an Aury, an English, a Cochrane or a MacGregor'.⁴

British Imperialism, Imperial Experience

After the Napoleonic Wars, Britain was not involved in warfare with another major European power until the Crimean War in the 1850s. Nevertheless, its web of imperial activity continued to stretch across the globe in smaller-scale interventions and, often, more improvised activities. Byron and Cochrane's involvement in Greek Independence was a notable adventure, but more mundane imperial service as soldiers or administrators in the Cape colonies, Australia, India and the West Indies continued to attract English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh migrants throughout the first half of the century. They recognised that an imperial career offered unprecedented opportunity to gain the experience that could result in improved social status and economic standing, whether on the fringes of empire or back in the metropole. Economic crisis impelled many to seek their fortune abroad, but others went out of boredom, personal crisis, adventure or desire to serve the Crown. The experiences of the British and Irish mercenaries in Gran Colombia fitted within the wider pattern of imperial experience of Britons in this period. Like Britons in the Anglophone colonies, the mercenaries re-imagined their identities in

anonymous pamphlet, *Bolívar y Washington, Por Un Colombiano*, (Caracas, 1865), Biblioteca Nacional de Venezuela, 980.02092.U74.1bw.e2.

² Devereux to Daniel O'Connell, 16th July 1822, 'Palace of Bogotá', *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol.2, p.406. Bolívar himself revelled in such comparisons, as expounded upon in Bolívar to Lafayette, 20th March 1826, Lima, *Memorias de O'Leary*, Vol.30, pp.187-88, writing in response to Lafayette to Bolívar, 1st September 1825, Paris, AL, Vol.14, f.187.

³³ [Anon], *Derrota batida, Santa Marta, 24 de diciembre de 1825*, (Bogotá, 1825), pamphlet printed by the British printer F.M. Stokes, preserved in British Library, 'Peruvian Political Tracts 1822-34', 1446.h.18.

⁴ *British Monitor*, 13th June 1819. Tadeusz Kosciuszko (b.1748 Poland, d.1817 Switzerland) was the leader of the eponymous Polish rising in 1794, and led troops in the American War of Independence. Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau (b.1725 Vendôme, d.1807 Vendôme) was the Commander-in-Chief of the French forces in the American War of Independence. Louis Aury (d.1821) was a French privateer who collaborated with the Independents on the Caribbean coast, and with Gregor MacGregor in the occupation of Amelia island.

relation to the metropole, whilst at the same time developing new allegiances and conceptions of belonging with relation to the societies in which they now lived. As in the West Indies, race and slavery constantly underscored the mercenaries' self-imaginings as white men and conditioned their relations with the Colombians they encountered.⁵ The Britons and Irishmen who travelled to Hispanic America, then, were by no means an incongruity in imperial history. Networks of trade, labour and migration connected imperial sites in which property, race and gender formed the backdrop to individual identity.⁶ The fact that their adventures took place largely in the old Spanish American colonies does not obscure the characteristics they shared with other imperial subjects. The majority came from Ireland, but overall the adventurers were a diverse representation of all regions of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. They came from both urban and rural backgrounds, equally divided between officers, artisans and labourers. Most were white, although there was a substantial component of black men, and a sprinkling of adventurers came from the European continent or the British colonies.

The numerical prevalence of Irishmen in the volunteer expeditions is consistent with the composition of the British Army in the early nineteenth century. Yet the Irish involvement in Hispanic America could also be cast as a continuation of the tradition of 'Wild Geese', in which disenfranchised Catholics served in Europe's armies in search of advancement and fulfilment denied them at home.⁷ Like their seventeenth-century antecedents, many of the Irish volunteer officers married women they met on campaign, and settled outside of Ireland. While in this sense there was continuity in the tradition of Irish military service in the Hispanic world over three centuries, each generation of Irish mercenaries responded to particular historical and geopolitical circumstances.⁸ Earlier Irish soldiers had remained particularly attractive to Spain in the 1650s because of their religion, despite their 'increasingly negative record of defeats, desertions and

⁵ O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, p.244.

⁶ Lester, *Imperial Networks*, p.189.

⁷ For the 'Wild Geese' see Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries* and Harman Murtagh, 'Irish Soldiers Abroad 1600-1800', in Bartlett and Jeffreys, eds., *A Military History of Ireland*, pp.294-314.

⁸ See the essays collected in Enrique García Hernán, Miguel Angel de Buenes, Oscar Recio Morales, and Bernardo J. García García, eds., *Irlanda y la monarquía hispánica: Kinsale 1601-2001, Guerra, política, exilio y religión*, (Madrid, 2002).

depredations'.⁹ In the Wars of Independence in Hispanic America, Irish Catholicism was less important, as demonstrated by the Protestant creed of many Irish officers and the presence of Protestant British adventurers. This development was in counterpoint to the increasing accommodation of Irish Catholics within the British Army, which needed their manpower to fill its imperial armies.¹⁰ In Colombia, however, the presumed benefits of Irish whiteness, availability and supposed military experience were all eventually outweighed by the indiscipline at Riohacha. Less confident that they would be able to ward off a contagious spread of insubordination amongst subaltern groups, the Independents allowed their Irish mercenaries to leave the conflict entirely. Irish adventurers like O'Leary, Wright and O'Connor combined the two traditions, serving alongside men from Great Britain, articulating their Irishness, and eventually becoming integrated into a foundational period of Hispanic American history as highly-respected figures, leaving autobiographies, correspondence, memories and grandchildren behind them.

The adventurers emerged out of British and Irish imperial networks, but they were also accompanied by many colleagues from the rest of Europe. The Napoleonic Wars 'tore great rents in the thick and intimate web of relationships between Europe and the rest of the world',¹¹ and created the conditions for new networks linking Europe with Hispanic America, among other places. The French soldiers of the Napoleonic armies were left scattered across the globe by their imperial adventures, and many of them found their way to Gran Colombia.¹² It was in this period, too, that the distinction between 'European' and 'American' came into usage in Spain itself, catalysed by the arguments of the American deputies to the Cortés of Cadíz.¹³ An 'American' identity (in counterpoint to a 'European' one) had been formulated and adopted by Creole intellectuals like Juan Pablo Viscardo since the 1780s, and a similar allegiance seems to have been adopted by Irish mercenaries in Caracas to distinguish themselves as 'Europeans' from their

⁹ Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries*, p.132-3.

¹⁰ Bartlett, 'A Weapon of War as yet Untried', pp.69-80.

¹¹ Stuart Woolf, 'The Construction of a European World-View in the Revolution-Napoleonic Years', *Past and Present*, 137 (November 1992), p.89.

¹² Elías Ortiz, *Franceses en la independencia de la Gran Colombia*.

¹³ María Teresa García Godoy, *Las cortes de Cadíz y América: El primer vocabulario liberal español y mejicano (1810-1814)*, (Sevilla, 1998), p.336.

[Hispanic] 'American' counterparts.¹⁴ Beyond the scope of this thesis, such evidence supports the possibility that collective adventures abroad may have nurtured a nascent 'European' identity in some individuals.

Collective Identity Formation

These Atlantic networks enabled the transfer, distribution and diffusion of political ideologies.¹⁵ Liberty and republicanism took on new forms in Hispanic America and national identity, still a precocious phenomenon in Europe, took on a new trajectory in this post-colonial environment. The evidence collected in this thesis can be used to challenge some of the findings of earlier research into identity formation during the Wars of Independence, and to confirm others. Although the 'Colombian' national identity was 'conceived in conflict, strengthened in battle, [and died] from a peace that could no longer unite its peoples',¹⁶ collective identities in Colombia had deeper roots in indigenous ethnicities and colonial administrative boundaries. The recourse to foreign mercenaries itself showed contemporaries that nations could not be created or consolidated without reference to the international context. The historical trajectories of these collective identities were the result of mutual and many-layered interactions between colonies and metropolises, and the imperial and colonial actors who circulated throughout the networks of trade, labour and migration.¹⁷

Thibaud forcefully argued that collective 'Colombian' identity formation was founded in military strategy and adversarial confrontations between the two sides, Independent and Loyalist, which increasingly defined their identities with respect to one another.¹⁸ The introduction of evidence relating to the role of external actors can enhance this debate. Members of the armed forces who occupied ambiguous positions with relation to the

¹⁴ Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political imagination: Studies in European and Spanish American Social and Political Theory 1513-1830*, (New York and London, 1990).

¹⁵ Hamnett, 'Process and Pattern', p.294.

¹⁶ Robert Louis Gilmore, *Federalismo en Colombia 1810-1858*, (Bogotá, 1995), p.99, translation of Ph.D thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1949. 'Colombia, una nación concebida en conflicto, nutrida de batalla, se estaba muriendo de una paz que no podía unir a sus pueblos'.

¹⁷ For a synthesis of this argument see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*, (Stanford, Calif., 2001), p.9.

¹⁸ Thibaud, *Repúblicas en armas*, pp.473-9.

‘enemy’, such as the foreign mercenaries, were also uniquely situated with regard to the formation of collective identities. Creoles and mestizos defined themselves not only in opposition to enemy forces, but also in relation to the auxiliaries who served alongside them. The volunteers were the foreigner within, and therefore acted as a touchstone for nascent national self-definition. The presence of foreigners made explicit the case that loyalty to Colombia – for all groups – was founded not on ethnic or cultural grounds, but upon military necessity and ideological belief in liberty. Thus when the need for manpower became less pressing with the end of the wars, the remaining foreigners became an obvious incongruity highlighted by subsequent moves towards more local and regional allegiances. Detailed studies of other ambiguously placed groups, such as prisoners of war, deserters, merchants who supplied both sides, or civilians caught in the cross-fire, could further illustrate the ways that identity formation was not only contingent upon military circumstance and its regional impact, but also dependent upon the experiences of individuals as they moved within the networks of kinship, allegiance, rumour, vengeance, conspiracy and friendship that were the background to the Wars of Independence. ‘Forging’ a national identity out of such networks was an endeavour that elites recognised as problematic and fraught with difficulties.¹⁹

Gran Colombia’s use of European auxiliaries to assist in its Wars of Independence was in sharp contrast to the experiences of other Hispanic American republics. Only Chile experienced a similar intervention, and its auxiliaries were overwhelmingly naval-based and therefore came into little contact with Chilean society. Peru was ‘liberated’ by a combination of Colombian, Chilean and Argentine troops, but this underlines the importance of the Gran Colombian experience, where auxiliaries had crossed an ocean in order to join the conflict. The British and Irish mercenaries who served in Gran Colombia brought the Independents’ Atlantic links into sharp relief, highlighting the international ideological context present in the cause of ‘patriotism’. Unlike in Argentina, where the region around Buenos Aires began to establish hegemony over a vast territory, neither Bogotá nor Caracas could assert any lasting claim for control over Gran Colombia. Similar to the case in Central America, regional variations across the Gran Colombian

¹⁹ Hebrard, ‘Patricio o soldado: ¿qué uniforme para el ciudadano?’, pp.429-62.

territory, demographical diversity and the difficulties of communication, all hastened the fragmentation of Gran Colombia into several smaller republics. These processes were ongoing well before the death of Simón Bolívar in 1830, despite the abundant historiography linking the figure of Bolívar to the Gran Colombian dream.²⁰ The presence of foreign 'Colombians' in this period was tangential to the actual processes of secession, but the involvement of foreigners catalysed discussions about national identity, and therefore contributed to the collapse and fragmentation of the conceptual foundations of the Colombian republic for which they had 'sacrificed' so much.

Identity Formation, Liberty and Patriotism

Fundamental to the Independents' propaganda in 1819 was that they were fighting 'for liberty'. This involved the beginnings of a profound re-conceptualisation of society, and was shared by Spanish liberals who argued for diminished royal power and strengthened 'constitutional' government.²¹ The struggle of 'Patriot Spain' against the Napoleonic occupation led some Spaniards in America, such as Pablo Morillo, to dismiss the 'pseudo-patriotic insinuations'²² of the Independents' rhetoric. The Independents had taken the conventional understandings of political relations based on loyalty, kinship and friendship, but developed these into an Atlantic (rather than Hispanic) context that to Loyalists was profoundly worrying. Terms like '*amigo*' and '*enemigo*' continued to suffuse political rhetoric and personal disputes.²³ The volunteers were the most explicit manifestation of a growing international community of 'friends of liberty' beyond the Hispanic world.²⁴ In its formative stages therefore, Colombian patriotism acquired a moral character grounded on loyalty to the dominant group or leader, a quality which could be accessed by honourable foreigners who demonstrated themselves to be *amigos de la patria*.²⁵ This has important connotations for understandings of the 'birth' or 'forging' of national identities in Hispanic America.

²⁰ For a synthesis of this historiography, and an analysis of the tensions in the Gran Colombian state in the late 1820s, see Zahler, 'Honor, Corruption, Legitimacy, and Liberalism in the Early Venezuelan Republic (1821-50)'.

²¹ Earle, *Spain and the Independence of Colombia*, pp.145-54.

²² Pablo Morillo to Secretary of State, 31st July 1818, Valencia, AGI Estado, Legajo 69, N.48, f.3r.

²³ Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones*, p.335.

²⁴ Cookson, 'Service Without Politics', p.383.

²⁵ García Godoy, *Las cortes de Cadíz y América*, p.140

A substantial historiography continues to debate whether there was more continuity than change between the colonial and republican periods. Jeremy Adelman concluded that the republican systems in post-colonial Hispanic America were ‘for the most part, more unintended results of imperial collapse than products of wilful, intended change’.²⁶ These ‘unintended results’ developed out of the late eighteenth-century growth in ‘Creole Patriotism’, and were hastened, but not altered out of all recognition, by virtue of the conflict with Spain.²⁷ To some extent, nineteenth-century battles between centralism and federalism, land-owners and landless, and conservatives and liberals all had eighteenth-century precedents.²⁸ Nevertheless, the experience of rebellion and war itself until recently was neglected as an engine of change which largely determined the resultant systems of government, administrative units, and collective identities.

The individual foreign mercenaries who crossed the ocean to join the conflict were instrumental in this process and their own experiences illustrate the point. Seeking short-term adventure and opportunity, before arrival in Venezuela they gave little more than superficial thought to the meaning of words that were shaping the Atlantic world, like ‘liberty’, ‘emancipation’ and ‘independence’. The manner in which these individuals adapted to change once in Hispanic America gave meaning to previously vague words and concepts, and provided a catalyst for Hispanic Americans to formulate their own interpretations. The identification of who was considered to be a ‘foreigner’ during the Wars of Independence and their immediate aftermath showed similar continuities to the colonial period. It remained ‘highly circumstantial and depend[ent] largely on case-by-case ruling’, as the examples cited in this thesis have demonstrated.²⁹ A foreigner was permitted to join the host society provided he or she was perceived to be of benefit to the community, regardless of ethnic, cultural or religious considerations. Where in colonial

²⁶ Adelman, *Republic of Capital*, p.74.

²⁷ Brading, ‘Patriotism and the Nation in Colonial Spanish America’, in Roniger and Sznajder, eds., *Constructing Collective Identities and Shaping Public Spheres: Latin American Paths*, (Brighton, 1998), p.40.

²⁸ McFarlane, ‘Building Political Order: The First Republic in New Granada, 1810-1815’, in Posada-Carbó, ed., *In Search of a New Order*, pp.12-18.

²⁹ Tamar Herzog, ‘“A Stranger in a Strange Land”: The Conversion of Foreigners into Members in Colonial Latin America’, in Roniger and Sznajder, eds., *Constructing Collective Identities*, p.47.

times this meant a well-connected merchant or skilful craftsman, in the Wars of Independence this definition was widened to include men disposed to risk their lives for the *patria*. In response to local conditions, the foreign mercenaries developed distinctive group identities, such as 'Albion' or 'Rifles', which transcended traditional national rivalries. The Colombian Army was a key site for the working out of a 'British' identity, but was also the means of integrating some of these *ingleses* into the Colombian identity. The inherent translation difference between 'British' and *inglés* was a continued paradox that, despite increased awareness and understanding of the constituent parts of 'Britishness', Creoles and volunteers alike did not force themselves to change. With the wars over, 'foreign-ness' again became a more contested category. It was generally only elite officers who learned Spanish, maintained astute political relationships, married and founded families, who were able to become accepted within the Gran Colombian successor states. At a lower level than that accessible in surviving archives, private soldiers may have married local women of low status. Those mercenaries who did not do this tended to leave the continent. The 'others' against whom political and national identities were constructed during the rest of the nineteenth century, were not white incomers, but the blacks and the indigenous peoples of Hispanic America.³⁰

These findings have profound consequences for the study of 'imagined communities' and nationalism in post-colonial Hispanic America. By bringing foreigners of different ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds into the equation, the imagining of nations was broadened beyond the boundaries set out by Benedict Anderson. People who spoke little Spanish, were born far away, and had no blood or religious link to the *patria*, could still form part of a 'politically viable' and 'emotionally viable' nation.

In this sense, the case study examined here can push forward the theory of the nation re-formulated by Claudio Lomnitz as 'a community that is conceived of as a deep comradeship among full citizens, each of whom is a potential broker between the national state and weak, embryonic or partial citizens whom he or she can construe as

³⁰ Herzog, "A Stranger in Strange Lands", p.57; Earle, 'Creole Patriotism and the Myth of the Loyal Indian', *Past and Present*, 172 (August 2001), p.145.

dependents'.³¹ In contrast to the continuities stressed by Tamar Herzog, Lomnitz detected at Independence a 'sharp change in who was considered a national and who a foreigner'.³² Because of increased communication with the world outside the Spanish empire, attitudes to foreigners were now determined by events and people who contributed to the disruption of colonial social, gender and race relations. The formation of national identities was affected by the presence of considerable numbers of foreigners in the struggle to found the new republic, and in their continued residence and activity in post-colonial society.³³

Throughout the Wars of Independence, both Loyalists and Independents portrayed enemies of the *patria* as being 'enemies of liberty', or 'tyrants'.³⁴ Both sides claimed 'patria' and 'liberty' for themselves, reflecting their common inspiration in contemporary political thought. If political rhetoric was to be believed, God also gave His support to both sides. Religion was used to legitimate imperial, Independent and political causes, and even when not employed explicitly, it underlay concepts like martyrdom and sacrifice.³⁵ 'Glory' was a secular immortality and 'sacrifice' in the name of the *patria* the means to obtain it. These Christian understandings of society and service also underpinned the first stirrings of national identity. Elites attempted to establish national feeling through secular patriotic rituals, such as swearing oaths, processions, battles, and triumphant entrances into liberated towns.³⁶ Through these rituals, groups who were conscious of their 'Otherness' within Creole society such as Hispanicised Indians, freed slaves or retired foreign adventurers, were able to relate to the other members of 'Colombian' society. Religious belief was important to Colombians and adventurers alike, although it manifested itself in different ways. In addition to providing the background for notions of sacrifice and martyrdom in the name of 'liberty' or 'the *patria*', the overseas adventure was grounded in traditions of crusade and pilgrimage in which travel had an overt 'goal', upon the completion of which the 'picaresque traveller'

³¹ Lomnitz, 'Nationalism as a Practical System', in Centeno and López-Alves, eds., *The Other Mirror*, p.338.

³² Lomnitz, 'Nationalism as a Practical System', p.348.

³³ Lomnitz, 'Nationalism as a Practical System', p.349.

³⁴ Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones*, p.346.

³⁵ Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones*, pp.355-6.

³⁶ Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones*, pp.359-60.

or 'soldier hero' made a 'circular journey, from his place of origin and back again'.³⁷ Similarly, the 'manly bearing' of the mercenaries was influenced by the Protestantism of early nineteenth-century British imperial activity. Another point of confluence in the post-war period was paternity. The Protestant emphasis on paternity as a 'fully individuated acquisition of the powers of conscience and reason against an irrational childishness dependent on external authority',³⁸ joined with the status of the *padre de familia*. Both traditions saw paternity and the role of the father as fundamental to preserving social and racial hierarchies.³⁹ The correspondence of Thomas Manby, with its focus on honour and conceptions of masculinity, examined in Chapter 6, showed how the mercenaries' conceptions of masculinity were influenced by the family and society of which they became part.

Shared Concerns with Honour and Order

One of the principal points of confluence between Creoles and adventurers was their shared overwhelming predilection for the conventions of honour. During the nineteenth century, honour became seen as 'a natural quality of the superior European male, not a social construct', but during the Wars of Independence and their aftermath, this was not so.⁴⁰ The respect which a man received from his peers was a prime consideration and a 'mundane everyday reality' of Creole and European alike.⁴¹ British and Irish men who had enlisted as mercenaries with the Independents became acutely aware of their individual honour during their adventures, as evidenced in their duelling, court trials and in their petitioning of the state. In the post-war period the understanding of the importance of military honour they had shared with Creoles began to converge, and those who settled in Gran Colombia adopted local concerns.

Creole ideas of honour and independence relied upon a restriction of access to these very qualities, and class and caste barriers remained in place, albeit weakened, in the post-

³⁷ Steedman, *The Radical Soldier's Tale*, p.41; see also Fey and Racine, *Strange Pilgrimages*, p.xvii.

³⁸ David Alderson, *mansex fine: Religion, Manliness and Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*, (Manchester, 1998), p.13.

³⁹ See Brading, *The First America*, p.490-514; Earle, 'Rape and the Anxious Republic', pp.133-4.

⁴⁰ Reddy, *The Invisible Code*, p.13.

⁴¹ Reddy, *The Invisible Code*, p.13.

colonial period. Substantial changes had occurred, however. Colonial constructions of masculinity had been amended to expand the status that could be acquired through militia service, and to give greater importance to physical military endeavour during the Wars of Independence. This necessarily led to the increasing inclusion of pardo, mestizo and indigenous men within an enlarged group of potentially 'honourable men'. With the abolition of the two 'republics', of Spaniards and of Indians, all men in theory became part of one social body, although access to citizenship was restricted.⁴² Revised definitions of 'liberty' and 'freedom' responded to these fundamental re-conceptualisations of the structure of society. As a result, it became widely understood that 'liberty' could not apply to indigenous people and blacks who were not 'ready' for it, and they were consequently excluded from active citizenship and from the 'national image'. Nation-building projects during the rest of the nineteenth century sought to institutionalise the changes brought by Independence and to maintain Creoles' position at the apex of altered, but still strong social, economic and racial hierarchies. Retired volunteers were complicit and often active in this processes, and therefore in the continued subjugation of subordinate groups.

In Popayán in 1829, James Whittle requested clarification of the meaning of the request for him to discipline 'all' of the men under his command.⁴³ Whittle expressed disbelief that his superiors could really expect him to take 'all' to mean 'all'. Did this include all the officers as well as the soldiers, all the foreign adventurers as well as those men recruited in Colombia, all those from Venezuela and Ecuador as well as all those who hailed from Popayán and its surroundings? Whittle's confusion demonstrated the uncertainty as to how far the distinctions between men were to be abolished, as the Independents' political discourse made the transition from rhetoric to reality.⁴⁴ Most adventurers, and most Creoles, believed firmly in the link between maintaining racial hierarchies and the existing social order, a view that was hardened by the upheavals of the Wars of Independence. No group, least of all white foreigners who were 'parachuted

⁴² Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Post-Colonial Nation-making in Andean Peru*, (Durham, N.C., 1996).

⁴³ James Whittle to Tomás Cipriano Mosquera, 26th January 1829, Popayán, ACC, Sala Mosquera 1828, Carpeta 52, d5152.

⁴⁴ Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones*, p.369.

in' to the top of the pyramid, considered radical transformation of a system that retained widespread legitimacy despite the fall of the King and the end of colonialism.⁴⁵ Those Britons who had travelled to imperial sites were accustomed to black and brown people occupying unambiguously subordinate positions in colonial society. Many found the prospect that they could be perceived as equal in military rank and political suffrage distinctly unnerving. There were regional and local variations, but the abolition of slavery was to be slow and cautious, and the position of indigenous groups in society remained subordinate.

In counterpoint to these shared concerns to maintain existing hierarchies, there were also examples of bonds of sympathy and of solidarity occasionally shared (or suspected of existing) between lower-class adventurers and their counterparts in the Independent forces, like the rustling alliance between Thomas Cannon and Encarnación Ximénes, or Creole fears that Irish rebellion would be a subversive example to other subaltern groups.⁴⁶ These examples, and that of John Runnel studied in Chapter 4, indicate that extensions of the 'many-headed hydra' of the Revolutionary Atlantic described by Linebaugh and Rediker could be traced into the Hispanic American Wars of Independence.⁴⁷

Linebaugh and Rediker argued that the unstudied networks of 'Atlantic Proletarians' in fact 'shaped the social, organisational and intellectual histories' of the Age of Revolution.⁴⁸ Men who survived the health risks integral to service in armed forces travelling across the ocean, came to see themselves as part of a 'long Atlantic contest between slavery and freedom'.⁴⁹ Large sections of the volunteer expeditions fit Linebaugh and Rediker's description, most notably in their anonymity, mobility and desire for land and opportunity across the Atlantic region, which through initiation ceremonies and rituals they recognised to be a key site in the negotiation of their own

⁴⁵ Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones*, p.368.

⁴⁶ Cannadine's argument for high-status imperial Britons in *Ornamentalism* runs parallel to Colley's interpretation of lower-status groups' experience of empire, as argued in sections of *Captives*.

⁴⁷ Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, especially pp.328-9.

⁴⁸ Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, p.212.

⁴⁹ Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, p.221.

hierarchies of honour and respect.⁵⁰ The examples studied in this thesis show that there were lower-class Atlantic networks that paralleled the more immediately apparent ones of trade, political ideology and empire. Nevertheless, they also reveal that longer-term social, economic and political processes shaped these networks from without, and were themselves influenced by local developments in Gran Colombia during the period of the adventurers' involvement in the Wars of Independence.

Mercenaries

Exploration of the Wars of Independence through the lens of 'mercenary' involvement reveals much about the way that contemporaries perceived the conflict. When the Loyalist Governor of Riohacha spoke in 1819 about the 'auxiliary contingents, the offering of a barbarous people to the cause, people without morals or religion who will support who pays them the most', he was referring to the Goajira Indians who fought on his own side, rather than the foreigners under Gregor MacGregor who attacked his town.⁵¹ Some Spaniards saw the entire conflict as mercenary: Rafael Sevilla commented that he had been fighting against 'the treachery of [those] who joined the cause of Judas for thirty pieces of silver'.⁵² He refused to acknowledge that there might have been any national or ideological grounding to the conflict.

The Colombian Wars of Independence demonstrate Peter Tickler's definition of the mercenary as 'a man who fights in the pay of a power that is not his own country',⁵³ to be extremely problematic. 'Powers' were ephemeral and often based upon shifting allegiances to individuals. 'Pay' was minimal if and when it was available.

Understandings of what it meant to be 'a man' were differentiated by race and class and were in flux as the region moved from colonial to republican government. Even 'his own country' escaped precise definition. By picking apart Ticker's definition in the light of the analysis of the British and Irish auxiliaries studied here, some light can be shed upon

⁵⁰ Most of the volunteer memoirs mention some kind of initiation ritual as the ships crossed the ocean. See for example Robinson, *Journal of an Expedition*, pp.32-5; [Anon], *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the ship 'Two Friends'*, p.34. For Linebaugh and Rediker's discussion of such ceremonies, see *The Many-Headed Hydra*, p.164.

⁵¹ Solís to Sámano, 30th October 1819, Riohacha, AGI Cuba, Legajo 745.

⁵² Sevilla, *Memorias de un oficial del ejército español*, p.283.

⁵³ Peter Tickler, *The Modern Mercenary, dog of war or soldier of honour?* (Wellingborough, 1987), p.15.

the often one-dimensional literature on later twentieth-century 'career soldiers'. Mercenaries were acutely concerned with their own bravery and physical strength; enthusiastic, on occasions, to stress their ideological affiliation to the 'cause', and on others, to emphasise their employment as 'professional' soldiers, aloof from the compromise and ambiguous identity integral to external actors in a civil war. The careers of men like Daniel O'Leary and James Rooke lent a peculiar form of international justification to the Independents, playing an important role in what Steven Topik called the 'seduction of the imagination' of observers and subsequent commentators, creating an 'illusion of power' for the forces that could attract such men to fight in their cause.⁵⁴ In the light of the difficult acclimatization of most of the mercenaries in Colombia, and the early deaths or departures of many, this was rarely merited. Late twentieth-century mercenary involvement in Colombia in particular presents striking comparisons. In 1989, a British SAS-veteran returned home after a brief service as a mercenary for government forces, describing the terrain as 'the worst fucking jungle' that he had encountered in his life.⁵⁵ Whilst this could be interpreted as the result of poorly planned expeditions, it could also be seen as continuation of the construction, by mercenaries, of a 'landscape for adventure' in South America. By dwelling on the difficulties caused by the natural environment, mercenaries emphasised their own manliness in overcoming unforeseen obstacles, and therefore affirmed their own status as manly adventurers. Similar comparisons can be drawn from the growth in adventure tourism to South America in the late twentieth century. For British Gap Year students, South America is seen as a more 'adventurous' location than India or Australia.⁵⁶ The perception that the continent is 'off the beaten track' trodden by previous travellers has its roots in its situation on the fringes of British imperial activity and in the creation of the 'landscape of adventure' by previous travellers.

The disputes over pay and wages in the Independents' forces may superficially confirm Tickler's emphasis on economic motivation, but the stress that the mercenaries

⁵⁴ Steven Topik, 'Mercenaries in the Theater of War: Publicity, Technology and the Illusion of Power During the Brazilian Naval Revolt of 1893', in Joseph, LeGrand and Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire*, pp.197-8.

⁵⁵ The SAS is the British 'Special Air Service'. Quoted in Rogers, *Somebody Else's War*, pp.220-2.

⁵⁶ Simpson, 'Broad Horizons? Geographies and Pedagogies of the Gap Year'.

themselves placed on adventure and honour eluded his scope. Whilst not to the same extent as that claimed for British and Irish volunteers who served in the Spanish Civil War (1936-9), mercenaries were aware of the geopolitical struggle and some had ‘melioristic motives’.⁵⁷ The belief that participation in the wars would increase their own fortune was linked to the conception that their common endeavour ‘for liberty’ would lead to benefits for themselves and the ‘oppressed’ Spanish colonies.⁵⁸

In this sense, the British volunteers who travelled to Italy to assist Garibaldi in the 1860s are a useful comparison.⁵⁹ Newspaper reports panegyrised the Italian hero just as they had Bolívar forty years earlier. Legions with national and regional identities were recruited to join the cause of Italian ‘liberty’. Rather than an ideological war, adventurers joined ‘this highly chivalric undertaking’ under a charismatic leader against the superior forces of a great power.⁶⁰ Their experiences (as opposed to their recruitment and rhetoric) came up against the harsh realities of adventuring in a land where they felt that their sacrifice was only rarely understood.⁶¹

For the expeditions to Colombia, migration and adventure were just as important as ideological attachment to the cause of liberty. Once the adventuring and fighting were over, several hundred volunteers settled, married and started families in their ‘adopted patrias’, in stark contrast to the picture painted by the existing mercenary literature, with its focus on battles and combat. Despite the tendency for ‘sojourning’ in the Caribbean, many mercenaries made their re-location to Hispanic America a permanent fixture.⁶² Perhaps the explanation for this phenomena lies in fact that the mercenaries who enlisted with the Independents’ were joining an increasingly victorious force, which eventually won the war and reached a position where it could attempt to satisfy some of their

⁵⁷ Jackson, *British Women and the Spanish Civil War*, p.47, also Alexander, *British Volunteers for Liberty*, p.30.

⁵⁸ As demonstrated in Jones, ‘Images of Simón Bolívar’, pp.384-5.

⁵⁹ Janet Fyfe, ‘Scottish Volunteers with Garibaldi’, p.181.

⁶⁰ *The Scotsman*, 1860, quoted in Fyfe, ‘Scottish Volunteers with Garibaldi’, p.173.

⁶¹ Lucy Riall, ‘Hero, Saint or Revolutionary? Nineteenth-century Politics and the Cult of Garibaldi’, *Modern Italy*, 3:2 (1998) pp.191-204.

⁶² Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun*, particularly pp.171-9. Comparatively, see Robert Ryal Miller, *Shamrock and Sword: The St. Patrick’s Battalion in the US-Mexican War*, (Norman, Ok., 1997), pp.132-45.

desires. No doubt the Independents' victory over the Loyalists contributed to some 'sojourners' therefore becoming permanent settlers, whilst the early perception of imminent defeat in the uncertain campaigns in 1818 deterred some emigrants. Local circumstances, regional conditions, and the state of warfare all contributed to determine the decisions of mercenaries to settle or move on, and to how, over time, people changed their plans and intentions.

The FARC commander Manuel Marulanda, uncomfortable when asked about the alleged technical assistance given to his forces by Irishmen in 2001, replied 'The assistance they gave us? It was the other way round! They came to learn from us!'⁶³ The unofficial nature of much foreign involvement in the Colombian conflict in the last two decades reflects the acknowledged difficulties of successful intervention in an 'internal' conflict with regional and international causes, networks and consequences. It underlines the proposition that the definition of the 'mercenary' should be grounded less in issues of 'pay', and more in terms of the motivation of the individual and the official attitude of the government of the country of origin towards the conflict engaged in. It is the diplomatic position of the mercenary's home government, and the geopolitical circumstances in the region travelled to, that makes adventurers appear to be mercenaries. Individuals involved in unofficial interventions in foreign conflicts travel along pre-existing pathways, and serve to illustrate the economic, political and social ties that join individuals, groups and states across the globe. Their relations and encounters highlight the need to re-assess the conventional 'diplomatic' relations between Britain and Hispanic America.

Britain and Hispanic America

When he was negotiating a position in the Independent service in 1817, Gregor MacGregor demanded an official commission from the newly-established governments

⁶³ Marulanda, quoted in Edgar Tellez, Oscar Montes and Jorge Lesmes, *Diario íntimo de un fracaso: Historia no contada del proceso de paz con las FARC*, (Bogotá, 2002), p.154. The FARC are the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, *Fuerzas armadas revolucionarias de Colombia*.

so that his actions would not be judged too harshly by ‘the civilised nations’.⁶⁴ By the time that Independence had been established and consolidated in 1824, the British Foreign Office recognised that ‘the rising generation has grown up with feelings entirely Republican and Colombian’.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, although Britain was on the verge of welcoming Colombia into the ‘community of nations’, it maintained MacGregor’s differentiation between Hispanic America and ‘the civilised nations’. In the previous year, the diplomatic response to an affair between a Royal Navy officer, Captain Rowley, and a married woman from Cartagena, *Señora* Amalia Martínez Zerezo, illustrated the tensions that lay beneath Colombia’s foreign relations which would condition its first years of political Independence. Martínez Zerezo’s disappearance two days after the couple had been caught *in flagrante* by her husband led the Colombian representative in London to claim that Britain had ‘scandalously and ... seriously insulted Colombia’s honour and laws’.⁶⁶ He accepted that such a scandal could only occur in the absence of strict rules and treaties between the two countries and urged the Foreign Secretary George Canning to proceed in recognising the Independence of Colombia.

In response, the Foreign Office warned the Colombians that

the new states of America must be taught that in proportion as they think themselves entitled to claim to be recognised as independent, they should be prepared and qualified to discharge the obligations, as well as to exercise the rights of that character; and that they are not to expect from the Government of Great Britain, in virtue of their new pretensions to liberty, a degree of forbearance which would not be shown to the oldest and most powerful states of the world.⁶⁷

According to the regulators of British imperial activity in the Caribbean, the responsibilities of a nation were akin to the responsibilities of a citizen. The British would seek to teach the new nations these duties not by demonstrating their superiority through good conduct, but by demanding recognition of their own position at the apex of geopolitical power in the region. Where Britain’s honour was assumed to be inherent, Colombia was held to need to be educated before it could fully enter the honourable

⁶⁴ Reported in Lino Clemente to Simón Bolívar, 28th July 1817, Philadelphia, copy in AGI Estado, Legajo 69, N.48, f.7v.

⁶⁵ John Potter Hamilton response to George Canning’s questions, 10th December 1824, London, PRO FO 18/3 ff.176-90.

⁶⁶ Revenga to Canning, 26th February 1823, London, PRO FO 18/2 ff.84-6, translation to English ff.86-8. See also FO 18/2 ff.141-73. The husband in question was Juan Belmonte.

⁶⁷ Planta to Croker, 30th September 1823, London, PRO FO 18/2 f.245.

community of nations. Just as in the case of individual adventurers, there was tension between assumptions of inherent honour by privileged groups, and the demands made by subordinate groups.

Metropolitan understandings of British relations with Hispanic America were somewhat sharper and less conciliatory than those of its officials on the ground. Sir Robert Ker Porter, British Consul in Caracas, observed that the Age of Revolution increased travel and communication and 'the present civil commotions' had blurred the boundaries of citizenship and republic.⁶⁸ He requested clarification as to whether he should attend to the needs of the children of British subjects who had been born in the United States or Hanover. Yet the British and Irish presence in Gran Colombia went beyond the machinations of diplomats and the strategies of merchants. Those Britons and Irishmen not in the pay of the British state developed even more adaptable conceptions of political and national loyalties. Many made every effort to 'become' Colombian, and as discussed in Chapter 7, defended their rights to continue to be considered as such, even once the Republic of Colombia had disintegrated into its constituent parts in 1830. This continued foreign involvement in Gran Colombia meant that Hispanic Americans' 'newly-won' 'liberty ... to chart their own destinies and craft their aspirations'⁶⁹ after 1825 was circumscribed by the demands of the regional and international economies, by the diplomatic missions and commercial representatives who lobbied on behalf of foreign powers, and by the retired volunteers who remained in Colombia.

In this period, 'liberty', 'freedom', 'country', 'nation', '*patria*', 'independence' and 'honour' were highly flexible concepts that reflected the priorities of each group and individual that used them. The interchange of letters between Pablo Morillo and James Towers English in 1819 illustrates how the battle lines were becoming mapped across these concepts, rather than through any division between 'Creoles' and 'Peninsulars', or 'Royalists' and 'Republicans'. Morillo accused the mercenaries of having been duped by a fiction, recruited by 'those who call themselves the Independents of South America',

⁶⁸ Ker Porter to Palmerston, 29th October 1835, Caracas, PRO FO 80/1 f.30.

⁶⁹ Richard J. Walter, 'Revolution, Independence and Liberty in Latin America', in Woloch, ed., *Revolution and the Meanings of Freedom*, p.137.

and stressed the importance of birth and civilised behaviour in determining the honour of the cause. 'He who retains the least spark of honour and justice cannot remain united with such a band of ragamuffins, who are abhorred by the very country that gave them birth, whose soil they have sullied with crimes of all descriptions'. He presented his offer to receive any British deserters from the Independents as being made from one honourable gentleman to another: 'This offer of security tendered to you by a Spanish General who fought at your side for the liberty of Europe, I trust you will consider as sincere and inviolable'.⁷⁰

James English's public rebuttal of Morillo's arguments illustrated how much the two men had in common, but revealed the fault lines along which their views of the conflict diverged.⁷¹ English was similarly concerned to present his cause as an honourable one, and he acknowledged the importance of birth in determining identity, making several references to 'your native Spain', and 'your violated soil'. Crucially, when discussing Colombia, English turned away from concepts of 'nation' and native lands. The direct meaning of the endeavour in which he was engaged was not made explicit; instead, he wrote of 'emancipation', 'liberty', and 'independence' as though they were synonyms.⁷² In English's letter, published in *The Times* in April 1819, he spoke of his men as 'champions of a nation's wrongs', while in the *Correo del Orinoco* in November that year, they were the 'champions of liberty'. The two terms were essentially interchangeable, as English argued that British troops were inspired by 'the same reverence of virtuous liberty ... whether in succour of thrones or republics'.⁷³

The argument between Morillo and English turned upon honour and conduct, and in particular, upon interpretations of Bolívar's manliness. Morillo claimed that 'you are

⁷⁰ English, 'Reply of the British Officers'.

⁷¹ English, 'Reply of the British Officers', *The Times*, 24th April 1819.

⁷² English, 'Reply of the British Officers'.

⁷³ English, 'Reply of the British Officers'. There is also a very similar English version of James English's reply in *Correo del Orinoco*, 27th November 1819. The existence of two different versions can probably be accounted for by the translation of the original into Spanish for the *Correo del Orinoco*, which was then re-translated, without sight of the original, for the English version published alongside it. James English was dead by the time the *Correo del Orinoco* version was published. The Spanish version was '*campeones de la libertad*'.

serving under the command of a man in every respect insignificant, and have joined a horde of banditti', to which English responded that many of the mercenaries 'have seen and known the hero of this struggling republic; all ... admire him more profoundly; and freely offer him their lives and services in acceleration of that glorious epoch which is to repay his sufferings, his sacrifices, and his virtues, in the liberty of his groaning country'. English claimed that Bolívar was 'as respected for his integrity as he is admired for his patriotism and talents'. He was 'as deserving of his country's gratitude and the admiration of the world as Washington himself'.⁷⁴

English linked his men's endeavour back to British opposition to Napoleon in Spain and Portugal, and argued that they were acting as part of a process that had begun with – and he noted the paradox himself – Spain and France's assistance of Washington in bringing about the 'Independence of Britain's northern colonies'. The 'principles of liberty' for which they were fighting had 'justified themselves through the ordeal of a nine years' war, and which time and consistency have ripened into a nobler name – a name virtually, if not politically, recognised by all the world but Spain – that of an independent people.'⁷⁵ English recognised the roles that geopolitical circumstance and the upheavals of war had played in the evolution of political concepts and collective identities during what he called 'the deliverance of the south', in which concepts of liberty had 'ripened into' the independence of a people.⁷⁶ The involvement of 'impious adventurers' in these changes was shaped by local physical and social conditions, and circumstances that were found in parts of Gran Colombian society that were very distant from the paths of diplomats and merchants.

⁷⁴ English, 'Reply of the British Officers'.

⁷⁵ English, 'Reply of the British Officers'.

⁷⁶ English, 'Reply of the British Officers'.

Appendix 1: The Financiers of the Volunteer Expeditions.⁷⁷

Debts owed by Venezuela

[James] Mackintosh & [William] Thompson	£23,814
William Graham & Son	£28,319
William Duncan Campbell	£16,469
Edward Hall Campbell	£18,894
Hurry Powles & Hurry	£ 2,066
[C.A.] Elsom	£ 490
Charles Herring	£15,793
William Jones	£ 822
William Walton	£ 700

Debts owed by New Granada

Edward Adle	£ 1,370
Peter Walker & Berry	£ 1,000
S.W. Sowersby	£ 6,600
Francis Maceroni	£ 1,515

Individual Loans to be re-paid:

Jane Utler [Uslar?]	£ 100
Thomas Cowey	£ 500
Christian Bladwin	£ 200
Maria Graham	£ 100
Harriet MacDonald	£ 100
John Devereux	£ 250
Degranier	£ 400

⁷⁷ 'Diferencias que resultan de las observaciones dela comisión de liquidación sobre la acta de 1.o de agosto de 1820, concluida en Londres entre diversos acreedores de la República, y el Señor Francisco Antonio Zea', Casa de Moneda, Db0065. This document is undated but appears to have been drawn up in the early 1830s in Bogotá in order to emphasise that much of the so-called 'Colombian' debt was now owed by its heirs in Venezuela, and not New Granada. By the time this list was drawn up, many of the major creditors (especially Hurry, Powles & Hurry) had been paid off, and therefore appear here with only small sums owed to them. The figures have been rounded up to the nearest pound sterling.

Francis Caborn	£ 10,000
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General Résumé

Venezuelan debt	£107,367
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New Granadan debt	£ 10,485
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Diverse Objects	£ 11,650
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Mr Zea's Loan	£ 66,666
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Total	£196,168
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Appendix 2: Ships involved in transportation of volunteers from Britain and Ireland to Colombia.⁷⁸

Amelia, organised by Maceroni.⁷⁹

Bear All, called at St. Vincent, Angostura.⁸⁰

Bleinheim, organised by James Towers English, left in January 1819, carrying 147 passengers, called at Margarita.⁸¹

Boreon, organised by Devereux, troops commanded by W. Forster, left Dublin in October 1819 carrying 181 passengers including 31 officers, called at Martinique, Pampatar.⁸²

Britannia, captained by Sharpe, organised by López Méndez, troops commanded by Joseph Albert Gillmore, carrying 90 passengers including 10 officers, called at St. Bartholomew.⁸³

Catalina, organised by MacGregor.⁸⁴

Charlotte Gambier, organised by Devereux, left Liverpool carrying 232 passengers, had previously been Brig of War in British Navy.⁸⁵

Countess Chichester, organised by Devereux, troops commanded by Harvey, left Dublin in July 1819 carrying 37 passengers including 32 officers, called at St. Thomas.⁸⁶

Dowson (or *Dawson*), organised by López Méndez, troops commanded by Peter Campbell, carrying 270 passengers including 70 officers. It was later involved in the arms trade.⁸⁷

Duke of Bedford, organised by James Towers English, left in January 1819 carrying 150 passengers, called at Margarita.⁸⁸

⁷⁸ All information known with respect to each of the 53 ships is included here. As is obvious from the many gaps, the source material is fragmentary. 53 was also Lambert's figure in 'Irish Soldiers in South America', p.26 although he did not publish a list.

⁷⁹ Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436.

⁸⁰ *Correo del Orinoco*, 23rd October 1819.

⁸¹ English Papers, HA157/6/101.

⁸² Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.90, p.135.

⁸³ Hackett, *Narrative*, p.xii.

⁸⁴ O'Daly, in Ortiz, ed., *Colección de documentos*, p.284.

⁸⁵ Young, 'Diary', f.4

⁸⁶ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.87, p.114

⁸⁷ Wright, *Destellos de gloria*, p.26; *Correo del Orinoco*, 22nd August 1818.

⁸⁸ English Papers, HA157/6/101.

Duncombe, organised by James Towers English, left in January 1819 carrying 187 passengers, called at Margarita.⁸⁹

Emerald, captained by Weatherly, organised by López Méndez, troops commanded by Gustavus Hippisley, left 1817, called at St. Bartholomew.⁹⁰

Flora, captained by Toucher, organised by Begg, troops commanded by Gore, left Dublin in July 1819, called at St. Croix.⁹¹

Francis and Eliza, organised by James Towers English, and troops commanded by James Towers English, left Gravesend in January 1819 carrying 189 soldiers, called at Margarita.⁹²

George Butler, called at Angostura, and later took cattle to West Indies colonies.⁹³

George Canning, captained by George Goldsmith, organised by Elsom, troops commanded by Bernard, left London in November 1818 carrying 167 passengers including 6 officers, called at Angostura.⁹⁴

Gladwin, captained by Tankerley, left Portsmouth in September 1817, called at Kingston, and later shipwrecked on return to Liverpool.⁹⁵

Grace, captained by Davey, organised by López Méndez, left London in December 1817, later returned via Demerara.⁹⁶

Gran Nicholas, organised by Devereux, troops commanded by W.M. Power, left in 1820, called at Angostura, and repeatedly mentioned in Angostura ships' notices.⁹⁷

Hannah, organised by Devereux, troops commanded by William Aylmer, left Dublin carrying 201 passengers including 101 officers.⁹⁸

Henrietta, organised by English, left London in February 1819, carrying 70 passengers, called at Margarita.⁹⁹

Henry, organised by Maceroni, carried 255 passengers including 55 officers.¹⁰⁰

⁸⁹ English Papers, HA157/6/101.

⁹⁰ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, p.113, Hackett, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.xii.

⁹¹ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.88.

⁹² English Papers, HA157/6/101.

⁹³ *Correo del Orinoco*, 25th July 1818, 30th December 1820.

⁹⁴ *Correo del Orinoco*, 20th February 1819.

⁹⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 14th Nov 1818.

⁹⁶ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, p.103.

⁹⁷ *Correo del Orinoco*, 22nd April 1820.

⁹⁸ O'Connor, *Independencia Americana*, p.16.

⁹⁹ English Papers, HA157/6/101.

Hero, captained by James Marshall, organised by Maceroni, troops commanded by James Farrar, left Gravesend in January 1818, carrying 190 passengers including 20 officers, called at Margarita and Angostura. Previously a British Sloop of War, 'Achater'; subsequently used for transporting hides.¹⁰¹

Hussarreen, captained by George Gibson, organised by Elsom, troops commanded by Elsom, left in June 1819, carrying 120 passengers including 20 officers, called at Angostura.¹⁰²

Indian, captained by James Davidson, organised by López Méndez, troops commanded by Robert Skeene, carrying 200 passengers. Shipwrecked off coast of France.¹⁰³

Jupiter, organised by English in February 1819, carried 185 passengers, called at Margarita.¹⁰⁴

La Foret, organised by Devereux, troops commanded by Robert James Young, left Liverpool in July 1819 carrying 229 passengers including 30 officers, called at Barbados, Juan Griego and Jamaica.¹⁰⁵

Leussy (Lucy?), organised by MacGregor.¹⁰⁶

Libertad, carried 7 officers in 1818 to Angostura.¹⁰⁷

Little Frank (France?), organised by Maceroni, carried 185 passengers including 21 officers.¹⁰⁸

Lovely Ann, captained by Gibson, organised by Maceroni, troops commanded by Sánchez de Lima, left in July 1819, carrying 101 passengers including 40 officers.¹⁰⁹

Maria Elouisa, organised by Maceroni, carried 286 passengers including 46 officers.¹¹⁰

Melantho, organised by James Towers English in January 1819, carried 124 passengers, called at Margarita.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁰ Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436.

¹⁰¹ Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436, *Correo del Orinoco*, 24th April 1819, 20th November 1819.

¹⁰² *Correo del Orinoco*, 7th August 1819.

¹⁰³ FJB, Archivo Histórico, C-715, Carpeta 23, f.89.

¹⁰⁴ English Papers, HA157/6/101.

¹⁰⁵ Young, 'Diary', and Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.68, p.104, p.107.

¹⁰⁶ O'Daly, in Ortiz, ed., *Colección de documentos*, p.284.

¹⁰⁷ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, p.174.

¹⁰⁸ Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436; Ortiz, ed., *Colección de documentos*, p.284.

¹⁰⁹ Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436, p.442; Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*, p.290.

¹¹⁰ Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436.

Monarch, captained by Heath, organised by MacGregor, troops commanded by John Besant, left Gravesend in December 1818, carrying 335 passengers including 27 officers, called at Aux Cayes.¹¹²

Morgan Rattler, captained by Cant, left Portsmouth in November 1817 carrying 34 officers, called at St. Thomas, Trinidad, and Angostura.¹¹³

Nikolai Palowitch, organised by Devereux, left Dublin and collected more soldiers in Belfast in 1820, carried 141 passengers, called at Angostura.¹¹⁴

Onyx, captained by Walker, organised by MacGregor, troops commanded by John Charles Baldwin, left Gravesend in December 1818 carrying 162 passengers including 22 officers.¹¹⁵

Parnasso, organised by Strenuwitz, troops commanded by Needham, left Antwerp in August 1817 carrying 12 officers, called at New York and Philadelphia.¹¹⁶

Peggy, organised by Elsom, carried 35 passengers, called at St. Thomas, Grenada, and Angostura. Later involved in trading merchandise.¹¹⁷

Perseverance, captained by Thomas Propert, organised by Elsom, troops commanded by Bunbury, left London in November 1818 carrying 153 passengers including 8 officers.¹¹⁸

Petersburg, captained by Campleman, organised by MacGregor, troops commanded by William Rafter, left Gravesend in December 1818 carrying 107 passengers including 9 officers.¹¹⁹

Plutus, troops commanded by Johannes Uslar, in 1819, carrying 120 passengers, called at Trinidad and Margarita.¹²⁰

Prince (of Wales), captained by Nightingale, organised by López Méndez, troops commanded by Henry Crosdile Wilson, carrying 120 passengers including 20 officers.¹²¹

¹¹¹ English Papers, HA157/6/101.

¹¹² Weatherhead, *An Account of the Expedition*, p.4; Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436.

¹¹³ Hippiisley, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p.11.

¹¹⁴ *Dublin Evening Post*, 29th June 1820.

¹¹⁵ Weatherhead, *An Account of the Expedition*, p.3; Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436.

¹¹⁶ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, p.106.

¹¹⁷ *Correo del Orinoco*, 19th May 1821.

¹¹⁸ *Correo del Orinoco*, 21st November 1818,

¹¹⁹ Weatherhead, *An Account of the Expedition*, p.3; Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436.

¹²⁰ *Correo del Orinoco*, 24th April 1819.

Sally, organised by Devereux, troops commanded by William C. MacDermott, left Dublin in August 1819 carrying 64 passengers, including 30 officers.¹²²

Samuel, organised by MacGregor.¹²³

Sarah, organised by Elsom, troops commanded by Charles Munro, left London in March 1818, carrying 35 passengers, called at Trinidad and Angostura.¹²⁴

Suffolk, organised by English, left in January 1819, carrying 148 passengers, called at Margarita.¹²⁵

Tarantula, organised by Maceroni, carried 100 passengers including 35 officers.¹²⁶

Tartar, captained by William Hutton, organised by Elsom, troops commanded by Thomas Manby, left London in November 1818 carrying 159 passengers including 5 officers, called at Angostura.¹²⁷

Two Brothers, organised by Devereux, troops commanded by Luke Burke, left Dublin in August 1819 carrying 120 passengers including 25 officers.¹²⁸

Two Friends, captained by Cornelius Ryan, organised by William Walton, troops commanded by Donald MacDonald, left Gravesend and Portsmouth in July 1817 carrying 80 passengers including 50 officers, called at St. Thomas. Later carried cattle and mules from Angostura to St. Thomas, and was captured by Loyalists in 1819.¹²⁹

Wilhemina, organised by Maceroni, carried 387 passengers including 67 officers.¹³⁰

William, organised by Devereux, troops commanded by Anthony Estrange, left Liverpool in July 1819 carrying 55 passengers including 32 officers, called at Margarita.¹³¹

¹²¹ Moliner, 'Ingleses', p.90; Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, p.136.

¹²² Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.90.

¹²³ O'Daly, in Ortiz, ed., *Colección de documentos*, p.284.

¹²⁴ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.1, p.205, p.273.

¹²⁵ English Papers, HA157/6/101.

¹²⁶ Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436; Ortiz, *Colección de documentos*, p.284.

¹²⁷ *Correo del Orinoco*, 21st November 1818.

¹²⁸ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.90.

¹²⁹ [Anon], *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the ship 'Two Friends'*; *Correo del Orinoco*, 18th July 1818.

¹³⁰ Maceroni, *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Colonel Maceroni*, p.436.

¹³¹ Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses*, Vol.2, p.68.

Appendix 3: A Sailor's Life and Career ¹³²

On 1st February 1819 I embarked from the island of St. Bartholomew on board the Corvette of War 'Arica' under the orders of *capitán* Nicholas Joly, who was then commander of the Republic's naval squadron. In the month of August in the same year I went in the same ship to Barcelona under orders of *Almirante* Luis Brion, where I was present in the attack on the *morro* of that town. I was also involved in the attack on Cumaná, under the command of *General* Urdaneta. I stayed on the 'Arica' until it was declared unfit for service at Juan Griego on the island of Margarita. At that time, *Almirante* Brion transferred me to the *bergantín* of War 'Orinoco' as first *teniente* under Bonifacio Revilla. I served there for five months. I was then transferred to the *bergantín* of War 'Boyacá' where I served for four months. After these campaigns (of which I preserve the relevant documentation), my ship was charged with transporting *Coronel* Mariano Montilla to the island of St. Thomas. When we left St. Thomas we escorted a convoy including the *bergantín* 'Americano' which carried a delivery of ammunition and supplies for the Riohacha expedition, under the orders of *Coronel* Montilla. After this I was ordered by Commanding *General* Luis Clemente to embark on a corsair *goleta bergantín*, and to travel in commission to collect Thomas Richards, and take him to Island of Martinique. On my return I requested permission from *General* Clemente to take ten months leave. ... On 13th September 1824 *General* Felipe Estévez ordered me to embark at Puerto Cabello on the Corvette of War 'Boyacá', and later in the year the same *General* Estévez ordered my transfer to take charge of the light forces at the port of Puerto Cabello. Later, on 20th November 1824 I was ordered to join the Corvette of War 'Bolívar' under the orders of Renato Beluche, in order to escort *General* Mariano Montilla to Cartagena. From there we set out on a corsair expedition off the coast of Cuba. I was then transferred to serve on the Corvette of War 'Ceres', and sent on commission to the Island of Barbados. In September 1825 I escorted *General* Lino Clemente to Cartagena to form part of the operation squadron there. From Cartagena I went in the same ship to Chagres, in order to collect the Vargas Battalion and Callao Battalion. It needed three separate journeys to convey them all to Santa Marta, with all

¹³² Guillermo Jeffery, 20th November 1828, Puerto Cabello, AGNC HDS, Vol.24, f.123.

their troops, ammunition and supplies. Returning from this mission we collected the Glorious Squadron of Mounted Grenadiers from Sabanilla, and took them to Puerto Cabello. From then I remained at this port as second in command under *Capitán* José C. Swain. On 14th October 1828 I took command of the *goleta* of War 'Padilla', on the orders of General Commander of the Navy Renato Beluche. In this position I have fulfilled various commissions, and I continue criss-crossing between this port and Coro, in order to prevent smugglers from landing their goods.

Glossary

<i>alcalde:</i>	District magistrate or mayor.
<i>asiento:</i>	The right to import slaves to the Spanish colonies in the eighteenth century
<i>audiencia:</i>	High court at the level of the colony, also a governing body, usually composed of a president and four judges (<i>oidores</i>).
<i>bergantín:</i>	A sea-faring vessel, or brig.
<i>casta:</i>	Various people of mixed racial heritage in colonial Latin America, generally applied (<i>las castas</i>) to all non-white peoples.
<i>cabildo:</i>	Local government body, composed by figures notable for their social, ecclesiastical, political or economic influence.
<i>consulado:</i>	Local body or tribunal, formed to protect commercial interests.
<i>cordillera:</i>	Mountain range, as in 'Cordillera de los Andes'.
<i>criollo:</i>	Creole, generally a person of Spanish descent born in the Americas.
<i>encomienda:</i>	Grant of labour initially awarded to the participants of the wars of conquest in the sixteenth century.
<i>forastero:</i>	Stranger, or foreigner, usually applied to a new-comer to an indigenous community.
<i>fuero:</i>	Corporate legal rights and privileges; in many cases included an exemption from prosecution in certain courts.
<i>goleta:</i>	Schooner.
<i>hacienda:</i>	Colonial estate, owned by a <i>hacendado</i> .
<i>haberes militares:</i>	Assets given by the state to those who served in key periods of the Wars of Independence, or their dependents; literally, 'military fortunes'.
<i>mestizo:</i>	In common usage, a person of mixed heritage, usually Indian/Spanish.
<i>morro:</i>	Coastal headland.
<i>moreno:</i>	Usual Spanish word for person of dark skin, usually of African heritage.
<i>mulatto:</i>	Of mixed race with dark skin, usually of African heritage.
<i>pardo:</i>	Of mixed race, with African ancestry.
<i>peón:</i>	Generally an unspecialised day labourer, often tied to haciendas by personal or economic dependency.
<i>pueblo:</i>	Village, town or people.
<i>resguardo:</i>	Reservation, generally land allocated to organised and sedentary indigenous peoples.
<i>tertulia:</i>	Regular informal discussion group, assembly or social club.

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